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Schieder Bausch
1852

ANCIENT AND MODERN INDIA.

BY THE LATE

W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D.

REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME, BY

P. J. MACKENNA, Esq.

SECOND EDITION,

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PREFACE.

THE best introduction to the History of India is the Bible, in which two distinct passages describe the Navy belonging to Solomon, and the trade carried on through the Red Sea by that wise King who, "once in three years, imported in the ships of TARSHISH, gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks." Those passages prove that the enlightened Monarch, who was celebrated over the East for riches and for wisdom, received those articles from India.

The British people have done more than Solomon; they have conquered India and its people, and they have brought from its shores unnumbered articles of value. Yet to many Britons India remains still a sealed book; its history is scarcely read; its manners and customs are not understood; and its value is far from being appreciated. In order to open the way as much as in our power, for enabling the British mind to understand this most interesting subject, this succinct but comprehensive history has been revised, corrected, enlarged, and brought down to the present time, with the hope of inducing the friends of civilization and of British progress to glance at the details. Two powerful motives will have influence in encouraging English students to dedicate attention to Indian history, viz.:—I. The mental pleasure derivable from opening a new and wealthy mine in literature; and, II. The vast financial advantages arising from thoroughly understanding the bearings of such knowledge.

I. In Europe the long-established practice has been to instruct all well-educated youths in three learned languages,

the Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew. The value of those studies is still above estimation; yet the progress of mental culture and the wants of actual civilization require that, in Great Britain, the three leading languages of the East, namely, the Arabic, the Persian, and the Sanscrit, should be carefully taught at the Universities, and that degrees and honours should be granted to the deserving students. The facilities for acquiring a knowledge of these languages have been much increased within late years, so that the trouble of learning them is speedily repaid by a knowledge of the history, the poetry, and the philosophy of the different countries in which they are still preserved. It is unnecessary to dwell on the beauties of Arabic and Persian literature; they are familiar to every scholar. Reference may, however, be made to the Indian works, and, amongst them, to the *Ramayana*. This grand Epic poem, which some learned men call the *RAMEID*, will be found equal to the *ILIAD* and *ÆNEID* in conception, while it inculcates a self-denying morality, in some respects far superior to either. The *Maha-bharat* and numberless other works will also repay the labour of studying the magnificent Sanscrit.

II. Yet, if the interest felt by British subjects in the pleasure derived from Eastern literature be still small, the incalculable financial advantages arising from the intimate connection between England and India cannot be overlooked or neglected. The immense benefit, which is derivable from India, is, however, as little known now, as was its geographical position 400 hundred years ago. A short explanation is given of those advantages in Chap. XXX. (p. 542), of this history; and it is there shown that the revenue of India, with a population exceeding 150,000,000, amounts, at present, to only £20,000,000 per annum; and also that that revenue may be increased, with great benefit, to both the Indian and the British people. In the reign of Aurungzebe, 160 years back, the revenue of India amounted to nearly £40,000,000 of our modern currency, that is, to double its present receipts. What prevents its being raised to a higher amount at the actual period? There is one simple preventing cause—but that is a sufficient

one—namely, ignorance of the means to bring about that much-desired increase.

The burdens of the Hindus, who, like other subjects in different parts of the empire, are deprived of many comforts by the pressure of taxation, require to be relieved. By the arrangement of proper measures, the well-being of the British people, as well as of the inhabitants of India, can be permanently secured. After a thorough study of the political and financial relations of India, and with due sanction and co-operation, there is no doubt of success.

In the Appendices, special details of the events, that have raised up the three chief Cities or Presidencies of India, are given. These details could not be introduced into the work, yet they will be of great use to all those who seek to understand the progress of British rule in that country, and will save the young European, on his arrival there, hours of doubt and difficulty. Many of those details were discovered by slow references to the oldest records, and have never before been printed.

A short statement of the authorities on which this work rests may now be useful, since from its succinctness it was not possible to place the references at the bottom of each page. The reviser and author of this history has had great facilities for referring to various works on Indian events, in the library at the India House, and of them he profited largely; as also of the numerous books on Oriental history, which are to be found in the Publisher's extensive assortment. While revising the early part, he consulted Briggs' celebrated translation of Ferishta, and several other histories, including those in French, Spanish, and Portuguese, which are found in the India House, and some in the British Museum. For other parts of the book he relied on the authority of Orme, Stewart, Duff, etc., and also on the highly-prized History of India by

Mill, with the emendations and continuation by Professor Wilson, as well as on the different official documents published by Parliament and by the East India Company. Many years' residence in India, and a continued study of Eastern subjects, as well as a taste for historical researches, contributed to render the labour somewhat agreeable.

To a few, this book, as being condensed, may appear wanting in lengthened details; yet the author believes that, from its compactness and convenient size, it will prove useful to residents, as well in Europe, as in India. Experience has long taught him the want of such a book, as one of easy and continual reference, and he has endeavoured to supply that want for others as well as for himself. In such a mass of Eastern names and of varied dates, typographical errors may have occurred: the reader is requested to correct those marked in the Errata, and to send a note of any other errors or deficiencies to the Publisher, in order that they may be corrected in the future editions.

The orthography followed in this work is that which is at present generally adopted by the English in India. The spelling of some words may, at first sight, seem strange, such as "Comoree" and "Zamoree" etc.; but when it is known that those words are still so pronounced by the Portuguese, from whom they were taken, it will appear far more strange that the English should persist in giving them sounds which are unintelligible to the natives of every grade.

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A POPULAR HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BRITISH INDIA, in 1851, extends from the Himalayas to Cape Comoree—from the mountains west of the Indus to the frontiers of Birmah. This magnificent continent has often been compared to Europe; it is inhabited by at least 150 millions of human beings, the rule over whom has been acquired during the last hundred years by the enterprise and sagacity of the servants of a British Company, under whose guidance it has been cautiously administered. India now forms an integral portion of the British Empire; and, as such, its preservation must henceforth be a fixed principle in the policy of the Legislature and Government. The duty of all, who seek to promote British interests, requires them to ascertain with exactness the actual state of, and to devise and carry into execution efficient means for augmenting the welfare of, the Indian people; so that the prize thus rapidly gained may not be as rapidly lost. Instances of such gain and loss are to be found in the history of India.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY.—ANCIENT STATE.

Traditional Stories.—The Eighteen Puranas.—The Epic Poem, Rama-yana.—The Epic Poem, Maha-bharat.—Translations of chosen Passages.—The Solar and Lunar Dynasties.—The Chandragupta Era, B.C. 292.—The Samvat Era, B.C. 56.—The Kingdom of Avantee.—The Dakka Era, A.D. 76.—The Four Grand Castes: I. Brahmins; II. Kshatriyas; III. Vaisyas; IV. Sudras.—Buddhism.—Other Religions.

HISTORIANS have been unanimous in regarding the Hindus as one of the earliest, if not the first, civilized nations of the world. Authentic records of antiquity are wanting; instead of histories they possess only vague traditions, exaggerated by the imagination of their poets, and monumental remains, which attest,

CHAPTER
I.

Legends.

CHAPTER
I.The
Puranas.The Epic
Poems.

by their stupendous size, the vast conceptions of their founders, but afford no means of ascertaining the time when their builders existed. Independent of foreign accounts, the chief authorities for the early history of India are the eighteen Puranas and the two great epic poems called the Rama-yana and Maha-bharat. These contain, in their form, decisive evidence of their traditional origin; nearly all of them are described as repeated by some person who had heard the story from another. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, short histories of Cashmeer were written, which throw a little light on the antiquities of India. More accurate information respecting the state of the people during three centuries, may be obtained from the Greek writers, who described the conquests of Alexander.

First
Hindus.

The Hindus appear, at first, to have possessed only a small portion of India, the country between the rivers Seravoty and Kaggar, a tract about one hundred miles to the north-west of Delhi, about seventy-five miles in length, and from twenty to forty in breadth. The rest of the peninsula was covered with forests, and tenanted by Mlechas, or barbarians. They soon extended themselves, so that the ancient country of the Hindus may be said to have included the present provinces of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Oude and Allahabad.

Two
Dynasties.

Ayodha (Oude) appears to have been the first capital of the nation; it was the birth-place of the two principal families, called the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, both of which are said to have issued originally from Brahma (the Supreme Being, according to the mythology of the Hindus) through his sons, the patriarchs Daksha and Atri. Vaivaswat (the sun) had Daksha for his father, and Soma (the moon) was the child of Atri. The first prince of the family of the sun was named Ik-shwaku. He had several sons, one hundred according to the legend, who established themselves in different places; but the direct line resided at Oude, in which Ik-shwaku was succeeded by his grandson, named Kakutsha. From fifty to seventy generations of the solar race followed. After these came the most celebrated hero of the solar line, Rama, the son of Dasaratha, whose marvellous exploits and adventures form the subject of one of the great epic poems, the Rama-yana. Stripped of its poetic and romantic decorations, his story merely relates that Rama established a powerful kingdom in Hindustan, that he invaded the Decan, and conquered the island of Ceylon. On this simple basis the Hindu poets have erected a structure of

Rama-
yana

CHAPTER
I.

extraordinary adventures, in which we find a parallel to the celebrated Iliad and Odyssey of the Greeks. A brief abstract of the poem will serve to show the nature of the heroes with whose exploits the Hindus are still delighted, and also help to illustrate the nature of their mythology and literature.

Dasaratha, king of Oude, a most fortunate monarch, was without a male child. By the advice of the Brahmins, he determined to propitiate the benevolent deities by the sacrifice of a horse, the most solemn of their religious ceremonies, and one which requires the labour of years in its preparation. Princes and Brahmins were invited to attend this important rite; and its complete success ensured Dasaratha the blessing of male children. The Devas and heavenly sages who had assisted at the sacrifice, proceeded to the mansion of Brahma, the chief of the Hindu gods, and informed him that the benevolent deities were worsted by certain evil genii, called Rakshasas, commanded by prince Ravana, and that the good spirits were unable to make a successful resistance, having bound themselves by a promise to render their adversaries invulnerable. The god Vishnu "the illustrious lord of the universe," arrived during the discussion; he was "clad in vestments of yellow, ornamented with golden bracelets and riding on the eagle Vainataya, like the sun on a cloud, and holding his discus and mace in his hand." At the request of the deities, Vishnu consented to become incarnate in the persons of four sons of Dasaratha; and, as notwithstanding these incarnations he still retained his dignity and station in heaven, the Indian fable ascribes to Vishnu five separate existences at the same time. Rama is born, and, on the demand of Vishnu, is furnished with an army of supernatural monkeys to aid him in the approaching war.

The good
and evil
spirits.

Vishnu.

Rama born

When Rama and his brothers had attained a marriageable age, a sage named Visva Mitra appeared at the court of Dasaratha, and obtained from the king a promise of whatever boon he desired. He had made a solemn vow of offering a particular sacrifice, but had hitherto been prevented by the opposition of the Rakshasas from performing the ceremony in a manner acceptable to the deities; he, therefore, implored Dasaratha to give him the aid of his gallant son, Rama, against those impious demons. The aged monarch was unwilling to expose his beloved son in so perilous a war; Visva Mitra severely upbraided him for breach of promise, and "at the wrath of the sage the earth trembled, and fear seized even the gods." Dasaratha yielded; Rama and his brothers set forth for the war, and "at their departure a

Visva
Mitra.

CHAPTER I.
 shower of odorous flowers signified the approbation of heaven; and the celestial inhabitants themselves celebrated the event with songs of joy." In the course of the expedition Visva Mitra instructed Rama in the history and nature of every important object they passed; he also presented him with a suit of celestial armour, each separate piece of which came when summoned by its master, and was even able to enter into conversation with him.

Rama's
 exploits.

Having slain the sorceress Taraka, Rama, his brothers, and the sage, traverse the countries bordering on the Ganges, and at length reach the palace of a king named Ganaka, who possessed an enormous bow which no person had yet been able to bend. Ganaka received the sage, Visva Mitra, with all the veneration which royalty itself was bound to show to so illustrious a Brahmin. At the sage's request he permitted Rama to essay the bending of the bow, a feat which the king had promised to reward with the hand of his lovely daughter Sita. It required the labour of eight hundred men to draw the carriage which contained the ponderous bow. Rama, notwithstanding, grasped it with one hand, and not only drew it, but broke it in the middle "with an astounding noise like the crash of a falling mountain." Ganaka at once consented that Sita should become the bride of the successful hero, and that Rama's three brothers should also be provided with wives. Dasaratha was invited to witness the splendid ceremonials of the marriage; he came with a large train, and when the nuptials were over, he brought Rama back to Oude, and associated him with himself in the government of the kingdom.

Kaikeyee, one of the wives of Dasaratha, was anxious that her son, Bharata, should succeed to the throne; and to effect this object, she excited such suspicion of Rama in the mind of the king, that he doomed his gallant son to an exile of fifteen years. Rama, followed by his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshman, departed from Oude, and retired into a forest, where he lived a life of penance. The grief of the father when he discovered his error, which brought down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, is thus powerfully portrayed in a passage translated by Milman.

"Mine eye no more my Rama sees--and grief o'erburns, my spirits sink,
 As the swoln stream sweeps down the trees--that grow upon the crumbling
 brink.

Oh, felt I Rama's touch, or spake—one word his home-returning voice,
 Again to life should I awake—as quaffing nectar draughts rejoice,
 But what so sad could e'er have been—celestial partner of my heart,

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I.

Then, Rama's beauteous face unseen,—from life untimely to depart?
His exile in the forest o'er—him home returned to Oude's high tow'rs,
Oh happy those, that see once more—like Indra from the sky come down.
No mortal men, but gods I deem—moonlike, before whose wondering sight,
My Rama's glorious face shall beam—from the dark forest bursting bright.
Happy that gaze on Rama's face—with beauteous teeth and smile of love,
Like the blue lotus in its grace—and like the starry king above.
Like to the full autumnal moon—and like the lotus in its bloom,
That youth who sees returning soon—how blest shall be that mortal's doom."
Dwelling on that sweet memory—on his last bed the monarch lay,
And slowly, softly seemed to die—as fades the moon at dawn away.
"Ah, Rama! ah, my son!" thus said—or scarcely said the king of men,
His gentle hapless spirit fled—in sorrow for his Rama then,
The shepherd of his people old—at midnight on his bed of death,
The tale of his son's exile told—and breathed away his dying breath.

After the death of Dasaratha his council proffered the vacant throne to Bharata; but he refused to accept it, declaring that he would not usurp the rights of his elder brother. The sages and Brahmins then resolved that Bharata should go in search of his brother; and he, having settled a regency, departed. After several wondrous adventures, Bharata reached the forest where Rama and Sita lived in the disguise of penitents. He informed the hero of Dasaratha's death, and begged of him to return home and assume the reins of government. Rama steadily refused to comply until his fifteen years of penance should be completed; but to prevent the kingdom from falling into anarchy, he surrendered to Bharata the royal insignia, to wit, the golden slipper and the white umbrella, promising to resume them when his allotted term of penance should be expired. Bharata, in consequence, returned to Oude and administered the kingdom in the name of his brother, while Rama, with his wife and brother, continued their penance in the woods.

In the meantime, Ravana, the prince of those impious demons the Rakshasas, having accidentally seen the beautiful Sita, fell violently in love, and by stratagem and force succeeded in bearing her off to his city of Lanka, situated in an island of the same name, where he kept her in strict seclusion. Rama, disconsolate for the loss of his lovely spouse, entered into an alliance with Hanuman, the chief of the supernatural monkeys, and engaged him to go in search of Sita. After many vexatious delays and disappointments, Hanuman obtained an interview with the object of his search at Lanka; and after having delivered to her a consoling message from her husband, hastened to rejoin him. Rama and his allies immediately resolved to attack Lanka; they constructed a wondrous bridge across the sea, over

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I.

which the allied armies of men, angels and monkeys, marched to the siege of the fortress. Fearful battles took place round the city of the demons. Earth, water and air, were equally the theatre of engagement, and heaven itself was alarmed by the furious struggle. Rama and Ravano encountered each other in their war-chariots; so furious was the shock of their meeting that the earth trembled for seven days, but at length the prince of the Rakshasas was overthrown, and the gates of his city stormed. Rama and Hanuman made a triumphal entry into Lanka; but the hero having delivered Sita began to express doubts of her fidelity, and she had to prove her innocence by submitting to the ordeal of fire. Heaven united with earth in the rejoicings occasioned by the establishment of the purity of the princess. Brahma and the other deities descended from heaven to bestow their benediction on her re-union with Rama. The whole party then returned to Oude, but Rama, instead of assuming his regal station, resigned the sceptre to his brother Lakshman, and ascended to heaven, his real abode.*

After Rama, sixty princes of the same race are said to have ruled in succession over his dominions. It seems probable that Oude ceased to be their capital, and that the seat of government was transferred to Canouj. Another line of the solar kings descended from Nimi, the son of Ik-shwaku, by whom the state of Mithila was founded. In this family Ganaka was born, the father of Sita, the wife of Rama, and his companion in exile and penitence.

* Vishnu had a thousand names; many avatars, or changes of existence, are attributed to him; in general, they were assumed for the purposes of restoring the true doctrines of the Vedas—for destroying oppressors, and for punishing the wicked. Ten of the avatars constitute the chief portion of Brahminical mythology. Nine of them have passed already—the tenth is to come, and with it is to take place the termination of this world. There is in them a marked gradation of historical lore. The first avatar was in the appearance of a fish, which increased exceedingly; the second, as a tortoise, on the back of which the ocean was churned, and the earth was produced; the third, as a boar, which destroyed a tyrant on the Coromandel coast; the fourth, as a man with a lion's head, who killed an infidel monarch; the fifth, as a dwarf, who humbled a haughty ruler; the sixth, as a prince, who fought for the superiority of the Brahmins over the Kshatriyas—his name was Rama Parasu; the seventh avatar represented Vishnu as the courageous and virtuous Rama Chandra, who overcame a tyrant in Ceylon, and whose exploits are sung in the Rama-yana; the eighth was the famed Khrishna, the Apollo of the Hindoo females, and worshipped by them incessantly for his adventures, which the Brahmins say are merely allegorical; the ninth, Buddha, the legislator, who taught five points of forbearance, viz.: 1st, not to kill any living thing; 2nd, not to steal; 3rd, not to commit adultery; 4th, not to speak an untruth on any occasion; 5th, not to use intoxicating liquors or drugs. The tenth avatar is yet to come; and the Hindus expect Vishnu as an armed warrior, on a white, winged, and jewel-adorned horse, waving over his head with one hand 'he sword of destruction, and carrying a discus, with a ring in the other, as an emblem of never-ending existence.

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I.

The first prince of the lunar dynasty was Pururavas, the son of Buddha, the son of the moon. His capital was Pratisthana; at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. According to the legends, he obtained in marriage Urvasee, one of the *Apsaras* or nymphs of heaven, whose celestial charms were without a parallel. Unfortunately, the king violated the conditions on which alone this unequal union was permitted; his beloved Urvasee was taken from him; and he felt the loss so severely that he was deprived of reason. After many years had elapsed, he discovered her sporting on the banks of a lake, and implored her to return; the nymph refused, but at the same time promised to pay him an annual visit. The fruits of their union were six sons, of whom Ayus, the eldest, succeeded to the throne. Pururavas was not satisfied with occasional visits from his celestial bride, he sighed for the permanent enjoyment of her society. Some deities pitying his distress, directed him to perform a sacrifice in a forest, to attain the gratification of his wishes. Fire was wanting to perform this sacred rite, but the king, by rubbing two branches of trees together, and reciting over them the holiest verse of the Vedas, generated a flame which enabled him to perform the necessary sacrifice. When this was done he was elevated to the rank of a demi-god, and permitted to enjoy the constant society of his Urvasee in the celestial regions. From this legend it may be concluded that Pururavas was the first who introduced the worship of fire into India; and there are some other traditions which indicate his being the author of some important innovations in the Hindu ritual.

Ayus had two sons, Nahusha, who succeeded him, and Kahe-travridha, who established a separate principality at Kasi or Benares; his grandson, Saunaka, is said to have established the distinction of castes; for in the age of purity all Hindus were equal.

Nahusha was succeeded by Yayatee, who had five sons. According to the Puranic legend he married the daughter of an eminent saint, to whom he proved unfaithful. The queen complained to her father; and he inflicted on Yayatee the curse of premature decay, with permission, however, to transfer his infirmities to any one who was willing to give him youth and strength in exchange. The king applied to his sons, all of whom refused, except Puru, the youngest. After a brief enjoyment of his renovated constitution, the king restored his youth to Puru, and resumed his own former decrepitude. He made this affectionate son paramount over his elder brothers, each of whom,

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however, was appointed king of a circle or district. By their descendants the greater part of southern and western India was colonized, and civilization introduced among the barbarous inhabitants.

Puru continued to reside at Pratisthana, and was the ancestor of several celebrated princes, amongst whom Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, exercised such extensive power, that India is sometimes called after his name, Bharata Versha, or the country of Bharata. After about twenty descents from Puru, the crown devolved on Hastin, who removed the capital farther north, to a city which he erected on the banks of the Ganges, and called after his own name, Hastinapur. After having long flourished, the city was finally ruined by the encroachments of the river ; but vestiges of its remains may still be discovered. Four descents after Hastin brought the crown to Kuru, "who gave his name to the holy district Kurukshetra," north-west of his capital, an appellation which is still retained. It seems probable that at this time the lunar race had been forced backwards towards the north, by the increasing power of the kingdom of Oude, under Rama and his descendants.

The Vedas. Vichitravirya, the fourteenth in descent from Kuru, died without issue, but his half-brother, Vyasa, married the widow, by whom he had two sons, Pandu and Dhritarashtra. Vyasa is celebrated for having collected the hymns and prayers which constitute the Vedas, or sacred books of the Hindus, and for having arranged them under their present divisions ; he also established a school in which they were taught, and the Puranas are sometimes, but erroneously, ascribed to his disciples. He is further described as the original narrator of the Maha-bharat, the second great Hindu epic. When his sons attained maturity, Vyasa resigned the government ; Pandu retired to the Himalaya mountains, where he had five sons ; Dhritarashtra remained in possession of the kingdom, and had a hundred sons, of whom Duryodhan was the eldest.

The Pandavas.

The Pandavas, or sons of Pandu, came from the mountains to claim a share of their father's kingdom : they were first regarded as impostors, but a strong party being formed in their favour, a separate principality was assigned them, and they erected a new city for their capital on the banks of the Jumna, which was named Indraprastha. It was on or near the site of Delhi. Frequent dissensions between the kings of Hastinapur and Indraprastha led to the Great War, which forms the subject of the Maha-bharat, as the name indicates. Most of the princes

of India took a share in this mighty contest ; but the chief ally of the Pandavas was Krishna, who having been driven from Mathura, the seat of his family, had founded a new city, Dwaraka in Guzerat. He was, like his allies, one of the lunar race, being a Yadava, or descendant of Yadu, the eldest son of Yayatee.

According to the legends, Krishna was an incarnation of the god Vishnu, and as such he is still worshipped by the Hindus. Though of royal birth he was educated in the cottage of a herdsman, where he was concealed from a tyrant who sought his life. The frolics and exploits of the deity in childhood,—his stealing milk, his destroying serpents,—are favourite themes with the pastoral poets, and they love to dwell on his surpassing beauty as a youth, when he captivated the hearts, not only of the female rustics, but of the proudest princesses of Hindustan. As he advanced in years he achieved innumerable adventures ; among the rest, he destroyed the tyrant who usurped his inheritance, but was nevertheless unable to defend his native capital, and therefore established himself in Guzerat. It was chiefly by his aid that the Pandavas triumphed in the great battle, which lasted eighteen days ; Duryodhan and his host of brethren were slain. The undivided kingdom became the possession of the sons of Pandu ; but they were so grieved by the dreadful slaughter which their ambition occasioned, that they resigned their power. The end of Krishna was also unfortunate ; he was accidentally killed in a thicket by a hunter, and his sons—driven from their paternal possessions—were forced to seek refuge beyond the Indus. The successors of the Pandavas seem to have transferred the seat of government to Delhi ; none of them attained any eminence, and the kingdom of Magadha became the most flourishing in India, a rank which it continued to retain for several centuries.

Jarasandha, who was descended from Puru by a collateral branch, appears to have been the first monarch of Magadha who acquired any remarkable power. He was slain by the Pandavas and Krishna, during the Great War at his capital, Ragaguba, an ancient city which can still be traced by its ruins. For many centuries the kings of Magadha belonged to the warrior caste ; and, during their dynasty, the Buddhist religion was introduced by Sakya, or Gautma, the son of a feudatory prince, who claimed to be an incarnation of the divinity. The last king of the warrior caste was Mahanandi, who was succeeded by Nanda, the son of a Sudra mother, who consequently was deemed one of that caste. Nanda's posterity held the throne for nine genera-

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tions; the last of the line, who was also named Nanda, was murdered by a Brahmin, who raised a relative of his victim, Chandra-gupta, to the throne.

Alexander. We now begin to obtain more accurate information respecting India from the Greek historians, the conquest of Alexander having for a time opened the country to Europeans. Previous to his arrival, the western parts of Hindustan had been conquered by Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia; and his son Xerxes was attended by a body of Indian troops when he invaded Greece: but the Persian dominion was brief in its duration and limited in its extent. When Alexander crossed the Indus, he found Hindustan divided into independent states, all of which are declared to have enjoyed a high degree of civilization; the chief state appears to have been the empire of the Prasii, with its capital Palebothra, on the banks of the Ganges. From the accounts which the Hindus gave to the Greeks, it would appear that the Gangetic States had never been attacked by any foreign enemy, during the long interval between the exploits of Rama and the conquests of Alexander. Some perplexity has arisen from the inveterate habit, common to all the Greek historians, of identifying foreign deities with that of their own god Olympus; thus, they assumed that the achievements of Rama, described in the Rama-yana, and the exploits of Krishna, detailed in the Maha-bharat, related to their own heroes Bacchus and Hercules, who must of course have invaded India. Alexander did not advance beyond the Hyphasis, one of the five great streams tributary to the Indus; he only knew the great empire of the Prasii by report, having turned back before he reached its western frontier. The kingdom of Bactria, which the Greeks founded, probably became the means of introducing some portions of western civilization into Hindustan; but it could not have been the only or the principal source of the Sanscrit language and literature, since, as we have seen, the companions of Alexander are unanimous in asserting that they found a system of civilization already established when they came to the frontiers of India, and also since there is not a particle of internal evidence, to show that the Hindus borrowed their systems of poetry and philosophy from foreign sources.

Sandra-
cottus.

292 B. C.

After the retreat of Alexander, there arose a conqueror in India, known to the Greeks by the name of Sandracottus, who has been successfully identified with the Chandra-gupta of Hindu poetry and legend. He was the son of a woman of low extraction, and would therefore have been excluded from all share of

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power, had not his royal father, Nanda, provoked the hostility of the Brahmins. They united with some prince in the north of India, by whose aid they destroyed Nanda and his legitimate children, after which they raised Chandra-gupta to the throne. The new king not only refused to pay the stipulated reward to the prince, his ally, but procured his assassination. The prince's son led an army to revenge his father's murder, consisting of his own subjects and a body of Greek auxiliaries. Chandra-gupta contrived by crafty intrigues, to excite dissensions between these allies, and thus the invasion was frustrated. He subsequently entered into a treaty with Seleucus Nicator, who after the death of Alexander held for some time the sovereignty of Upper Asia, and probably by the aid of the Greeks extended his empire from the Ganges to the Indus. The descendants of Chandra-gupta were called Mauryas. Asoka, the third of the line, established a commanding influence over the states north of the Nerbudda; he erected columns, inscribed with edicts, for the regulation of the government, which from the remote points of their several positions prove the extent of his government, while their injunctions bear testimony to the civilized character of his policy. The family of Maurya retained possession of the throne for ten generations, and were succeeded by three other Sudra dynasties, under whom the prosperity of the kingdom of Magadha gradually declined.

Though the kingdom of Avantee, or Oujein, cannot claim equal antiquity with those already mentioned, it is the first of which we possess any authentic date. The Samvat era, still current in the countries north of the Nerbudda, dates from Vicramaditya. This prince was a great patron of learning and learned men; nine of the sages whom he protected were called the Nine Gems of Science, and were scarcely less celebrated than the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Vicramaditya rendered a still more important service to India, by arresting the conquests of the Sakkas, or Scythians, who had overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria, the modern Balkh. From his numerous wars against these barbarians, he was named Sakari, or the Foe of the Sakkas. It is probable, however, that some tribes or wandering clans of this race settled in northern India, and became the progenitors of the Rajpoot tribes between Oude and Marwar.

The celebrity of Avantee ceased with Vicramaditya; and the next prince of any note is Salivahana, king of Pratisthana in the Deccan. The Dakka era is reckoned from him, but little is known of him beyond his name. From this time, India appears to have

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Foreign
origin of
the Hindus.

been severed into a number of small principalities, distracted both by political and religious feuds, until it was invaded and brought under subjection by the Mahomedans, in the tenth century of the Christian era.

Modern investigations show that the Hindus were not the original natives of India, but that they came at some unknown age, from countries west of the Indus, bringing with them the Sanscrit language, and the religion of the Vedas; that they established themselves in the eastern part of the Punjab, or the country inclosed by the Indus and its tributary streams; and that they gradually acquired dominion over the barbarous tribes in their neighbourhood. It is probable that the original immigrants were a colony of priests, a religious and philosophical community rather than a political body, and that having established an ascendancy by their superiority of knowledge, they introduced the system of caste to secure the same advantages for their posterity. It is generally conceded, that the distinction of caste was not so rigidly observed in the more ancient periods of Hindu history, as it was in later times; the Brahmins are described, as having been forced to share their exclusive privilege of teaching the Vedas, with members of the warrior class, and both appear sometimes engaged in fierce contests both for spiritual and temporal supremacy. Caste is the fundamental principle of the Hindu polity; and the maintenance of its purity appears to be the main object of the great code of legislation ascribed to Menu. There are four original castes, the Brahmins or priests, the Kshatriyas or warriors, the Vaisyas or merchants, and the Sudras or vulgar.

Castes.

Brahmins.

The Brahmins possessed the exclusive privilege of explaining the Vedas; and as these sacred books are the source of all Hindu learning, whether religious or scientific, the possession of knowledge was confined exclusively to their caste. They were the only physicians, because diseases were regarded as a punishment for sin, which could only be removed by religious expiations. They were the judges, for they alone possessed a knowledge of law, and they were the national priests, having the exclusive right of offering sacrifice. Sovereigns were obliged to treat them with respect, as being of a supernatural order; it was deemed impious to refuse their requests, their estates were free from impost, and it was unlawful to put them to death even when convicted of the most atrocious crimes. On the other hand, they were bound to perform ascetic duties, which, with the single exception of celibacy, are as rigid as those of the strictest

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monastic order in Europe; for without such austerities, the belief in their superior sanctity could not long have been maintained. In old age the Brahmin usually retires into solitude, to meditate upon the futurity which awaits him, and by which he hopes after death to obtain the *Nirvana* or absorption into the happiness of the Divinity. The Brahmins have a hierarchy amongst themselves, the laws of which are implicitly obeyed, and for transgressions a rigorous punishment is exacted.

The Kshatriyas or warrior caste ranked next to the Brahmins, with whom they, as well as the Vaisyas, shared the privilege of reading the Vedas, but were forbidden to make any comment or interpretation of the Sacred Books. It is probable that the first immigrants found it necessary to defend the supremacy they had acquired, and that they therefore trained a body of warriors, whose allegiance they hoped to secure by communicating to them a portion of their own privileges, while at the same time, they took every precaution to prevent these soldiers from becoming rivals to the Brahminical power. In fact, we know that the warriors made more than one effort to overthrow the power of the priests, and hence the laws regulating the Kshatriyas, are better calculated to make monks than soldiers. To the jealousy of the Brahmins must be attributed the great want of warlike spirit among the Hindus, and the ease with which they were subdued by foreign conquerors. The Brahmins assert that the old warrior caste is annihilated; and the institutes of Menu relate that several of their tribes were expelled from their caste, for neglecting to observe holy customs, and pay proper respect to their spiritual superiors.

Agriculture, trade and commerce, occupied the attention of the Vaisyas, who were probably the most numerous of all the castes. They, like the preceding classes, were permitted to wear the sacred cord, which was the symbol of regeneration; but this privilege was refused to the Sudras, who, according to the Hindu expression, were only born once.

The Sudras were absolutely forbidden all knowledge of the Vedas; they were liable to be punished with death, if detected reading one of the sacred books. It was declared that they were born to be servants; that their first duty was to wait on a Brahmin; but if they could not obtain a priestly master, they were recommended to enter the service of a Kshatriya or Vaisya. As some consolation for their degraded state, they were allowed to hope, that fidelity to a Brahmin would ensure the transmigration of their soul after death into a body of higher caste. They had

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I.Mixed
castes.

also other rights, particularly security of property and personal independence.

Power
of the
Brahmins.

In spite of all the legal restrictions on marriage, new castes were formed, chiefly by the intermarriage of the Hindus with the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of India. It has been, indeed, asserted that the Brahmins alone retained their original purity. Though the priests were excluded from reigning, they secured the dependence of the rajahs or kings on their order, by rigidly prescribing the routine of his daily occupations, and by insisting on the knowledge of the Vedas, as a qualification for admission into his council. The Brahmins even took upon them to depose kings for impiety and tyranny. In one of the Hindu dramas, *Rakshasa*, a Brahmin thus boasts of his share in the destruction of Nanda, to facilitate the elevation of *Chandragupta* as we have already described.

— “ ’Tis known to all the world,
I vowed the death of Nanda and I slew him;
The current of a vow will work its way,
And cannot be resisted. What is done
Is spread abroad, and I no more have power
To stop the tale. Why should I? Be it known
The fires of my wrath alone expire,
Like the fierce conflagration of a forest,
From lack of fuel, not from weariness.
The flames of my just anger have consumed
The branching ornaments of Nanda's stem,
Abandoned by the frightened priests and people,
They have enveloped in a shower of ashes
The blighted tree of his ambitious councils;
And they have overcast with sorrow's clouds
The smiling heaven of those moon like looks,
That shed the light of love upon my foes.”

Unity of
the Deity
taught.

It has been already mentioned that the Vedas were the first sacred books which were regarded as the authorities for the religious system of the Brahmins; but it must be added, that the religion of the Hindus, in the present day, is very dissimilar from that taught in the Vedas. “The real doctrine of the Indian scripture,” says Mr. Colebrook, “is the unity of the deity in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the stars and planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity (*Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*, the persons of the Hindu trinity), with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindu mythology, are indeed mentioned, or

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at least indicated in the Vedas. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators." "It is true," says Professor Wilson, "that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni, or fire; Sudra, the firmament; Vayu, the air; Varuna, water; Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true, that the worship of the Vedas is, for the most part, domestic worship, consisting of prayers and oblations offered in their own houses, not in temples—by individuals for individual good, and addressed to unreal presences, not to visible types. In a word, the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry."

Worship
of the
elements.

This simple and primitive form of worship was succeeded, in some remote and unknown age, by the adoration of images and types, and of historical personages elevated to the rank of divinities, which swelled into the most cumbrous body of legend and mythology to be found in any pagan nation. It is probable that this religious revolution was the work of the poets; the story of the Rama-yana and the Maha-bharat turns wholly upon the doctrine of incarnations, all the leading personages being incarnate gods, demigods, and celestial spirits. We know that a similar change was wrought in ancient Greece by Homer and Hesiod, for previous to the appearance of their theogonies, the objects of worship were the Titans, who were purely elementary deities, like the gods of the Asiatic nations. The legends which now constitute the Hindu mythology are collected in the Puranas, works generally believed to have been written or compiled about the tenth century of our era, when the original religion had been corrupted, and the ancient system of civilization had fallen into decay.

Secondary
deities.

Manu, or Menu, was the legislator of the Hindus. His code of laws was manifestly intended for an early stage of society; but it contains many excellent regulations relating to trade and commerce, marking an era when improvement was progressive. Menu, except when the author of the code is intended, is a generic term, and signifies a sage presiding over a chronological period, called a Manivantara, of whom fourteen appear. The account given of one of these Manus, Patryavata, bears a striking similarity to the scriptural account of Noah; and it will be interesting to compare the Hindu legend of the flood with the authentic narrative of Scripture. Menu, like Noah, stands alone in an age

CHAPTER I. of universal depravity; he obtains the favour of the deity by the most rigid austerities.

He in wonder-working penance,—sire and grandsire far surpassed.
With his arms on high outstretching,—wrought the sovereign of men,
Steadily on one foot standing,—penance rigorous and dread,
With his downward head low-drooping,—with his fixed unwavering eyes,
Dreed he thus his awful penance,—many a long and weary year.

Brahma's
transmi-
grations.

At length Brahma appeared to him in the shape of a little fish, and besought to be saved from some larger fish that threatened to devour him. Menu, without suspecting the presence of a divinity, placed the fish in a crystal vase; Brahma soon became too large for the vessel, and was removed to a lake; he outgrew the lake, and was transferred to the Ganges; and finally was transported by his kind protector to the ocean. Brahma then warned Menu of the approaching deluge, and informed him of the means by which he might escape from its destruction.

When the awful time approaches—hear from me what thou must do.
In a little time, O blessed!—all this firm and seated earth,
All that moves upon its surface—shall a deluge sweep away.
Near it comes, of all creation—the ablution day is near;
Therefore what I now forewarn thee—may thy highest weal secure.
All the fixed and all the moving—all that stirs, or stirrteht not,
Lo, of all the time approaches—the tremendous time of doom.
Build thyself a ship, O Manu—strong, with cables well prepared,
And thyself, with the seven sages—mighty Manu enter in.
All the living seeds of things—by the Brahmins named of yore,
Place thou first within thy vessel—well secured, divided well.
From thy ship keep watch, O hermit—watch for me as I draw near;
Horned shall I swim before thee—by my horn thou 'lt know me well,
This the work thou must accomplish—I depart; so fare thee well—
Over those tumultuous waters—none without mine aid can sail.
Doubt thou not, O lofty minded!—of my warning speech the truth.”
To the fish thus answered Manu—“All that thou requir'st, I'll do.”
Thus they parted, of each other—mutual leave when they had ta'en,
Manu, raja! to accomplish—all to him the fish had said.
Taking first the seeds of all things—launched he forth upon the sea;
On the billowy sea, the prudent—in a beauteous vessel rode.
Manu of the fish bethought him;—conscious of his thought, the fish,
Conqueror of hostile cities!—with his horn came floating by.
King of men, the born of Manu!—Manu saw the sea-borne fish,
In his form foreshewn, the horned—like a mountain huge and high.
To the fish's head his cable, Manu bound—O king of men!
Strong and firm his cable wound he—round and round on either horn;
And the fish, all conquering raja!—with that twisted cable bound,
With the utmost speed that vessel—dragged along the ocean tide.
In his bark along the ocean—boldly went the king of men:

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Dancing with the tumbling billows—dashing through the roaring spray,
 Tossed about by winds tumultuous—in the vast and heaving sea,
 Like a trembling, drunken woman—reeled that ship, O king of men.
 Earth was seen no more, no region—nor the intermediate space;
 All around a waste of water—water all, and air and sky.
 In the whole world of creation—princely son of Bharata!
 None was seen but those seven Sages—Manu only, and the fish.
 Years on years, and still unwearied—drew that fish the bark along,
 Till at length it came, where lifted—Himavan its loftiest peak.
 There at length it came, and smiling—thus the fish addressed the sage:
 “To the peak of Himalaya—bind thou now thy stately ship.”
 At the fish’s mandate quickly—to the peak of Himavan
 Bound the sage his bark, and ever—to this day that loftiest peak,
 Bears the name of Naubandhana—from the binding of the bark.

The virtue attributed to extravagant princes, of which notice Buddha is taken in the preceding extract, led to the promulgation of a new creed, which might be regarded as at once a religious, philosophical, and political reform of Brahminism. This religion, which probably possesses more votaries than any existing, is named Buddhism. According to the Brahmins, Buddha was the ninth incarnation of Vishnu; but the Buddhists recognize several successive Buddhas, seven of whom were persons of mortal mould, who, by prayers, penances, and meditation, attained to such excellence of nature as to have been gifted with divine nature, and to have been finally absorbed in the essence of the deity. The doctrine of absorption, or *Nirwana*, may be regarded as the fundamental principle of the Buddhist creed; it holds out the promise, that the soul, when sufficiently purified, shall lose all consciousness of separate existence, and be received into the essence of the godhead; and it teaches that this state of bliss is equally attainable by men, angels, and demons. It substituted sanctity for sacrifice. “Genuine Buddhism,” says Mr. Hodgson, “has no priesthood; the ascetic despises the priest; the saint scorns the aid of mediators.” As a consequence, it followed that the Buddhists recognized no distinction of caste, and that, wherever this system existed as a political institution, their creed tended to weaken and destroy its influence. It seems probable, that the Buddhists for a time obtained an ascendancy over the Brahmins, particularly in the states of Western India, where symptoms of their peculiar creed are found graven on the gigantic cave temples; but in the end they were overcome by the Brahmins, and driven by persecution from the Peninsula. The exiles carried their creed to the vast regions of Asia, which extend beyond the north and east of India; they preached

Buddhism explained.

Its extent.

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it successfully in Nepaul, Mongolia, China, the farther peninsula, and the island of Ceylon, where it still flourishes with unabated vigour, and is supposed to include among its disciples fully one-third of the human race. It is probably owing to the expulsion of the Buddhists, that so much of the ancient literature of India has been lost, and that such darkness and uncertainty rest upon Hindu history. It was obviously the interest of the Brahmins to destroy every memorial of a contest which had nearly proved fatal to their power, and every record of a creed which struck at the very root of their pretensions.

The civil-
ization of the
Hindus.

It is not necessary here to enter on any discussion of the amount of civilization to which the Hindus had attained, while they continued under the government of their native princes. Professor Wilson's summary of their social state is so complete, and his authority of such weight, that we shall conclude this chapter by quoting his testimony. "The Hindus," says this eminent scholar and enlightened writer, "by the character of their institutions, and by the depressing influence of foreign subjugation, are apparently what they were at least three centuries before the Christian era. Two thousand years have done nothing for them, every thing for us. We must, therefore, in fairness compare them with their cotemporaries, with the people of antiquity, and we shall then have reason to believe that they occupied a very foremost station amongst the nations. They had a religion, less disgraced by idolatrous worship than most of those which prevailed in early times. They had a government, which, although despotic, was equally restricted by law, by institutions, and by religion. They had a code of laws, in many respects wise and rational, and adapted to a great variety of relations, which could not have existed except in an advanced state of social organization. They had a copious and cultivated language, and an extensive and diversified literature; they had made great progress in the mathematical sciences; they speculated profoundly on the mysteries of man and nature; and they had acquired remarkable proficiency in many of the ornamental and useful arts of life. Whatever defects may be justly attributed to their religion, their government, their laws, their literature, their sciences, their arts, as contrasted with the same proofs of civilization in modern Europe, it will not be disputed by any impartial and candid critic, that, as far as we have the means of instituting a comparison, the Hindus were, in all these respects, quite as civilized as any of the most civilized nations of the ancient world, and in as early times as any of which records or traditions remain."

Another branch of Brahminism deserves notice, namely, the Jains, who resemble the Buddhists in religious doctrines, but look upon God as so inconceivable in his nature, that the human understanding is too feeble to comprehend his perfections. The Jains believe that a few chosen persons have been able to comprehend them. Since the creation of the world there have appeared twenty-four such persons, whom they call Tirthankars, who are honoured as saints. The Jains are to be found in the north-west of India, where they have erected larger and more splendid pagodas than the Brahmins; they are less superstitious, and more polished, than the orthodox adherents to the original tenets of their creed.

The foreign religions, which have been introduced into India, are—the Mohammedans, or Moslems; the Guebres, or fire-worshippers from Persia, who are commonly called Parsees; some of the descendants of the tribes which were taken as captives from Judea into the East by the Babylonian conquerors, who are known as the Beni-Israel; the descendants of the Syrian Christians, converted by Saint Thomas the Apostle; the Roman Catholics, who have various churches under the Portuguese, British, and French authorities; and the Established Churches of England and of Scotland, both of which have missions in several places.

Jews, Abyssinians, and Chinese are also to be met with in considerable numbers.

CHAPTER II.

THE AFGHAN AND MONGOLIAN INVASIONS, A.D. 800—1525.

First Mohammedan Invasion, A.D. 997.—Ten Attacks by Mahmoud of Ghuznee, 1020.—Ghorian Dynasty, 1187.—Empire fixed at Delhi, 1194.—Jenghiz Khan's Sons invade, 1242.—Mongolian Invasion, 1286.—Mallek Khan invades the Deccan, 1306.—Toghluk reigns, 1321.—Bahmenes Dynasty, 1340.—Feroze rules, 1386.—Timur Lenk (Tamerlane), 1378.—Desolation by the Turks and Mongolians, 1400.—Death of Timur, 1405.—Afghan Dynasty at Delhi, 1450.—Baber succeeds in Ferghana, 1494.—Confusion in India, 1505.—Baber invited into India, 1525.—End of the Afghan Dynasty.

CHAPTER
II.
Saracens
go to India.

BEFORE the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope had opened India to European enterprize, the greater part of the country had been subdued by foreign invaders, animated equally by cupidity and religious fanaticism. From the earliest ages, the wealth of India has been the theme of so much exaggeration in western Asia, that the Saracens had scarcely become masters of Persia, before they evinced an anxiety to obtain some portion of the riches, which their native traditions as well as the legends of the countries which they had subdued, led them to believe were accumulated in the countries on the eastern side of the Indus. After the conversion of the Afghans to Mohammedanism, which took place in less than half a century from the first promulgation of that religion, frequent incursions were made into the territories of the Hindus: avarice and bigotry combined to stimulate the marauders to cruelty, for they regarded their victims as at once the most wealthy and the most obstinate of idolators.

After their first great burst of success, the Saracens sunk into indolence and effeminacy; their sovereigns, the Khalifs, began to recruit their armies from the wild tribes of Turks and Tartars; in a short time, these mercenaries became masters of the empire, and their generals founded independent principalities, limited in their extent and temporary in their duration. The Samanian dynasty, established by a Turkish adventurer, possessed the eastern provinces of the Persian empire, but obtained only a nominal obedience from the military hordes of the Afghans, who

CHAPTER
II.A.D. 997.
A.H. 387.

have been distinguished by their love of savage independence, from the time that their name first appears in history. To control these dangerous subjects, they entrusted the government of Candahar, or (as the other capital is called) Ghuznee, to one of their officers named Sabaktekin, who had risen from the condition of a slave to the highest rank in the army. His extraordinary talents enabled him to unite a great number both of Turkish and Afghan tribes under his government; he soon became so powerful that he not only rendered himself independent of the Samanian sultan, but even crossed the Indus to invade the kingdom of Lahore. Jeipal, a Brahmin prince, who then ruled Lahore, or as it is called from its five rivers, the Punjab, assembled a powerful army to protect his religion and his country, but was twice defeated with enormous loss, and forced to purchase peace by the sacrifice of a large portion of his dominions. The causes of the success of the invaders, were the discipline of their soldiers, and the weight of their horses. Hindustan was at this time apportioned among various tribes of Rajpoots, who were bound to perform a kind of feudal service for their lands; but the Rajpoot vassals were an ill-equipped and worse-officered body of national militia, suddenly called into the field at moments of emergency; their horses were the feeble race of steeds peculiar to the country, untrained to act in concert. The Turks, like their predecessors the Saracens, had been particularly attentive to the breeding and training of their horses, and hence the Hindus used to describe the dreaded charge of the Ghuznee cavalry, as "the burst of a whirlwind." The Afghans still look upon themselves as descendants of the ten tribes of Israel, removed by their ruthless conquerors.

On the death of Sabaktekin, his son, Mahmood, ascended the throne; he was bigotedly attached to the Sonnee form of the Mohammedan faith, equally proud of his theological skill and military prowess; from his very childhood he believed himself divinely summoned, to extirpate idolatry and establish the creed of Islam beyond the Indus. Jeipal was once more forced to take the field against invasion, and was again defeated: he was taken prisoner after the fight with several of his kinsmen, and the jewels found upon his person have been valued at eighty thousand pounds. The unfortunate prince, believing that his misfortunes arose from some crime which he might expiate by self-sacrifice, resigned his crown to his son, Ananga Pal, and terminated his life on the funeral pile. The renewal of the war by the Rajpoot chiefs, who refused to obey Ananga Pal, on

Mahmood
of Ghuznee.
A.D. 997.

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II.

A.D. 1004.

His inva-
sions.

account of his submission to Mahmood, led the sultan a second time across the Indus, when he completed the subjugation of the Punjab, and captured the important city of Mooltan. A third expedition was undertaken to punish a refractory vassal; but a fourth and more important invasion, was rendered necessary by the revolt of Ananga Pal, who was stimulated by the remonstrances of the priests to make a great effort for throwing off the Mohammedan yoke. The battle which decided the fate of the Punjab, was fought in the neighbourhood of Peshawur. During forty days the armies remained watching each other: Mahmood at length commenced the battle, but his archers were driven back, and his lines thrown into confusion by the furious charge of the Gakkars, a wild mountain tribe, the ancestors of the modern Jats. The Mohammedans were on the point of being routed, when the elephant on which Ananga Pal rode, being terrified by the balls of burning naphtha hurled at him by the Afghans, turned and fled: the Hindus, believing themselves deserted by their sovereign, and disheartened by his apparent cowardice, gave way in every direction. A vigorous pursuit was maintained for two days and more than twenty thousand men are said to have fallen in the battle and the flight.

Mahmood's fifth invasion of India was undertaken to acquire possession of Nagrakot, a mountain fortress between the sources of the Ravee (Hydraotes) and the Beyas (Hyphasis), celebrated for its strength and reputed sanctity. Its temples were stored with gold and jewels; and that extraordinary spectacle of nature, a burning fountain in its neighbourhood, had from remote ages been regarded with superstitious veneration. Nagrakot yielded after a feeble defence; the treasures, which for many years had been accumulating in its shrines, became the prey of the conquerors, and Mahmood on his return home proclaimed a solemn festival, that the followers of the Prophet might have an opportunity of admiring his magnificent plunder. The next four expeditions were undertaken to obtain similar treasures, but it is not necessary to recite the particulars; the mind is fatigued and sickened by the sameness of the horrors perpetrated to gratify fanaticism and avarice; towns were burned, temples destroyed, idols broken, and such a multitude of captives driven into slavery, that in the Mohammedan camp the price of a strong man was only ten drachms, or about five English shillings.

Somnath.

Mahmood's tenth and most celebrated invasion, was directed against the temple of Somnath. The idol of this shrine was one of the twelve famous Lingams or Phalli erected in Hindustan,

and was dedicated to Siva under his title of Swayan Nath, or "the Self-existent." Though situated in Guzerat, water was brought from the distant streams of the holy Ganges for the daily washing of the idols, the revenues of ten thousand villages were assigned for the support of the temple, and princes devoted their daughters to the service of this obscene emblem. Undaunted by the difficulties of the expedition, Mahmood entered the inhospitable desert, between Mooltan and Guzerat: his soldiers suffered severely during the march, but they felt that all their toils and perils were rewarded when they beheld the walls of Somnath. The Hindus, animated by the Brahmins, defended themselves with all the rage of fanaticism and despair; but they were unable to resist the enthusiastic fury of the Turks and Afghans, who believed that plunder would be the reward of life, and paradise the recompense of death. On the second day the fortress was taken by storm, incalculable treasures were found in the temple, which were removed to Ghuznee, and the idol was broken to pieces, though the Brahmins offered immense sums for its ransom. Mahmood did not long survive this brilliant conquest: he died after having raised his kingdom to the highest rank among the states of Upper Asia, and collected in his court the most eminent poets and philosophers who had yet contributed to Persian literature.

A disputed succession weakened the Ghuznevid power after Masood. the death of Mahmood; and when Masood secured the crown by triumphing over all other competitors, his plans of Indian conquest were frustrated by the increasing power of the Seljukian Turks. Pressed forward by other tribes in their rear, vast hordes of Turks had crossed the Oxus, and among them a warlike sept, commanded by the three sons of Seljuk, had obtained permission from Mahmood to occupy the vacant pastures of Khorassan. Masood, jealous of the strangers, wished to drive them back, but Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, collected the scattered tribes of Turks, defeated the sultan, and wrested from him all his northern provinces. The Seljukians established their empire over all the country between the Euphrates and the Jaxartes, while the Ghuznevids, expelled from their ancestral possessions, removed to their Indian possessions and made Lahore their capital. When once an Eastern dynasty begins to decline, nothing can arrest the progress of decay; in a few years the power of the Ghuznevids had become little better than a name; many of the Hindoo princes asserted their independence, resumed the practice of their idolatrous rites, and retook several

CHAPTER
II.
A.D. 1024.

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II.

A.D. 1187.

of their ancient fortresses. The Mohammedans, indignant at this proof of their sinking supremacy, became anxious to obtain a new and more prosperous race of sovereigns.

The family of Ghor originally possessed the mountainous district of Ghor, south-eastward of Khorassan; it had been connected with the royal family of Ghuznee by several inter-marriages; but these ties, as is frequently the case in Asia, produced hostility rather than amity; murders from envy and jealousy laid the foundation of bitter feuds. A series of desultory wars ensued, which ended in placing the Ghorians in possession of the ancestral territories of their rivals. Mohammed Ghor having been appointed by his brother, viceroy of Ghuznee, resolved to extend his power over Northern India: he invaded the Punjab at the head of an Afghan army, which then, as now, was superior in valour to any military body in Asia, laid siege to Lahore, captured the city by treachery, and the last of the Ghuznevid dynasty, Khosrau II. terminated his life in prison.

Mohammed
Ghor.

Mohammed Ghor was emulous of the fame of the first great sultan of Ghuznee; he resolved to extend his empire over Hindustan, but he found a formidable opponent in Prithvee Raya, the prince of Ajmeer. In the first engagement between the rival sovereigns, the Ghorian monarch was defeated with great loss, and was so depressed by the unexpected result, that he remained inactive for several years. At length a pretended saint predicted to him success over the enemies of Islam, and he again marched an army into the territories of Ajmeer. Prithvee Raya, lulled into fatal security by his former victory, was surprised in his camp, but he made a desperate though vain resistance. He was at length overcome and taken prisoner. Ajmeer, deprived of its monarch, surrendered immediately, and Mohammed, having appointed one of his slaves viceroy of his new dominions, returned to Ghuznee, in order to raise new hordes of Afghans and recruit his army for further conquests. Kuttub, to whom the government had been delegated, was raised from the condition of a slave to that of a general by Mohammed, who was a shrewd judge of merit; he improved with diligence and ability the advantages which his master had gained; he reduced the surrounding districts, and after having taken the fort of Meerut, laid siege to Delhi. The garrison ventured to meet him in the field; he defeated them so severely that the citizens refused to continue their defence, and the city was surrendered.

Jaya Chandra, rajah or prince of Kanauj, had remained a tame

spectator of Prithri Raya's downfall: but the wanton cruelty of the Mohammedan conquerors inflamed his courage, and he led an army against the Ghorian viceroy. Information of this movement, which threatened formidable consequences, was sent to Mohammed, at Ghuznee; he immediately assembled his Afghans, crossed the Indus, and effected a junction with the troops of Kuttub. After some preliminary skirmishes, a decisive battle was fought on the banks of the Jumna, in which the Hindoos were totally defeated, and Jaya Chandra slain. The results of this victory, were the capture of the holy city of Benares, and the subjugation of Hindustan, even to the confines of China. These conquests consolidated the power of the Mohammedans in India; and laid the foundation of the empire of Delhi.

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II.
A.D. 1194.

The conquerors next assailed the barbarous Gakkurs and reduced them to obedience; but on their return Mohammed Ghorî was murdered by two of these mountaineers, who eluded the vigilance of his guards, and during the night penetrated to his tent. As he left no children, the succession to the empire was disputed by his nephews. Kuttub finally prevailed over the other competitors, but resigned himself to sloth and indolence. His son, Aram, exhibited still more deplorable weakness. In less than a year he was deposed by Altmish, originally a slave, whom Kuttub had elevated to the highest dignities, having bestowed upon him the hand of his daughter and declared him his adopted son. The usurper's reign was prosperous; but after his death, his son Feroze dissipated the public treasures, and brought the monarchy into such contempt that he was dethroned by his own sister, Ruzia Begum. The queen's feebleness invited rebellion; after a reign of six months she was slain in battle, and the empire remained in confusion until Nassir-ud-din Mahmood, the youngest son of Altmish, obtained the crown.

A.D. 1206

Mahmood II. had been consigned to a prison after his father's death, and had been compelled to support himself by his skill in caligraphy; but he never complained of the fatigue of copying books, declaring that "he who would not work for his bread did not deserve it." He was subsequently released, and appointed to the government of a province, where his prudent administration obtained such fame that the Omrahs resolved to entrust him with the fortunes of the empire. In his reign the terrible Mongols, who under the command of Jenghis Khan and his successors, carried devastation from the seas of China to the shores of the Mediterranean, crossed the Indus, but retreated on the approach of Mahmood. After the death of this excellent

Mahmood
II.
A.D. 1247.

A.D. 1242.

CHAPTER
II.A.D. 1242.
Balin.

monarch, who left no children, the visier Pulbun or Balin, who, like several of his predecessors, had been originally a slave, ascended the throne. His reign was long and prosperous—it may also be termed glorious; for no less than fifteen Moham-medan sovereigns, driven from their thrones by the Mongolian successors of Jenghis Khan, sought refuge in the court of Delhi, and were supported in a manner worthy of their rank by its generous sovereign. The Mongols made a second attempt to penetrate Hindustan, and the king's favourite son, Mohammed, a prince of great promise, was sent against them, while the monarch proceeded to suppress a dangerous insurrection in Bengal. Mohammed encountered the invaders in the province of Mooltan, and gained a decisive victory; but following the pursuit with too great eagerness, he fell into an ambuscade and was slain. Decisive as his own triumphs were, they could not console the aged monarch, who had reached his eightieth year, for the loss of his heroic son; he sunk under the calamity, and was succeeded by his grandson, Kai Kobad.

A.D. 1286.
Allah-ud-
din.

A troubled scene of revolutions, destitute of interest or importance, ended in the elevation of Allah-ud-din Khilji to the throne. Soon after his accession, the Mongols a third time invaded Hindustan with a countless army; they were met and defeated by Zaffer Khan, a general equally remarkable for his personal courage and skill as a commander. The last great battle was fought almost within sight of Delhi, and the gallant Zaffer Khan fell in the arms of victory. Allah-ud-din was not sorry for the loss of a general whose ambition he suspected; but the empire at large was filled with sorrow at being deprived of its great hero. "The bravery of Zaffer Khan," says Ferishta, "became so proverbial among the Mongols, that when their horses started, they would ask them if they saw the ghost of Zaffer Khan?" Intoxicated by his victories over the Mongols, Allah-ud-din began to form the most extravagant projects; he resolved to found a new religion, after the example of Mohammed; and, like Alexander the Great, to entrust his dominions to a viceroy, and undertake the conquest of the world. The very ignorance that led to the formation of designs so insane, prevented the monarch from proceeding any length towards their execution; his first efforts were productive of so many dangers and difficulties that he at once abandoned his ambitious enterprises, but at the same time consulted a holy man as to the means by which he might best transmit his name to posterity. The monarch was fortunate in his choice of an adviser; he was

recommended to secure his empire in Hindustan, by subduing the south-eastern provinces of the Peninsula, and to prevent the future incursions of the Mongols, by fortifying Cabul and Candahar. He engaged with great ardour in the former of these enterprises, and subdued several Rajahs; but the remembrance of his follies still rankled in the minds of his nobles, and several conspiracies were formed, from which he escaped with great difficulty. These dangers impressed upon his mind the disadvantages of ignorance; though past the middle age of life he began the study of letters; and, as we are assured by the historians, in a short space of time became eminent for his proficiency. Mallek Kafur, a general of great reputation, in the mean time carried the Mohammedan arms into the Deccan, and gained so many victories, that on his return to Delhi the king himself met him at the gate, and acknowledged that he was his debtor for a new kingdom. An atrocious act of cruelty soon afterwards sullied this generally good reign; the Mongols who had been made prisoners, or who had deserted during the invasions of their countrymen, having become Mohammedans, were enlisted in the royal army; the king from some unknown cause grew jealous of these converts, and disbanded them without pay. In their distress, a rebellion was projected; the plot was discovered; and orders, issued for the extermination of the Mongols, were obeyed as ruthlessly as they were given. Fifteen thousand of these unhappy men, were seen lying dead on one day in the streets of Delhi, and all their wives and children were enslaved. Allah-ud-din was poisoned by his favourite general, Mallek Kafur, who procured the elevation of the king's youngest son, Omar Khilji, to the throne.

CHAPTER
II

A.D. 1316.

Mallek
Kafur
invades the
Deccan.

The nobles of Delhi, dissatisfied with this arrangement, murdered Mallek, dethroned Omar, and chose his brother Mubarik for their sovereign. Mubarik was a weak debauchee; he placed his entire confidence in a Hindoo of the lowest origin, Mallek Khosrau, and thereby disgusted the ancient friends of his family. Mallek treacherously resolved to murder his benefactor. Information of his designs was given to the king; but he refused to hear a syllable breathed against his favourite. He became the victim of his infatuation; and all his relatives were involved in his fate. The governors of the provinces, on the news of the king's death, took up arms against the usurping Hindoo, and having conquered him, put him to a cruel death. They then raised the most eminent of their own number, Gheias-ud-din

A.D. 1321.

Mubarik.

CHAPTER
II.A.D. 1321.
Toghluk's
rule.

Toghluk, to the throne, and their choice was enthusiastically ratified by the people.

Toghluk, like many of his predecessors, had been originally a slave. He displayed no wish to obtain the crown; for when he entered Delhi after his victory, he proclaimed, "O ye subjects of this great empire! I am no more than one of you who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. If, therefore, any of the royal line remain, let him be brought, that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. If not, let the most worthy of the illustrious order be elected among you; and I will swear to abide by your choice." But the people vehemently cried out that none of the royal family remained alive, and that he who had protected the empire from the Mongols, and delivered it from the tyrant, was alone worthy to become its sovereign.

Toghluk's earliest care was to secure his dominions against the formidable Mongols; he erected a chain of forts along the frontiers of Cabul, so judiciously placed, and so well garrisoned, that these invaders were deterred from making any effort to renew their incursions during his reign. He pursued the conquests which his predecessors had begun to make in the Deccan, or peninsula of Southern India; and he reduced to obedience several Omrahs, who had taken advantage of the former period of confusion to assert their independence. Returning from a victorious campaign, he was crushed to death in a temporary building, in which he had been entertained by his son: the fall of the roof, at the moment when the king was left with only a few attendants, has been, by many writers, ascribed to the contrivance of the young prince, who was immediately proclaimed his successor.

A.D. 1323.
Murdered.Mohammed
Toghluk.

Mohammed Toghluk ascended the throne conscious that he was suspected of parricide; and to avert the dangerous consequences, he rendered himself popular by excessive liberality. He was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; even at this day, his letters in Arabic and Persian are regarded as the most perfect models of diplomatic correspondence. But literature did not change the native ferocity of his disposition; few princes have rendered themselves more infamous by avarice and cruelty; his eminent abilities only rendered him a greater scourge to his subjects. In the early part of his reign he subdued several of the southern provinces, especially the greater part of the Carnatic; but the acquisitions of valour were lost by misgovernment. To inordinate taxation, he added the evils

of a depreciated currency. Ferishta's account of the result of this expedient is too remarkable to be omitted; for it shews that an Oriental writer, more than two centuries ago, had sounder views in the science of political economy, than many Europeans of our own day.

CHAPTER
II.

A.D. 1823.

"The king, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas of currency from a Chinese custom, of using paper on the emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mohammed Toghluks, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a decree throughout Hindustan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired large fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturer, though they themselves received for the articles they sold silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value; and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindustan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that often changed its master? From these evils the discontent became universal, and the king was at length obliged to call in the copper currency. Such great abuses had occurred in the mint, however, that after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined. The state, far from gaining by this crude scheme, had exhausted its treasury; and the bankers and some merchants alone accumulated fortunes, at the expense of their sovereign and the people."

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mohammed Toghluks resolved to subdue that empire, and assembled a numerous army in the mountainous regions of Nepaul. Having made arrangements for securing his communications, the Mohammedan general entered the Chinese frontiers with diminished numbers, and soldiers dispirited by the fatigues and perils of their march. A superior force was ready to meet the invaders, and the Indian army commenced a retreat. But the rainy season surprised them in the mountains; the Nepaulese, issuing from their fastnesses, harassed their flanks, the Chinese hung on Great loss.

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II.

A.D. 1340.

their rear, and, out of their formidable forces, only a few miserable fugitives escaped to bring intelligence of their ruin.

The next project of the king produced consequences scarcely less calamitous; he resolved to make Dowlatabad the capital of his dominions, and ordered the citizens of Delhi to remove thither, "leaving that noble metropolis a resort for owls, and a dwelling-place for the beasts of the field."

At this time the taxes were so heavy, that the cultivators of the soil, unable to endure the exactions of the revenue officers, abandoned the entire fertile tract between the Jumna and the Ganges, set fire to their houses, and sought refuge in the jungles with their families and cattle. The vanity of the monarch was equal to his cruelty: having lost one of his teeth, he ordered it to be interred with great solemnity at Bir, and erected over it a magnificent tomb, which still exists as a monument of his folly. At length, these excesses drove even the patient Hindoos to revolt, and several of the native Rajahs recovered their independence. While engaged in subduing one of these insurrections, Mohammed died of a surfeit from fish, in the twenty-eighth year of his cruel reign.

Feroze
chosen.

A body of Mongols, in Mohammed's service, had been sent to keep in control the turbulent people of Guzerat; but these barbarians soon set the power of Mohammed at defiance: they withdrew into the Deccan, seized the strong fortress of Dowlatabad, and proclaimed their independence. The death of the Sultan was propitious to their efforts; it afforded them time for laying the foundation of a new Mohammedan empire, which rose to considerable power, and preserved its existence for several centuries. Its sovereigns are known in history as the Bahmanee dynasty, and they included under their dominion all the provinces which had ever acknowledged the sway of the emperors of Delhi. The governor of Bengal took advantage of the general confusion, to erect his province into an independent state, and several nobles of minor importance shewed themselves ready to take part in the dismemberment of the empire. Amid these commotions, the Omrahs assembled, and resolved to confer the crown on Feroze Toghluk, the cousin of the deceased monarch. His claim was disputed for a time by the citizens of Delhi, who placed a son of Mohammed on the throne. But this competitor was only six years of age, and there was some doubt of his legitimacy. The nobles on both sides, having agreed to discuss what was best to be done in an amicable interview, the boy's claims were set aside, and Feroze was universally acknowledged.

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A.D. 1367.

But, during these disputes, the revolted provinces had concentrated their strength and consolidated their power, so that the new emperor was compelled to recognize the usurpers of the Deccan and Bengal as independent sovereigns, and to receive ambassadors from both. Notwithstanding their submission, Feroze seems to have dreaded the hostility of the citizens of Delhi, for he refused to reside within the wall, and erected the new city of Ferozabad in the neighbourhood, as the metropolis of his dominions. He was, indeed, so passionately fond of architecture, that he is said to have constructed fifty great aqueducts, or reservoirs of water, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, a hundred palaces, five hospitals, one hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges, and pleasure-gardens without number.

After he had passed his eightieth year, Feroze, finding that the cares of the government pressed too heavily on his advanced age, resigned the crown to his son, Mohammed Toghluks II, who was devoted to pleasure, and slenderly provided with abilities. He gave himself up to debauchery, was deposed in a popular tumult, and the old king was forced to resume the reins of power. On his death he bequeathed the crown to his grandson, who was, in a few months, assassinated by his cousin, Abu Bekr, and he, in his turn, fell a victim to Mohammed Toghluks III, a younger brother of Feroze. The six years of Mohammed's reign were spent in quelling the revolts of his principal Omrahs, who aimed at independence, like the sovereigns of the Deccan and Bengal; their insurrections scarcely allowed him any interval of repose, and the anxiety they occasioned hastened his death. His son, Humayoon, who succeeded, followed his father to the grave in less than two months, and a minor, Mahmood Toghluks, succeeded to a distracted empire and an exhausted treasury. The government fell into anarchy; civil war raged everywhere; three claimants for supremacy over the emperor contended with each other in the streets of Delhi for as many years. Mahmood became the puppet of whichever obtained a temporary triumph; and the uncertainty of the state was increased by the neutral chiefs, who dreaded the establishment of the power of any of the competitors, and therefore when any one of them was too much depressed, lent him their aid to restore the balance. In the midst of this confusion news arrived of the approach of a formidable enemy, Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir, the grandson of the

A.D. 1387.

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II.

A.D. 1387.

Timur, or
Tamerlane.

terrible Timur Lenk (Tamerlane), who was sent by that terrible conqueror to subdue Hindustan.

A.D. 1378.

Timur's
memoirs.

Timur was a Jagatay Turk ; but in consequence of his claim, real or pretended, to descent from Jenghis Khan, he is commonly called a Mongol, as if all traces of his Mongolian descent would not have disappeared in successive generations. Strongly attached to the Shiah creed, he believed that he was employed by Heaven to extirpate heresy as well as idolatry, and to revenge on the Sonnees the murder of Ali. This belief consoled him for the ferocious massacres he had perpetrated, and was craftily encouraged by those who were anxious to conciliate his friendship. In that extraordinary specimen of autobiography, his memoirs, recently published, he shows us how strongly he was influenced by this persuasion. "In the year of the Hejira 771

(A.D. 1378), when I had driven the Jetes (Uzbek Tartars) out of Turan (Transoxiana) and mounted the throne, and had directed the royal declaration to be read from all the pulpits, the Syeds (descendants from the family of Mohammed), the learned, the prelates, the rich and the poor, all raised their hands in prayer for my prosperity ; but Khuaje Abyd, who was the most celebrated preacher of that time, forbade them to pray for me, saying, 'Do not pray for this murderer and blood-thirsty Turk who has put to death an innumerable number of Mussulmans, nor repeat blessings on him.' On that very night the Khuaje dreamed that he saw me standing in the presence of his holiness the prophet, that he entered, and several times made his obeisance to Mohammed, without his salutation being returned ; at length he called out, 'O, messenger of God, do you permit this wretch Timur, who has murdered hundreds of thousands of your followers, and who has destroyed the habitations of so many Mussulmans, to stand before you, whilst you do not return the salutation of me, who am the zealous supporter of your religion, and the establisher of your law ?' His holiness replied to him in an angry manner, 'Although Timur has shed much of the blood of my followers, as he has been the friend, the supporter, and the respecter of my posterity, why dost thou forbid the people to pray for and bless him ?' The Khuaje having awoken, came even during the night to me and asked pardon : when this intelligence reached the people, all of them raised their hands in prayer for my prosperity, and, considering me as supported by the divine favour, bore witness to my right. In gratitude for this favour, I day by day showed more attention,

respect, and affection to the descendants of Mohammed, and *CHAPTER II.*
esteemed myself as the elect of God."

Religion afforded Timur a pretext for invading and conquering the kingdom of Persia. The history of that country, from the age of Jenghis Khan to that of Timur, is an unvarying repetition of cruelties, usurpations, treasons, and assassinations; the provinces sometimes independent, and sometimes professing a nominal allegiance, were devastated by a ferocious soldiery, and the mosques were either deserted or possessed by ignorant priests, whose doctrines were frequently inconsistent with the creed of Islam. Timur's conquest of the country was consequently favoured by a large party of the priests, who regarded him as the extirpator of heresy; and it was on the petition of the Imams and doctors of law, that he issued his celebrated decree at Shiraz, for the massacre of all the princes of the house of Musaffir, as obstinate disturbers of religion and the state.

A.D. 1396.

Confusion in Persia.

One great reason which rendered Timur ambitious of subduing Hindustan, was the great fame which the Sonnee hero, Mahmood of Ghuznee, had obtained by establishing the creed of Islam amongst the idolaters beyond the Indus. He, too, aspired to be celebrated as a Ghazee, or heroic promulgator of the faith; and hoped that, like Mahmood, he would bequeath a name to be celebrated by history, poetry, and legend. He found, however, great difficulties in persuading his nobles to undertake such an achievement; they were daunted by the severe defeats which the Mongols had suffered on former occasions, and by the fear of the perils and hardships which they would necessarily endure in forcing the mountain passes around Cabul. Timur's own resolution was shaken; but his courage was restored by a dream, which he thus records in his singular autobiography:—"When I was about to invade Hindustan, and my chiefs, by their backwardness, rendered me doubtful whether I should proceed, I dreamt that I was in a large garden, and saw a number of people who were pruning the trees, and sowing seeds; that the garden was full of trees, both great and small, on the tops of which the birds had built their nests; I thought that I had a sling in my hand, and that I destroyed the nests with stones from the sling, and drove away all the birds. This dream was realized when I took that country, by expelling all the sultans, and taking possession of the kingdom."

Timur invades India.

Mirza Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir was sent to prepare the way for the conquest of Hindustan; he crossed the Indus, defeated the troops sent to oppose him, and took Mooltan by storm.

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II.

A.D. 1397.

Conquers
the Indians.Takes
Delhi.

The solstitial rains, however, compelled him to draw his army within the city, upon which the people of the country blockaded him closely and intercepted his supplies. In the meantime, Timur, at the head of an immense army, was advancing over the stupendous range of mountains which separates India from the regions of the north. The passage of the Hindu Koosh was not effected without great loss and difficulty; the soldiers had to make their way through deep snow, which effaced every trace of a road, and at the same time to defend themselves against the savage mountaineers, who harassed them by continual skirmishes. The invaders, at length, forced their way to Cabul, and thence to Attock, the celebrated passage of the Indus. Prince Mubarik, who had revolted, after submitting to Mohammed Jehan Ghir in the preceding year, made a brave attempt to stop the progress of invasion; but he was badly supported by his troops, and with difficulty escaped being made prisoner. Having sent relief to his grandson, Timur pursued his march towards Delhi, marking his track by massacre and desolation. Sultan Mahmood was roused to defend his kingdom; he had a numerous and well-appointed army, attended by a formidable train of war-elephants and a rocket brigade, whose missiles were greatly dreaded. The battle was hot and terrible; but, at length, the enervated troops of Delhi were borne down by the physical superiority of the iron men of the north; the elephants were driven back on their own ranks, and many of them, deprived of their guides, rushed wildly over the field, trampling friends and foes alike; a small body of Afghans alone remained firm, and enabled the sultan to effect his retreat, abandoning the rest of his followers to merciless conquerors, who refused to give any quarter. Mahmood and his ministers fled from the city, which was surrendered to Timur without further resistance, on the condition of being saved from destruction by the payment of a large ransom. In levying the heavy contribution, some disputes arose between the citizens and the conquerors, which led to blows. The fierce soldiers of Timur, without waiting for any orders, immediately commenced an indiscriminate massacre and pillage, which continued for three days, until the barbarians were forced to show mercy, because, from sheer exhaustion, they were no longer able to continue the work of cruelty. Having sent his plunder back to Samarkand, Timur led his forces as far as the Ganges, repeating the work of destruction with unvarying ferocity. At length, the intelligence of disorders and rebellions in Western Persia imperatively recalled Timur

from his sanguinary career ; he quitted Hindustan, after having converted one of its fairest provinces into a desert. CHAPTER II.

Zaffer Khan, surnamed Azim Humayoon, had been appointed Governor of Guzerat by Mohammed Toghluq II, and had ruled the province with almost regal authority. His son, Mohammed Khan, having been forced to fly from Delhi, where he held the office of Vizier, rebelled against both the Sultan and his father, and proclaimed himself king of Guzerat, just at the time that Timur invaded India. Mohammed Toghluq, when he fled from Delhi, sought refuge in Guzerat, but not meeting with a very courteous reception, he went to Malwa. Mohammed Khan died soon afterwards, and was buried as a saint in the city of Patan. Zafir Khan continued his allegiance to the nominal emperors of Delhi until the family of Feroze became utterly powerless, when he suffered himself to be proclaimed king of Guzerat, and took the name of Musaffir Shah. The founder of the Patan dynasty, as the kings of Guzerat are sometimes called, from their capital city, was a wise and virtuous prince. "He continued," says the author of the *Mirat Amadi*, "to dispense justice, to punish the wicked, and to protect the poor, until he was poisoned by his grandson, Ahmed Shah." A. D. 1400.
A. D. 1391.
A. H. 794.
A. D. 1407.
A. D. 1410.

After the departure of Timur, Mahmood was nominally restored to the empire, but his authority was spurned by his factious nobles ; anarchy everywhere prevailed, and the death of the sultan was hailed as a relief by his suffering subjects. With him ended the third dynasty of the Afghan kings of Delhi.

An Afghan noble attempted to usurp the throne, but he was unable to maintain himself against the superior power and popularity of Khizer Khan, a Syed (or descendant of the prophet), who became the founder of a new dynasty. Khizer refused the title of sovereign, pretending that he held the government as viceroy for the house of Timur, in whose name he ordered all the coins to be struck and all edicts issued. By this expedient, he obviated the jealousies of the Omrahs, whose claims to the crown were superior to his own, and he terrified insurgents by the dread of chastisement from a powerful ruler who had given them such dreadful proof of his merciless disposition. Khizer's administration relieved the empire from many calamities, and the people again began to enjoy the blessings of peace and protection.

After a reign of seven years, Khizer died, and was succeeded by his son Syed Mubarik, who displayed considerable talents for government, and a more than ordinary attention to justice and

CHAPTER
II.

A.D. 1450.

humanity. But his reign, which lasted thirteen years, was one continued series of wars with the petty principalities which had been formed from fragments of the Delhi empire, and with his own factious nobles. While he was thus engaged, the kingdom of Guzerat was daily increasing in importance, under the wise administration of its second sultan, Ahmed Shah, who extended

A. D. 1485.

his conquests to the Deccan. Mubarik was murdered, by a band of assassins, employed by his vizier, who placed the sultan's grandson, Syed Mohammed, on the throne, expecting to reign in his name. But the Omrahs were disgusted with the pretensions of the aspiring minister; they had recourse to arms; and the king, probably without much reluctance, found it necessary to conciliate them by procuring the assassination of the insolent vizier. This concession, universally attributed to weakness, exposed the monarch to fresh demands, the refusal of which was followed by rebellion. Mubarik's power was reduced

A. D. 1445.

to a shadow, and a revolution was only averted by his death. Four years previous to this, the glorious reign of Ahmed in Guzerat had closed; but his son and successor, Mohammed, though of far inferior abilities, maintained the greatness of the kingdom. Syed Mohammed was succeeded at Delhi by his son Syed Allah-ud-din, who inherited the weakness as well as the throne of his father. After an inglorious reign of seven years, he was compelled to abdicate, and so little was he feared, that he was permitted to live unmolested in his retirement fourteen years,—a circumstance which can hardly be paralleled in Oriental History.

A. D. 1450.

Beilolee
Lodee.

Beilolee Lodee, an Afghan by birth, became the founder of the fifth dynasty, established by his countrymen in Delhi. His mother was smothered while under the ruins of a falling house, but her husband opening the body saved the life of an infant destined to be the future emperor of Hindustan. In his early youth a dervish is said to have predicted his future greatness; and this prophecy, by awakening his ambition, may well be believed to have had some influence in working out its own accomplishment. The turbulent Omrahs refused at first to submit to one who had been long their equal, but by uniting firmness with prudent concession, he succeeded in establishing his authority over all the petty principalities round the metropolis. During his entire reign, he was engaged in a tedious and indecisive war with the kings of Joonpoor, whose obstinacy he had bound himself to subdue. Old age had arrived before his darling object was completed, and, feeling his infirmities, he divided

his dominions among his children. Soon after the conquest of Joonpoor, Beilolee died, having reigned thirty-eight years. In the mean time Guzerat was enjoying perfect tranquillity, under the wise administration of Sultan Mahmood Begarrah.

CHAPTER
II.
A. D. 1488.

On the death of Beilolee, the Omrahs assembled as usual to deliberate on the choice of a successor. While they were debating, Sultana Zema, a goldsmith's daughter, raised to the late king's bed on account of her eminent charms and witty conversation, addressed the assembly from behind a curtain, in favour of her son, Sekander Lodee, and thus united all the suffrages for his election. The brothers of the new emperor, dissatisfied by the choice of the Omrahs, refused to recognize Sekander's claims, and thus the early part of his reign was spent in a series of ruinous fraternal wars. One of the most remarkable events in his history, was a public discussion of the doctrine of toleration, the advocates of which, as might be expected, were pronounced guilty of heresy, and punished with death. Sekander's bigotry has rendered him a favourite with Mohammedan authors; not content with extolling him as a saint, they praise him as a hero—though, during his entire reign, he never performed any exploit worthy of being recorded.

A witty woman gains the throne for her son.

The tranquillity which the prudent administration of Mahmood Begarrah had established in Guzerat was disturbed by an event, which, in a future chapter, will engage our attention—the rapid progress of the Portuguese in Southern India. The Sultan of Guzerat joined in the Mohammedan league, formed for the destruction of these Christian intruders; but he soon directed his attention exclusively to his domestic affairs, believing that the growing power of the Ottomans would, ere long, compel the Europeans to abandon the Indian seas. Begarrah was succeeded by his son, Musaffir II, surnamed, and deservedly, the Merciful.

A. D. 1508.

Syed Ibrahim Lodee succeeded his father in Delhi. A conspiracy was formed to raise his younger brother to the throne, but it was fortunately detected almost at the very moment at which it was about to explode. Sultan Ibrahim punished not only the guilty, but the suspected, with such remorseless cruelty, that he drove most of his nobles into rebellion. Finding himself an object of suspicion to his sovereign, the governor of Lahore invited Baber, the sultan of Ferghana, and the descendant of the illustrious Timur, to his assistance, by whom Ibrahim was defeated and slain. With him ended the last of the Afghan empires in India. The sovereignty was entrusted to a new race of monarchs, called, by inveterate error, the Great Moguls: but

CHAPTER

II.

A. D. 1525.

before entering on the history of this revolution, we must briefly direct our attention to the countries west and north of the Indus, and trace the fortunes of the posterity of Timur.*

The Sonnees and Shiahs are the chief sects of the Moslems; they cordially hate each other. They date from the Hejira, or flight of Mohammed. The Turks are Sonnees—the Persians are Shiahs.

* It will be useful for the reader of this history to consult the map of India, and to form an accurate notion of the geographical positions of the small Mohammedan kingdoms into which the Delhi empire was divided, after the invasion of Timur. They were seven, as follow:—I. Lahore and Mooltan; II. Samana, a large town now in ruins, 17 miles S.S.W. of Pattiallah; III. Calpie, $79^{\circ} 44'$, $26^{\circ} 8'$; IV. Byana, $77^{\circ} 15'$, $26^{\circ} 57'$; V. Canouge, Oude and Joonpoor; VI. Malwa; VII. Guzerat.

The Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, afterwards subjugated, were then six in number:—I. Koolberga, capital Dowlatabad; II. Beejapoor; III. Ahmednuggur; IV. Melingana, a large division, of which the capital was Wurangle; V. Berar, capital Ellichpoor; and VI. Beedur.

By subsequent conquests the Deccan was divided into five kingdoms, viz., Beejapoor, Golconda, Berar, Ahmednuggur, and Ahmedabad Beedur.

Bengal and Bahar were invaded in 1191 by Mulk Mohammed Buktyar, and tribute was paid to Delhi until 1838, when Mulk Faqueer-ud Din revolted and proclaimed his independence, and the Poorby dynasty was established there.

CHAPTER III.

MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE AT DELHI, A.D. 1525—1803.

Baber founds the Mogul Dynasty, 1525.—His Sons quarrel, 1530.—Humayoon reigns ; is defeated, 1536.—Flees to Persia.—His conduct there, 1543.—Religious disputes, 1545.—Humayoon restored to Delhi, 1548.—War in Afghanistan, 1550.—Akbar the Illustrious succeeds, 1555.—Battle at Paniput, 1557.—Akbar's magnanimity, 1565.—Siege of Chittoor ; gallant defence, 1567.—Conquests in Guzerat, Bahar, and Bengal, 1575.—Akbar's toleration, and wish for a New Religion.—His system of administration.—His Son opposes him, and persecutes.—Jehan Ghir's great cruelties, 1598.—The celebrated beauty, Nur Mahal, 1612.—Immense riches of Jehan Ghir.—He subdues Bengal, 1616.—Jehan Ghir, a prisoner, is released by his Empress, 1620.—Shah Jehan rules over too wide an Empire, 1628.—Ruled by his wife.—Deprives the Portuguese of Hoogley.—The Mahrattas rise into power.—His four sons quarrel.—Aurangzebe succeeds.—His great craft and talents, 1658.—Invades Assam.—Driven back by the rains, 1665.—Threatened with an Invasion from Persia, 1668.—Aurangzebe's treachery to the Afghans.—Sambajee and Sivajee, Mahratta chiefs.—They refuse to trust Aurungzebe.—Sambajee taken and put to death.—Golconda and Beejapore subdued.—The Mahrattas continue the War.—Aurangzebe dies after a reign of forty-eight years.—Civil war among his children.—Jehander Shah succeeds.—The Empire declines.—He is ruled by his wife ; slain by Rebels.—Ferokehsear raised to the Throne by two Syeds.—They revolt and slay him.—Reft-ud-Derjat reigns three months.—The Syed brothers are slain.—The Nizam of the Deccan asked to become Vizier.—He recommends that Nadir Shah be invited.—Nadir comes rapidly and routs the Army.—Delhi taken and plundered, 1739.—Great Massacre.—The Empire ruined.—The Mahrattas and Rohillas become powerful.—Nadir Shah assassinated, June 8th, 1747.—Ahmed Shah, the Afghan, invades India.—Routs the Indians, and subdues the Punjab.—The Rohillas defeat the Emperor.—They are beaten by the Mahrattas.—The Vizier deposes the Emperor, and maintains regularity.—The Afghans invade India the

fourth time.—The celebrated battle of Paniput, fought January 14th, 1761.—Hard fate of Shah Alum, 1772.—He is nearly starved, and then blinded, 1788.—Taken prisoner, 1790.—Released, 1803.—Died a pensioner, 1806.—The Delhi Empire terminated.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1405.

Timur's
death.
A.D. 1405.

Intrigues
and
quarrels.

WITHIN a very short period after his return from India, Timur had settled the affairs of Persia; subdued Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt; defeated the Turkish emperor, Ilderim Bajazet on the plains of Galatia, and prepared a vast expedition against China, which he was conducting over the mountains of Tartary, when he was overtaken by the stroke of death. He met his fate with the same steady resolution which had borne him onward through his prosperous career: perceiving his end approach, he convoked his nobles, exhorted them above all things to preserve the unity of his empire, and to secure the supremacy for his favourite grandchild, Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir. Before the emperor's body was laid in the grave, active intrigues were commenced for frustrating both his requests. His grandson Khalil, at the instigation of the principal officers of the army, usurped the government, and tried to secure his throne by a lavish distribution of the treasure which Timur had accumulated; but this great expenditure produced no effect, save the impoverishment of his exchequer. Each chieftain who received his bounty, deemed that he had been underpaid when he learned the amount that had been bestowed on some other leader, whose consequence he underrated as much as he overvalued his own. Khalil succeeded in defeating his cousin, Pir Mohammed, and some other rivals; but he was finally betrayed to Khodadad, the secret enemy of Timur's family, and though he retained the name of royalty, he became a passive instrument in the hands of the Shah Rokh, the youngest son of Timur, who, enraged at this insult offered to his family, marched from Khorasan, which was the seat of his government, captured Samarkand, and reduced all the rest of Mawer-al-naher under his obedience. Khodabad was slain by the Mongols, from whom he sought aid. Khalil submitted to his uncle, and was for a brief space treated with great kindness, but finally ended his life by poison. Shah Rokh restored the empire founded by his father, nearly to its greatest extent, and ruled his vast dominions with equal firmness and clemency; but his death was followed by a renewal of the wars that had ensued on the decease of Timur.

Ulugh Beg succeeded his father, Shah Rokh, in Samarkand:

A.D. 1415.
A.H. 817.

A.D. 1446.
A.H. 850.

he was a prince of amiable dispositions, fondly attached to scientific pursuits, who has secured an honourable name by the valuable astronomical tables constructed under his directions, at an observatory which he caused to be erected in Samarkand for the purpose. All his relations, brothers, cousins, and nephews, raised insurrections against this estimable prince; but there were two, more marked in their hostility, from whom far different conduct might have been expected, his own son Abd-ul-latif, and Abu-syed Mirza, whom he had protected in infancy and youth, and had raised to rank and station. Ulugh was defeated and slain by his rebellious son; but the parricide did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime; he was murdered in a mutiny, and his cousin Abdallah was chosen emperor. Abdallah, in a few months, was dethroned by Abu-syed.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1449.
Timur's
descendants.

A.D. 1449.
A.H. 858.

Almost every province of the empire had now been formed into a kingdom by one or other of the descendants of Timur: Abu-syed was no sooner established on the throne of Samarkand, than he prepared to extend his dominion over the different principalities formed out of the ancient kingdom of Persia. After a series of desultory wars, and many vicissitudes of fortune, he conquered the greater part of Timur's ancient empire, and placed his sons over the new provinces. His last expedition was into Persian Irak, where he was defeated, taken prisoner by his enemies, and beheaded.

A.D. 1467.
A.H. 871.

The dominions of Abu-syed were divided between his sons after his death. They engaged in mutual wars, barren of any interest, though productive of much misery. Omar Sheikh Mirza received the least of the provinces for his share—the province of Ferghana, on the upper Jaxartes, a river called by the orientals the Sin or Sihun. He was a restless, profuse, good-natured prince, and, on his death, he left his dominions in considerable confusion to his eldest son, Zehir-ud-din Mohammed, surnamed Baber, or the Tiger.

A.D. 1494.
A.H. 900.

The state of central Asia, when the illustrious Baber commenced his reign, must be briefly described. His uncle, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, was king of Bokhara and Samarkand; a second uncle, Mahmood Mirza, possessed Kunduz and Badakshan; a third, Ulugh Beg Mirza, held Cabul and Ghuznee; Huzzein Mirza, a descendant of Timur, and the most powerful prince of his age, ruled over Khorasan; Mahmood Khan, a Mongol, and Baber's maternal uncle, possessed Tashkend and Shahrokhia, on the lower Jaxartes, and the chief power over the Mongols of the Desert; finally, Sheibani Khan was collecting in the desert a

Baber the
Tiger.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1500.

horde, compounded of different races, destined in a future day to found a new monarchy. This was two years before the discovery of America by Columbus, and the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by De Gama.

A.D. 1497.
A.H. 908.

No sooner had Baber mounted the throne than his dominions were attacked on every side by his paternal and maternal uncles; he repulsed the several invaders. Two of them, Ahmed and Mahmood Mirza, died soon afterwards, and their kingdoms were united under Khosrau Shah, a son of the latter. Khosrau was a weak imprudent prince, but his accidental triumph over the Sultan of Khorasan gave him a temporary importance, of which he knew not how to avail himself. To describe the wars between the petty princes of Transoxiana would be tedious and uninteresting; we shall therefore, for the most part, confine our attention to the progress of Baber, who made his first great step towards empire by the conquest of Samarkand. Scarcely, however, had he made the acquisition, when he was deprived of it by the desertion of one part of his followers and the revolt of others. Disheartened and weakened by sickness, he sought refuge in Khojend, where he prepared for fresh exertions, and after two years recovered his paternal dominions.

A.D. 1500.
A.H. 906.

In the mean time Sheibani Khan, at the head of the Uzbeks, as his tumultuary hordes were called, had made himself master of Samarkand and Bokhara. Baber, by a sudden march, surprised the former city, and being joined by many of the Begs who had before deserted him, ventured to meet the Uzbeks in the field. He was defeated, and once more driven from the city, apparently a hopeless fugitive.

Baber's sufferings and escapes—his total loss of his hereditary kingdom, and his adventures as the leader of a plundering horde rather than a regular army, have all the interest of romance; but they want the importance of history. After having finally lost his inheritance, Ferghana, which became the prey of the Uzbeks under Sheibani Khan, he seems to have resolved to seek a new kingdom in the south, and entered his cousin Khosrau's dominions in Khorasan. Over this part of Baber's history there rests no little obscurity, our principal authority being his own memoirs; but even from these it appears, that having been received by Khosrau as a friend and relation, Baber entered into secret intrigues for depriving his cousin of sovereign power. From Kunduz, Baber marched with the army, which he had enticed from the service of Khosrau, against Cabul, which was distracted by civil commotions. He became master of the

provinces of Cabul and Ghuznee ; but their superior wealth and power did not console him for the loss of his paternal Ferghana, to which he frequently cast "a longing, lingering look," as the country of his early affections. He shared his new acquisitions among his followers ; but finding the plunder exhausted before his troops were satisfied, he resolved on some new exploit, and after long deliberations, it was determined to invade Hindustan. This foray, for it does not deserve to be called a campaign, being finished, he returned to tranquillize and consolidate his new kingdom. This proved a very difficult task, principally on account of the complicated claims and pretensions made to sovereignty by the numerous descendants of Timur ; but Baber's power being established by his conquest of Candahar, he once more turned his attention towards Hindustan. But a new vicissitude awaited him : the army of Cabul revolted, as that of Samarkand had done before, and Baber was for more than two years a partisan chief before he could regain his kingdom.

CHAPTER
III.A.D. 1504.
A.H. 910.

Scarcely was Baber restored to the throne of Cabul when he heard of the death of his great enemy, Sheibani Khan, and that consequently an opportunity was offered of re-conquering his beloved Ferghana. His enterprise was at first successful ; he for the third time became master of Samarkand ; but the Uzbeks soon recovered from their dismay, and, being favoured by the natives, compelled Baber to relinquish the country of his ancestors for ever.

The project of invading Hindustan was resumed by the active monarch when he lost all hope of recovering Mawer-ul-nahar ; he crossed the Indus no longer as a predatory adventurer, but, as he gravely informs us, as a monarch coming to take possession of his right. "The countries among which I now was," he says, "had long been in the possession of the Turks ; I regarded them as my own domains, and was resolved to acquire the possession of them either by war or peace." After some partial successes he returned to Cabul ; and though he never resigned his plan, three years had elapsed before he could find a favourable opportunity of renewing his operations. Baber's fourth invasion of India was undertaken, as has been already mentioned, at the instigation of the nobles who were discontented with Ibrahim, the Afghan sultan of Delhi. On this occasion he subdued the whole of the Punjaub, took Lahore by storm, and, enraged at the obstinacy of the resistance which he encountered, burned the city to the ground.

A.D. 1519.
A.H. 925.

The fifth and final invasion of Hindustan was professedly

CHAPTER
III.A.D. 1525.
A.H. 932.Baber
founds the
empire at
Delhi.

designed to support Allah-ud-din's claims to the throne of Delhi ; but that prince having intrigued against his ally, Baber no longer deigned to use the pretext of his name ; and in his memoirs he never once alludes to Allah-ud-din's pretensions. Ibrahim levied an immense army to protect his crown, and hasted to meet Baber, whose progress had for some time resembled the procession of a monarch through his own dominions, rather than the campaign of an invader in a foreign country. After a severe conflict Ibrahim was defeated and slain. This single battle decided the fate of the empire ; detachments from Baber's army occupied Agra and Delhi without encountering any resistance. His nobles were now anxious to return home and disband their followers,* regarding their conquest merely as a successful inroad ; but Baber assembled them, and eloquently portrayed the superior advantages of Hindustan, and the glory that would result from founding a new empire. Four years were spent in subduing the Hindoo Rajahs and the Mohammedan provincial governors, who had established their independence during the recent distractions of the empire. These expeditions, some of which were attended with great danger and difficulty, finally proved successful ; the Turkish soldiers, reconciled to the climate of India, no longer spoke of returning home, and Baber assumed the title of Padi-shah or emperor, and Ghazee.

Thus was founded the empire of Delhi, absurdly called the empire of the Great Mogul, because a doubtful tradition had described one of Baber's very remote ancestors as a Mongolian prince. The error is now so inveterate that it would be vain to expect its cure ; we shall, however, use the name "Emperors of Delhi" for the successors of Baber, which will prevent any mistake, and avoid the difficulty that might arise from the true designation—Jagatays.

His death.

The great fatigues he had undergone in the various vicissitudes of his shifting fortunes, broke down the strong constitution of Baber, and having arranged the affairs of the empire with great wisdom, he quietly awaited the stroke of death, having appointed his son, Humayoon, his successor. While the emperor was on his death-bed, a plot was formed to procure the crown for his son-in-law, Mehdi Khwajeh, which was defeated by a very singular incident. Mir Khalifeh, Baber's vizier, was the chief supporter of Khwajeh ; he one day, unperceived, stood behind the prince,

Singular
incident.

* One vented his feelings in verses, to the following effect :—
If safe and sound I pass the river Sind,
Dence take me, if again I'll visit Hind.

with whom he had been previously conversing, and Khwajeh, supposing that the vizier had left the apartment, said to himself aloud, "God willing, I will soon flay off your hide, old boy!" At the same moment, turning round, he saw the vizier's eye sternly fixed upon him. Khwajeh attempted to turn the matter off with a jest, saying, "Ah! my good fellow, the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds;" but Khalifeh was not so easily satisfied, and immediately after placed Khwajeh under arrest, thus securing his inheritance to Humayoon. Baber died on the 26th December, having ruled over his new empire of Hindustan a little more than five years.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1530.

A.D. 1530.
A.H. 935.

In Guzerat, Musaffir the Clement displayed equal valour, prudence, and mercy, in the administration of his kingdom. On his death he bequeathed the government to his son, Sekander, a youth of inferior abilities, and too exclusively attached to those who had been his favourites and companions while a prince. The rich largesses and presents he bestowed on these minions grievously offended the nobles; a conspiracy was formed, of which the vizier was chief, and Sekander was murdered, after a brief reign of three months. He left behind him a formidable avenger, his brother, the Sultan Bahadur, who marched against the usurping vizier, routed his adherents with little difficulty, and inflicted on him the just penalty of his treason. The new sultan marched against the Portuguese who had settled at Diu, and obtained some advantages, which, however, were not sufficient to compensate him for the expenses of the war; he was more successful against the Hindoo Rajahs on the frontiers of his kingdom, several of whom he compelled to become tributary. In the midst of his victorious career, he was summoned to defend his own kingdom against the emperor of Delhi, who was preparing for the subjection of Guzerat.

Kingdom
of Guzerat.

A.D. 1526.

When Humayoon succeeded his father, Baber, on the throne of Delhi, few monarchs could have had fairer prospects of a peaceful and happy reign. He had distinguished himself before his accession as a warrior and a statesman; his superiority was readily acknowledged by his brothers; and his literary attainments gained the respect of his subjects, who were now beginning to cultivate those sciences, which, for a season, rendered the court of Delhi one of the most brilliant and beneficial that ever existed in Asia. Ambition led him to invade Guzerat, where his success was so great that proposals were made for receiving that kingdom as a tributary state, and allowing Sultan Bahadur to reign as the emperor's deputy. Although Humayoon was aware that a

Humayoon
succeeds
Baber.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1586.

dangerous rebellion was on the point of exploding in his hereditary dominions, he rejected this judicious advice, and resolved to annex Guzerat as a province to his empire, and appointed his natural brother, prince Askerry, its governor. Scarcely had the emperor returned to Agra, when Sultan Bahadur, assisted by a body of Portuguese mercenaries, recovered his kingdom, and compelled Askerry to save himself by a precipitate flight. The Portuguese, relying on the promises they had received from the sultan, began to extend and secure their dominions by the erection of forts, which gave offence to Bahadur. His attendants attempted to murder some Portuguese on board a boat, when one of them, named Diego de Mesquita, understanding the orders given, drew his sword and wounded Bahadur, who jumped into the sea near Bassein. He was succeeded by his nephew, Mohammed II, who was taken from a prison to ascend the throne. From this time Guzerat began rapidly to decline; the princes of the Deccan withheld the tribute they had previously paid to the sultans, and the Portuguese ceased to pay any compensation for the ports of which they had taken possession.

A.D. 1586.

Guzerat
declines.

After his return from Guzerat, Humayoon quelled several petty revolts which had broken out in his dominions; but while thus engaged, he received intelligence of a formidable insurrection of the Afghans, headed by Shir Khan, and at the same time obtained private information that the allegiance of his brothers, Hurdal and Kamran, was more than suspicious. Before marching against the Afghan insurgents, Humayoon sent for all the princes of his family, and impressed upon them the necessity of uniting their interests, declaring that their intestine feuds must lead to the dissolution of that mighty empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire. They readily promised him their support; but he had no sooner departed to commence his campaign, than they commenced their treacherous intrigues with renewed vigour.

The emperor's first operations against the Afghan insurgents were crowned with success. Shir Khan, unable to maintain himself in the open field, sought to make peace, and Humayoon, dreading the machinations of his brothers during his absence, readily offered favourable terms. To render the treaty more binding on the insurgents, like all Afghans, more remarkable for their superstition than their fidelity, he employed a celebrated saint, Sheikh Khalil, to conduct the negotiations, and under his auspices the conditions were speedily and equitably arranged.

The treaty, however, had been scarcely signed, when the trea-

CHAPTER
III.A.D. 1540-54.
Afghan
treachery.

cherous Afghan made secret preparations to surprise the imperial camp, though most of his officers protested against an act which combined perfidy with impiety. A few less scrupulous, however, were found to volunteer; and the choicest of the Afghan troops, with several war-elephants, were secretly drawn together. Shaikh Khalil, suspecting Shir Khan's designs, sent a messenger to warn Humayoon; but the emperor would not believe that Shir Khan would venture on such a breach of honour and religion, and passed the night without taking any precautions. Just as the sun was rising on the following morning the Afghans attacked the imperial camp in the rear. Completely surprised, imperfectly armed, and unable in the confusion to form their ranks, the soldiers of Delhi made but a faint resistance. Humayoon, after several brave but ineffectual efforts to rally his troops, could only escape captivity by a rapid retreat across the Ganges. Though the stream was swollen, he plunged his steed into the river; but the horse sunk exhausted, and the emperor would have been drowned, had not a water-carrier lent him a *mussek*, or inflated leathern bag, by the aid of which he reached the opposite bank in safety. On this fatal day, eight thousand of the imperial troops were slain, or drowned in their efforts to pass the river. A second and still more fatal defeat compelled Humayoon to abandon his capital. He retreated slowly through the Punjab, where he received unquestionable proofs of Prince Kamran's treason. The officers and counsellors of the emperor advised him to inflict condign punishment on the traitor; but he nobly replied—"No! never for the vanities of this perishable world will I imbrue my hands in a brother's blood; for I shall always bear in mind the dying words of our common and respected parent. Almost with his last breath he said to me, 'O Humayoon, beware—beware! do not quarrel with your brother, nor ever form evil intentions towards him:' these words are graven on my heart." Several of his chiefs were displeased by this clemency, so unusual in the East, and withdrew from the imperial standard.

Humayoon
twice
defeated.

Shir Khan's advance soon compelled the emperor—weakened by desertion—to abandon Lahore, and retire towards the Indus. A new misfortune seemed to await him at every step; the princes of his family abandoned him to consult for their own safety; the provincial governors refused to send him their contingents; and some whom he had loaded with benefits, attempted to seize him, and send him prisoner to Shir Khan. Thus beset, he was forced to seek refuge with a few faithful followers on the west bank of the Indus. The country through which they fled

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A.D. 1540-54

Flees to
Persia.

was a desolate waste ; their sufferings from want of water were dreadful—some went mad—others fell down dead. On the fourth day they reached a well, from which they raised water by means of their buckets, and a rudely-constructed wheel, put together on the spot by some of the soldiers. “So deep was the well,” says Ferishta, “that a drum was beaten to give notice to the driver of the bullocks when the bucket had reached the top. The unhappy followers were so impatient for water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, several of them threw themselves upon it before it had quite reached the surface, and fell in.” During this calamitous retreat, Prince Akbar, afterwards emperor, was born. So severe was the pressure of his enemies on the unfortunate emperor, that he was obliged to leave his wife and infant son in his camp, where they were seized by the rebellious prince, Askerry, who carried off his nephew to Candahar. Humayoon had now no resource but to seek refuge in Persia, whither he was invited by the reigning monarch, Shah Tamasp ; he accordingly passed the frontiers, and was received by the Shah's orders with the utmost hospitality and kindness.

When the emperor of Delhi entered Persia, he declared his determination of undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca, if he could not obtain aid to recover his kingdom. Tamasp, however, promised to render him efficient assistance, and revived his courage, by according to the exiled sovereign all the honours of royalty. This generosity has been highly celebrated by all the Persian historians, and by the European writers who have relied upon their statements ; but recent investigations have shewn that Tamasp's conduct was not quite so honourable as it has been hitherto represented. The memoirs of Humayoon, written by Jouher, one of his confidential servants, shew us that the Persian monarch soon persecuted the royal exile for his adherence to the Sonnee creed, and only granted him assistance at the price of an extensive province. Though Timur himself was a bigoted Shiah, and made the injuries, which the Sonnees had inflicted on the house of Ali centuries before, a pretext for the destruction of Damascus, yet most of his descendants embraced the Sonnee creed, and Baber made it the established faith at Delhi. Soon after Humayoon had entered Persia, he received, among other presents from Tamasp, a *taj*, or Persian tiara of crimson silk, which he refused to wear. This *taj* was of a high conical shape, divided into twelve segments, in honour of the twelve Imams, and was, consequently, a Shiah cognizance, which no one of the opposite sect could wear without incurring the imputation of

apostasy. Tamasp was greatly irritated at Humayoon's refusal of the *taj*; and, as his biographer informs us, "when a large quantity of wood had been sent to the imperial residence, for the use of the followers, Shah Tamasp sent a message to his majesty, saying, unless he and all his followers would become Shiah, he would make a funeral pile for them with that wood." Nor was this an idle menace; we learn from the same authority, that Tamasp consulted with his brother, Behram Mirza, respecting the destruction of the royal fugitive, and was with difficulty deterred from such a breach of hospitality by the unanimous representations of the Persian princes. Humayoon subsequently contrived to inspire the Shah with hopes of his conversion, and told the king's sister that "he had always been privately well disposed towards the Shiah, out of which had partly originated the animosity of his brothers." Soon afterwards Tamasp levied an army, which he entrusted to the command of one of his sons, and sent to undertake the restoration of Humayoon.

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III.

A.D. 1554.

Religious
quarrels.

The first operation of the war was the siege of Candahar, which was obstinately defended by prince Askerry. But the delay was advantageous to the emperor; it afforded time for those who were weary of Kamran's usurpation to rally round their lawful sovereign, and it lessened his obligations to the Persians, who seemed well disposed to secure all the fruits of victory for themselves. Candahar surrendered, and was garrisoned, according to agreement, by a Persian force; but Humayoon seized the first opportunity of securing so strong a place for himself, and having thus provided a place of refuge in case of defeat, he advanced upon Cabul. On his road he was joined by several deserters from the enemy, and Kamran was forced to abandon Cabul without striking a blow. After a long and desultory war, in which Cabul frequently changed masters, Kamran was finally defeated, and betrayed into his brother's hands by one of his partizans. His life was spared, but he was deprived of his sight; and the effects of this cruel punishment soon brought him to the grave. In the meantime, the Afghan conquerors of Hindustan were engaged in disastrous civil wars, and inflicted such calamities on the country, that the citizens of Agra and Delhi sent pressing messages to Humayoon, entreating him to return and rescue them from the oppressors. Humayoon immediately crossed the Indus and occupied Lahore, without encountering any serious opposition. Alarmed at this unexpected event, the Afghans laid aside their jealousies to unite against the common enemy; but they were defeated in three

Humayoon
restored.

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A.D. 1555.

general engagements, forced to evacuate their fortresses, and abandon all the conquests they had made. Humayoon made his triumphal entry into Delhi, after an absence of fourteen years, and soon saw every sign of the revolt effaced. But he did not long enjoy his restoration; he accidentally fell down a marble staircase, and was so severely injured that he died within a few days.

Akbar the
Illustrious.

Humayoon was succeeded by his favourite son, the illustrious Akbar, by whose abilities the empire of Delhi was raised to the summit of its glory.

Battle at
Paniput.

Scarcely had he ascended the throne, when a series of insurrections in every quarter deprived him of all his dominions, except the Punjab; but though he had not yet attained his fourteenth year, he had sufficient wisdom to appreciate the abilities of Beiram Khan, whom he nominated regent of the empire by the affectionate title of Baba, or "father." This energetic minister, by several timely examples of severity, put an end to the spirit of mutiny which was rapidly spreading through the imperial army. Having thus restored discipline, Beiram Khan and Akbar marched against Hemu, a Hindu prince, who had usurped the throne of Delhi. The armies met at Paniput, and victory was long doubtful. At length Hemu, who was mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, being pierced through the eye with an arrow, fell back into his howda, and was believed to be slain. Notwithstanding the intense agony of the wound, Hemu drew the arrow, and with it the eye, out of the socket, which he wrapped in his handkerchief, and, in spite of his painful situation, attempted to rally his wavering troops. He might have succeeded, had not the cowardly driver of his elephant, terrified by the approach of an imperial lancer, offered to drive the animal wherever he was directed, and consented to bring Hemu within his enemy's lines. The unfortunate prince was dragged from his howda and put to death, while his followers dispersed in every direction. The immediate consequences of this victory were the occupation of Delhi without opposition, and the capture of Meerut, where Hemu's treasures were deposited. Not long after this victory, Beiram Khan began to abuse his power, putting to death those whom he suspected of rivalry, and insulting the prerogatives of royalty. Akbar, sensible of his obligations to the minister, endured several affronts with patience, but his resentment was at length inflamed by a circumstance which is thus related by Ab'ul Fazel:—"One day while the king was at Agra, one of the elephants being *must* (*veneris desiderio*

impulse) attacked and killed another of Beiram Khan's, who, at the spur of the moment, commanded the keeper of the royal elephant to be put to death without first speaking to the king. Akbar was highly incensed, the more so on finding that the man was not to blame, having lost all control over the animal." Finding his favour decline, Beiram Khan revolted; but his followers were soon routed by the imperial troops, and he was reduced to such distress that he was forced to throw himself upon the emperor's mercy. The impressive scene of the repentant minister's reception by his generous master, is too illustrative of the character of both to be omitted even in our limited page; it is thus portrayed by Ferishta:—"When Beiram Khan entered the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly threw himself in tears at the foot of the throne. Akbar, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former station at the head of the nobles. A splendid dress was now brought, and the king addressed the fallen minister in the following words:—"If Beiram Khan loves a military life, the governments of Kalpy and Chandery offer a field for his ambition. If he choose rather to remain at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should he be disposed to seek devotion in retirement, let him perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, whither he shall be escorted in a manner worthy of his rank.' Beiram Khan replied, 'The royal confidence being once shaken, how can I wish to remain in the presence? The clemency of the king is enough, and his forgiveness is more than a reward for my former services. Let me, therefore, avert my thoughts from this world to another, and be allowed to proceed to the holy sepulchre.'" Akbar assented, and granted him a suitable retinue, and a considerable pension, Beiram Khan proceeded to Guzerat to seek means of transport to Arabia, but he was murdered on the road by an Afghan nobleman, whose father he had slain in battle.

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III.

A.D. 1560.

Akbar
pardons
Beiram.

Akbar now took the reins of government into his own hands, and by a judicious mixture of firmness and clemency, quelled the turbulent dispositions of the feudatory princes in his diversified dominions, and greatly extended his territories on the side of Bengal. One of his most memorable exploits was the siege of Chittoor, in which the officers on both sides displayed greater skill in mining and the construction of military works than could have been found in Europe at the same period. This fortress, the strongest in Malwa, was garrisoned by five thousand rajpoots of acknowledged bravery, and plentifully supplied with

Siege of
Chittoor.

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III.

A.D. 1580.

Gallant
defence.Fortress
taken.

provisions and the munitions of war ; it could not therefore be taken by storm or blockade, and Akbar resolved to assail it by sap. The approaches were made in three lines ; batteries were erected to cover the mining operations, and mounted with cannon cast upon the spot, a circumstance which greatly surprised the Hindus, who had chiefly relied on the delay and difficulties attending the moving of the emperor's heavy ordnance. At length the mines were conducted under the wall, the chambers heavily loaded with gunpowder, and the trains fired. By some unfortunate accident one of the explosions was delayed until the storming party had mounted the breach : it proved more fatal to the assailants than to the besieged, and the imperialists, thrown into confusion, were beaten back to their entrenchments. A new sap was commenced ; it was happily completed, and a lodgment formed at the head of it, calculated to afford ample security against any attempt on the part of the garrison ; several breaches were also opened by the batteries, whose fire was incessant, and the garrison was harassed by a series of false attacks, which gave them neither rest nor respite. Notwithstanding these vigorous operations, the besieged maintained an obstinate resistance, until one of the most popular chiefs was shot, while superintending the repairs of the principal breach, by Akbar's own hand. The breach was instantly abandoned : the imperialists gained the walls with little loss, and, opening the gates, gave admission to the war-elephants and cavalry, who rushed furiously through the streets, with their trunks tossing the inhabitants against the walls, or trampling them under their feet. For some hours, quarter was neither asked nor given ; more than thirty thousand of the rajpoots and citizens of Chittoor were slain ; but a body of a thousand sharp-shooters, specially marked out for vengeance, escaped, by the ingenious stratagem of collecting their wives and children together, driving them onwards, as if they had been captives taken in the storm, and representing themselves as a body of imperial foot-soldiers, escorting plunder to the camp.

The fame acquired by the capture of Chittoor, facilitated Akbar's conquests in Guzerat, Bahar, and Bengal, but it did not abate the hostility of the Afghans, the hereditary enemies of the descendants of Baber. They were, however, defeated in all their efforts, and the emperor gradually extended his sway over the whole of northern Hindustan. Akbar was naturally of a mild and tolerant disposition ; he spurned the solicitations of the bigots by whom he was surrounded in the early part of his reign,

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A. D. 1589.

to persecute those who dissented from the established faith, and he aimed at the formation of a new religion, which might unite into one body Mohammedans, Hindus, the followers of Zoroaster, and even Jews and Christians. Previous, however, to this time, he seems to have been well disposed to adopt the religion of the Gospel in preference to that of the Koran, for he addressed a letter to the king of Portugal, a copy of which has been preserved by Ab' ul Fazel, requesting that Christian teachers, and translations of the sacred books of the Christians, should be sent to his court. This mission was entrusted to some individuals, who mixed falsehood with the truth; presented the emperor with a translation of the Gospels, in which the translators had mingled with them many of the popular Persian legends, trusting that they might thus be rendered more acceptable. This impious artifice had an effect directly contrary to that which was designed. Akbar was disgusted by meeting with legends, of whose falsehood he was previously convinced, and regarded Christianity with suspicion. He now resolved to form an eclectic creed for himself; and, like most Mohammedan sectaries, especially insisted on the great doctrine of the Divine Unity, which, he declared, was but obscurely revealed to the prophets. Unlike, however, every other propagator of a new faith, his proceedings were regulated with the utmost caution, and his appeals made solely to the reason. The religion which he endeavoured to introduce was merely a pure Deism, and his ritual was mainly derived from the forms and ceremonies of the ancient Persians, ascribed to Zoroaster. Many of the Hindus, and a great body of the Shiahhs, declared their willingness to embrace the imperial creed; but Akbar introduced an institution, which, though apparently of trifling importance, appears to have been the rock on which his entire system was ultimately shipwrecked. He forbade his subjects to wear beards, and thus gave more offence than had been excited by all his abuse of Mohammed, and ridicule of the avatars or incarnations of Vishnu.

He wishes
to introduce
a new
religion.

The conclusion of Akbar's reign was spent in vain efforts to propagate his new religion, which only spread where the court had influence. His eldest son, Jehan Ghir, strenuously opposed his father's tolerant principles, and attempted to extort from him edicts of persecution, which the emperor not only refused, but endeavoured to convince his son of the folly of bigotry. Akbar had sent a large army into the Deccan, which had been dismembered on the fall of the Bahmenee dynasty, and had reasonable hopes of extending his empire over the whole of India,

Jehan Ghir
persecutes.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1598.

Akbar's
death.His system
of govern-
ment.

when grief for the loss of his favourite son, Daniel, who fell a victim to intemperance, brought him to the grave. Few sovereigns have been more generally or more deservedly lamented than Akbar; he was far the most enlightened monarch that ever ruled over an Oriental empire, and he was the only one of the Delhi dynasty who had the wisdom to form a plan for uniting the various races subject to his sway, into an organized and single nation. He introduced a system of revenue which was satisfactory to the cultivators, by which one-third of the crops on the average of the nineteen preceding years was given to the government, excepting always in cases of drought, inundations, &c. The village regulations were as follow:—the *Pattel* was the chief, (like the *Maire*, in France, and the *Alcalde*, in Spain) the accountant was called the *Patwarree*; the *Pyke* was the watchman and head of the police. Besides these three essential personages, there were the money-changer, who was the silversmith (and as banker and money-lender, has become the usurer and the curse of many), the priest and astrologer (of whom one was required to be the school-master), the smith, the carpenter, the leather-worker, the potter, the barber, the tailor, the washerman, the physician, the musician, and other tradesmen (including even the dancing-girls) were all paid a stipend out of the general profits of the villages.

Akbar divided his extensive dominions into fifteen *Soubahs*, or provinces, twelve in Hindustan, and three in the Deccan—the latter were increased subsequently to six. The officer in charge of each was called the *Soubadar*, who held the civil and military authority. The chiefs of the military and police were called *Foujdars*. Nabob (Nawab) means “a Deputy of the Soubadar.” The *Dewan* was the civil and financial superintendent. It is necessary to understand these names as they often occur in Indian history.

Jehan Ghir
suc. ced.

Immediately after the death of Akbar became known, the nobles around the court assembled, and agreed to proclaim his eldest son, Selim, emperor, with the title of Jehan Ghir, which signifies “Conqueror of the World.” The first measure adopted by the new sovereign was the restoration of Mohammedanism to its former supremacy, and the removal from office of all who had favoured the religious innovations of Akbar. In the very first year of his reign, Jehan Ghir had to take the field against his own son Khosrau, who was supported in his rebellion by Hassan Bek, the governor of Cabul. The insurrection was suppressed, and eight hundred of the prince's chief supporters

Cruelties.

punished by the horrible death of impalement. But this did not prevent fresh conspiracies, which kept the emperor in constant anxiety. His chief consolation was derived from the company of the widow of Shir Afghan, a nobleman who had been put to death for treason. The emperor had loved this lady in the lifetime of his father Akbar, and had been grievously afflicted by her marriage with another. He became so deeply enamoured that he named her Nur-mahal, or the "light of the harem," also called Nur-jehan, or "light of the world," and spent every hour he could spare from the affairs of state in her company. In his autobiography the emperor declares, "At the period in which this is written (about the fourteenth year of the emperor's reign), I may say that the whole concern of my household, whether gold or jewels, is under her sole and entire management. Of my unreserved confidence, indeed, this princess is in complete possession, and I may allege without a fallacy that the whole fortune of my empire has been consigned to this highly endowed family; the father being my finance minister, the son my lieutenant-general, with unlimited powers, and the daughter the inseparable companion of my cares." During the reign of Akbar immense wealth had been accumulated in the royal treasures, and the Great Mogul, as the emperor of Delhi by pertinacious error continues to be called, was celebrated throughout Europe as the richest monarch in the world. The European ambassadors who visited his court, among whom may be noticed Sir Thomas Roe, sent to negotiate a commercial treaty by the British sovereign, James I, confirmed the reports of the wealth and magnificence of the court of Delhi; but their statements were suspected of exaggeration by many who knew not the value of India while its resources were yet unexhausted. An extract from the "Memoirs of Jehan Ghir" will show that the accounts of his magnificence given by the travellers of the seventeenth century, were not so much overdrawn as is usually supposed: "On the eleventh day of the month of Shaban, of the year (of the Hejira) 1019, (18th of September, 1610), I bestowed the daughter of Mirza Rustam upon my favourite son Parviz, with a marriage portion of one lak of asherfees (two hundred thousand pounds). On the evening on which the bride was brought to the palace, I presented her with a necklace of sixty pearls, for each pearl of which my father had paid the sum of ten thousand rupees (consequently the value of the necklace was sixty thousand pounds). I also presented them with a ruby of the value of two hundred and fifty thousand rupees (twenty-

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III.

A.D. 1610.

A widow,
the beauty
of the
Court.His
immense
riches.

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III.

A.D. 1628.

Subdues
Bengal.

Rebellions.

five thousand pounds); and I finally assigned for her support the annual sum of three laks of rupees (thirty thousand pounds); and for the establishment of her household one hundred maidens from Surat, who were devoted to her service.

After the suppression of prince Khosrau's rebellion, Jehan Ghir directed his attention to the affairs of Bengal, and completed the subjugation of that province. His partiality for the relations of his favourite sultana, however, provoked the resentment of the royal family, and a new insurrection was planned by the emperor's third son, Khorrum, better known in history by the name of Shah Jehan, who commenced his career by murdering his brother Khosrau. The young prince laid siege to Agra, but being repulsed from the walls he hazarded a pitched battle, in which he was completely defeated. He continued, however, to maintain a vigorous struggle, passing with great rapidity from one province to another, while Jehan Ghir, influenced by the jealous councils of the sultana, treated his nobles and ministers so harshly, that they were almost driven to rebellion in their own defence. Mohabut Khan, the best general in the emperor's service, having been treacherously attacked by the imperial forces, routed them with great loss, and profited by his victory to make Jehan Ghir a prisoner. The empress was not daunted by this misfortune;—she secretly levied an army, and when she had mustered sufficient strength, contrived a plan for Jehan Ghir's escape, which perfectly succeeded. Mohabut Khan, suddenly deserted by the greater part of his followers, fled to prince Khorrum, and both prepared to renew the war. But the death of the emperor averted the horrors of a new contest; the empress vainly attempted to raise up a rival to prince Khorrum, on whose approach all the nobles flocked to his camp, and saluted him emperor by the title of Shah Jehan, King of the World.

A.D. 1628.

Shah Jehan

Although the empire of Delhi had reached the summit of its greatness when Shan Jehan ascended the throne, it was at this very period that the signs of its future ruin became most apparent. It was too extensive for its unenlightened rulers: there was no bond of union between its discordant parts; and, consequently, insurrections were frequent in all the remote provinces. Shah Jehan was, like his father, ruled by his queen, and at her instigation he declared war against the Portuguese, and deprived them of their settlement at Hoogley. After the death of his favourite sultana, the emperor abandoned himself to the most profligate debauchery, and exhausted his immense treasures in gratifying the caprices of his favourite mistresses. But his strict

His vices.

administration of justice, and the wisdom of his decisions, which are still quoted with respect, saved him from the contempt which is usually incurred by voluptuous princes. As he grew older avarice succeeded to prodigality, and he made use of the most iniquitous pretexts to forfeit the property of his nobles, and increase the burdens of his people. To save the expense of maintaining his sons at court, he assigned them the government of distant provinces, without any appointments but what they could draw from their subjects, and thus laid the foundation for a new series of calamitous civil wars.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1655-58

The mutual jealousies of Shah Jehan's four sons prevented them from acting in concert, and through fear of each other they remained quiet until the emperor became so dangerously ill that a report of his death was generally credited. Dara, the eldest, who was at court, hearing that his brothers were levying armies, hastened to assure them that Shah Jehan was not only alive, but was fast recovering. Sujah, the second son, refused to credit the report, and took the field with an army which he had been enabled to levy from the wealth he had amassed in his government of Bengal. Aurung-zebe, the youngest of the princes, feigning that he had devoted himself to a religious life, took up arms under the pretence of supporting the claims of his brother Morad; and being consequently joined by that prince, steadily advanced towards the capital. In the mean time Sujah was defeated by the son of Dara, and forced to retire. Flushed with recent victory, the imperial army marched to drive back Aurung-zebe and Morad; but, through the treachery of one of the generals, it was routed with great loss, and the two princes continued their progress. Dara, enraged at this unexpected failure, and trusting to the vast superiority of his forces, resolved to crush the revolt before it had time to spread further, and marched to encounter his brothers. Aurung-zebe baffled Dara by the unexpected rapidity of his movements, and reached a place within five miles of Agra before his advance could be checked by the imperial army. In the battle that ensued, Dara, at the head of the elephants and cavalry, made so furious a charge that he bore down all opposition. Believing the victory secure, he descended from his elephant to mount a horse and pursue the fugitives; but no sooner did his followers miss him from the elephant, than, believing him to have fallen by some sudden blow, they broke their lines and fell into confusion. Aurung-zebe, who had contrived by immense exertions to keep a small band together, so ably profited by this sudden turn of fortune, that he gained a

His four
sons.

Aurang-
zebe.

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III.

A.D. 1658.

decisive victory, and compelled Dara to seek shelter in Agra. Suleiman, the son of Dara, was hastening with a numerous army to his father's aid, when he received news of this calamity. He prepared to remedy the disaster; but his principal generals, gained over by the secret intrigues of Aurung-zebe, plotted his arrest, and he was compelled to fly with a few faithful friends to avoid being delivered up to his uncle.

His craft.

Shah Jehan was well aware of Aurung-zebe's crafty and ambitious character, but he thought it best to dissemble his feelings and to throw the whole blame of the war on Dara. The emperor, however, had to deal with a master in the arts of duplicity. Aurung-zebe affected to be perfectly satisfied until Shah Jehan was thrown off his guard, when he was suddenly arrested by Aurung-zebe's son, Mohammed, and confined a close prisoner to the palace. Soon afterwards he seized his brother Morad, whom he had so long deluded, and confined him in a strong fortress near Delhi. His brothers, Dara and Sujah, however, still disputed the usurper's power to empire, and his own son, Mohammed, for a time supported the pretensions of the latter. They continued their efforts for two or three years, but they were finally defeated and put to death by Aurung-zebe's command. Morad shared their fate, and the entire empire recognised the authority of the crafty usurper.

His success.

A.D. 1661.

On his accession Aurung-zebe took the proud title of Alumghir, or "Conqueror of the World." The policy of Aurung-zebe was proverbial among the Mohammedans of India. His empire was ravaged by a famine, caused by a drought, in 1661; he provided for the wants of the suffering inhabitants by having grain brought from provinces in which it was abundant, to those in which there was a deficiency. He remitted all rents and taxes on the husbandmen during the calamity, and he maintained the utmost economy in his own disbursements. The vigilance and steadiness of his administration preserved tranquillity in the empire; but the bigotry and intolerance of the emperor revived religious animosities between the varied sects and parties subject to his sway: the perfidy of which he set the example, spread through his court, so that he had neither a minister nor an officer worthy of confidence, and his sons evinced a disposition to emulate him in wars upon their father, and upon each other. Intent on conquest, he sent a large army to invade Assam, but after having obtained several victories, the imperial forces were compelled to return by the violence of the rains, and were almost annihilated in their retreat. Several

His
decisions.

insurrections were provoked by the rapacity of the imperial CHAPTER
 tax-gatherers; but only one was formidable, from a general III.
 belief that the insurgents were protected by enchantment. A.D. 1660-99
 Aurung-zebe revived the spirits of his soldiers by distributing to them amulets, inscribed with verses from the Koran; and thus, one superstition counteracting the other, the rebels were conquered. An invasion from Persia menaced greater dangers, but it was averted by the death of Shah Abbas, in his camp, before he could reach the scene of action. His successor was too anxious for the security of his throne to commence his reign with an arduous war, and Aurung-zebe was more anxious to establish his supremacy over the Deccan, than to make conquests in Persia.

The power of the Mahrattas in southern India, was now begin- The rise of
 ning to be formidable under the guidance of Sivajee, who had the Mah-
 been originally a leader of banditti, and had gained the chief- rattas.
 taincy of the wild mountain tribes between Canara and Guzerat. Sivajee had acquired great strength during the civil wars which preceded the accession of Aurung-zebe; but he had submitted to the conqueror and offered to lead a part of the imperial forces against the Persians. A wanton insult from the emperor drove him to rebellion, and his progress in the south was facilitated by a simultaneous rising of the Afghans, who never forgot that the empire of northern India belonged to them before the arrival of Baber. The Afghan chiefs were invited to a banquet, and treacherously murdered; an act of treachery disowned by Aurung-zebe; but by which he profited without scruple. It was impossible to employ such arts against the Mahrattas: Sivajee and his successor, Sambajee, were too suspicious to place themselves voluntarily in the emperor's power. Sambajee was, however, surprised and made prisoner while amusing himself in the mountains; he was at once put to death, his capital was forced to surrender, his wives and his infant son were made prisoners.

As Aurung-zebe had previously subdued the kingdoms of Golconda and Beejapore, his empire over southern India seemed on the point of being completed; but Rama, the brother of Sambajee, with other Mahratta chieftains, maintained the war, eluding encounter when pursued, and issuing from their fastnesses to devastate the country so soon as the imperial forces were withdrawn. So enriched were they by the spoils they obtained, and so strengthened by the number of desperate adventurers who joined their ranks, that towards the close of Aurung-zebe's reign, the advantages of the war had decisively turned in their favour.

CHAPTER
III.A.D. 1707.
Aurang-
zebe's
death.

This contest continued to the emperor's death, which took place in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign. A civil war ensued with the usual results. His three sons took up arms against each other; but the victory finally remained with Bahader Shah, who was recognized by all the provinces of the empire.

A.D. 1712.

His succe-
sors mur-
dered.

The brief reign of this emperor produced nothing worthy of note. His death was followed by a civil war between his children, which ended in favour of the eldest, Moiz-ed-din, who took the title of Jehander Shah, or "the King who possesses the World." Jehander Shah was a weak prince, and was so foolishly attached to his wife Lal-kur, a woman of mean birth, that he endeavoured to fill the greatest offices of trust and honour throughout the empire with her relations. This conduct gave such offence to his nobles, that they conspired to raise his nephew to the throne. Ferokh-siar, whose father had already contended for empire, only waited for a favourable moment to assert his claims; he readily obeyed the summons of the conspirators, and routed the imperial forces on the banks of the Jumna. Jehander Shah fled from the field to Delhi, where he was arrested by his own ministers, and given up to the mercy of the conqueror. Ferokh-siar ordered the unfortunate monarch to be slain, and his body to be dragged with shocking indignity through the streets of Delhi. The command was obeyed, and such was the cruelty of the conqueror, that the corpse of Jehander Shah was denied a grave. It was during the reign of Ferokh-siar that the Sikhs, soon the most formidable native power in India, first rose into importance. They were originally a fraternity of mendicants, founded by Gooroo Nanuk, who gave them a code of morals, the basis of which is pure deism, and permitted the reception of converts from all classes of society. They soon increased in numbers, and desolated the province of Lahore, which has since become the seat of their power. About the same time also, the English East India Company obtained a firman exempting them from the payment of any duties within the emperor's dominions; and this grant was the foundation of the power subsequently acquired by that body in Bengal.

The Sikhs
appear.

A.D. 1713.

Ferokh-siar owed his elevation to the exertions of two brothers, Abdallah Khan and Hassan Khan, who claimed to be Syeds, or descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. These powerful nobles seized on all the dignities of the empire, and finding that Ferokh-siar grew jealous of their authority, they openly prepared to set him aside, while the emperor, equally cruel and

cowardly, could not be prevailed on to take any precautions for his security. The unfortunate Ferokh-siar was seized in his own harem, blinded with a red-hot iron, and afterwards put to death by cruel tortures. Refi-ud-Derjat son of Refi-al-Kadr, the nephew of Bahader Shah in the female line, was then placed upon the throne by the Syed brothers, but in less than three months he fell a victim to consumption, or as some say to poison. Refi-ud-Dowlah, the brother and successor of Refi-ud-Derjat, died a few days after his elevation, and the Syeda, who disposed of the empire at their pleasure, proclaimed as their pageant sovereign a grandson of Bahader Shah, who took the title of Nasir-ud-din Mohammed Shah. The nobles were now weary of the yoke imposed upon them by the Syed brothers, and they found no difficulty in inspiring the emperor with the same sentiments. A secret conspiracy was organised; Hassan was murdered in front of the emperor's tent, and Abdallah, who took up arms to avenge his fate, was defeated and taken prisoner. The Syed did not long survive his overthrow, he died in a few months from the effect of his wounds. Though he was a Mohammedan, forty-five of his wives and concubines burned themselves on his decease by setting fire to an apartment in the harem. Nizam-ul-mulk, the governor of the Deccan, was invited to accept the office of vizier; he refused to accept it, under the pretence that his abilities were inadequate to the task, but in truth because he had resolved upon establishing an independent sovereignty in southern India. He excited the Mahrattas, a warlike race fast rising into importance, to ravage the imperial territories, while the feeble emperor wasted his time in indolent luxury. These freebooters extended their incursions to the very gates of Delhi, and, though they suffered a defeat, they induced the imperial generals to purchase their future forbearance by a large and dishonourable bribe. Nizam-ul-mulk, after much persuasion, was induced to visit the court, but being insulted by the imperial favourites, he engaged the nobles, who were displeased by the disgraceful treaty with the Mahrattas, to invite Nadir Shah to invade the empire; and that conqueror, already indignant at the protection afforded to his Afghan enemies, readily accepted the invitation.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1719.

A.D. 1720.

The Syeda.

Nadir
Shah.

Some historians have expressed doubts of Nizam-ul-Mulk's treachery, and it is not easy to comprehend what advantages he could hope to have reaped by betraying his country. Neither did Nadir's avarice or ambition need much prompting, as he must have felt assured of success over a court so degraded that

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1789.

Delhi
taken.

Massacre.

Enormous
spoil.Weakness
of the
empire.

it actually paid tribute to the plundering Mahrattas. The march of Nadir was more rapid than the court of Delhi had anticipated ; they were scarcely roused from their state of infatuated security until the conqueror had crossed the Indus. Mohammed Shah then collected an army, and established himself in a fortified camp in the plains of Karnal, near the banks of the Jumna. On Nadir's approach, the emperor having recently received a large re-inforcement, left his camp to encounter his adversary in the open field. After a fierce engagement, which lasted two hours, the imperialists were routed with the loss of 20,000 men, and so completely disheartened, that Mohammed Shah, without making any effort to defend his camp, surrendered himself, his treasures, and his dominions to the conqueror. Nadir received the conquered emperor with great kindness, and promised to restore him to his throne at Delhi. The conquerors advanced to that city in order to receive, as the reward of their victory, the immense treasures of gold and jewels accumulated by the descendants of Baber, and to exact heavy contributions from the nobles and citizens. The cruel exactions of those appointed to collect the stipulated sum, were intolerable ; a false report of Nadir's death, induced the citizens to take up arms, and even when the mistake was discovered, they persevered in their insane attacks on their resistless conquerors. Nadir was, at length, so provoked, that he gave orders for a general massacre to his troops, who had come up from their encampment. The carnage continued for several hours, during which time Nadir continued in a small mosque, silent, gloomy, and alone. No one dared to interrupt his solitude, until the unhappy Mohammed Shah forced his way to his presence, and in agonizing tones exclaimed "Spare my people !" Nadir immediately gave orders that the massacre should cease ; and the promptitude with which he was obeyed, afforded the strongest proof of the strict discipline he had introduced into his army.

Nadir continued at Delhi fifty-eight days ; he then returned with a treasure, which some have estimated so high as seventy millions, and none less than thirty millions. Before his departure, he gave Mohammed Shah some judicious advice respecting the administration of his empire, and severely threatened the Omrahs if they failed in their obedience. But the injury which his invasion had inflicted on the empire was incurable : the army was destroyed, the treasury exhausted, nearly all financial resources cut off ; the Mahrattas ravaged the South, and all the provinces which had escaped their devastation were laid waste

by Nadir's army. Under the able government of Bajee Rao, and his successor, Balajee, the Mahratta power made such rapid progress, that it seemed not very improbable that India might again be formed into a Hindu empire.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1747.

Other enemies began to appear in the east and north. An Afghan colony, called the Rohillas (so called from their original tribe *Roh*), acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges, from Oude to the mountains. Their chief was Ali Mohammed, a Hindu convert adopted by an Afghan officer, in whose character were united the cunning of the Hindu and the courage of the Afghan. He raised the new state of the Rohillas to such importance, that it required an expedition, headed by the emperor in person, to enforce even a temporary submission.

The Rohillas
colonize.

Their
bravery.

A far more formidable combination of the Afghans had been formed in their own territories; and the death of Nadir, the worst enemy of India, was but the herald of new invasions and calamities to the unhappy land. Though Nadir had raised the Persian monarchy to the highest pitch of greatness, he had disgusted his subjects by his severe exactions, his excessive cruelties; but, above all, by his alienation from the national religion—the Shiah form of Mohammedanism. Aware of the hostility he had provoked, Nadir entrusted the guardianship of his person to mercenary Uzbeks and Afghans, who were, like himself, attached to the Sonnee creed. Preparations were in progress for the arrest of all the Persian nobles; but some of them received warning of their danger, and averted it by the assassination of Nadir in his tent. Ahmed Khan Abdalee, the leader of the Afghans, made a desperate attack on the Persian camp, hoping that he might be in time to rescue his sovereign. Finding himself too late, he made good his retreat to his own frontiers with a large amount of treasure, in spite of all the efforts which the Persians made to intercept him. His fame soon spread abroad among his countrymen, and the Turkish and Tartar tribes north and west of the Himalaya; before the end of the year he was solemnly crowned king at Candahar, and his authority was acknowledged, not only in Afghanistan, but also in Balkh, Scinde, Cashmeer, and Beloochistan. He called himself Doordowran (pearl of the age), which was corrupted into Dooranee, from whence the name of his tribe is taken.

A.D. 1745.

Nadir's
death,
June, 1747.

Ahmed
Khan.

Though the distracted state of Persia might seem to have invited the ambition of the founder of a new dynasty, yet, either from a consciousness of the difficulties which beset such an undertaking, or from feelings of attachment to the family of Nadir,

Invades
India.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1749.

Routs the
Indian
armies.Subdues
the Punjab.

he preferred extending his territories on the eastern side, and led an army to the banks of the Indus, for the purpose of invading the Punjab. The emperor of Delhi sent his son and his vizier to protect the fords; but Ahmed crossed the river in an unguarded spot, took the Indian army in the rear, and captured Sirhind, where they had deposited their baggage, their stores, and a portion of their artillery. This boldness so intimidated the enemy, that they did not venture to meet him in the field, but fortified themselves in an entrenched camp. The Afghans assaulted their position for ten days; but were finally repelled with great loss, and compelled to retreat. Such, however, was the impression they produced, that the viceroy of the Punjab consented to pay a permanent tribute.

A.D. 1748.

The Rohil-
las fight
bravely.But are
beaten.

Mohammed Shah did not long survive this imperfect success; he was succeeded on the throne of Delhi by his son, Ahmed Shah, who bore the same name as his Afghan rival. The first efforts of the new emperor were directed against the Rohillas; he entrusted the conduct of the war to his vizir, Sufder Jung, who was a very incompetent general, and whose army was in such a miserable state of discipline, that it was formidable to every body except the enemy. Over such a commander, and such forces, the brave Rohillas obtained an easy victory; they took advantage of their success to invade the kingdom of Oude, and Sufder Jung had no other resource than to seek assistance from the Mahrattas. By this degrading aid, the vizir triumphed in his turn, and the Rohillas were forced to submit to humiliating conditions of peace.

Second
invasion
of the
Afghans.The Punjab
ceded.The Mah-
rattas called
to aid the
vizir.

On his return to Delhi, the vizir heard intelligence of disasters which more than counterbalanced his late imperfect success. The Afghan monarch had again invaded the Punjab, with an army which the viceroy was not prepared to meet; and having completed his conquest, had sent an envoy to demand the absolute cession of that province. Nadir's visit was too well remembered for compliance to be refused; when the vizir reached the court, he found all arrangements concluded. His discontent was increased by the discovery that a favorite eunuch had superseded him in the confidence of the emperor, and, like a true Oriental, he removed this rival by a treacherous assassination. The emperor, enraged at this outrage, applied for help to the powerful Omrah, Ghazi-ud-din, who, with the assistance of the Mahrattas, expelled Sufder Jung, and became prime minister in his stead. But Ahmed Shah soon found his new vizir more intolerable than the former, and began to form secret machination; for his

removal or destruction. Ghazi-ud-din discovered the intrigue, and sent an armed force against the emperor. Ahmed Shah was taken prisoner by his rebellious minister, who, after depriving him of power, put out his eyes, as well as those of the queen, his mother. Ghazi-ud-din then selected one of the princes of the blood to bear the name of emperor, while he reserved the entire power to himself, and the new sovereign was proclaimed by the title of Alum-Ghir.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1754.
The
emperor
deposed.

Ghazi-ud-din maintained tranquillity for a considerable time by the stringent severity of his measures; but he at length provoked a mutiny among the troops, in which he narrowly escaped from destruction. The emperor's conduct, at this crisis, awakened the vizir's suspicions. He resolved to strengthen himself against the probable designs of his master, and, therefore, attempted to obtain possession of the Punjab, then ruled by the widow of an Afghan noble, to whom Ahmed Shah Dooranee had entrusted the government during the minority of her son. Ghazi's outrage provoked a third Afghan invasion. Ahmed Shah marched almost without resistance to Delhi, and repeated in that unfortunate capital the massacres and exactions of Nadir Shah. He was much struck by the unhappy position of the emperor, and before returning home appointed a Rohilla chief to command in Delhi, trusting that his influence would be a sufficient counterpoise to the usurped power of the vizir.

The vizir
becomes
powerful.

Third
Afghan
invasion.

Delhi
plundered.

The Mahrattas usually carried on war in the same manner as the Cossacks, or the ancient Parthians—they fought and fled. Their power was at its height when they were invited to assist the Mogul emperor against the Afghans. Their first chief was Sivajee; but the rule over them had been usurped by the Peishwa, or prime minister. Ghazi-ud-din tried to use them as his instruments, but could not do so with effect. The Peishwa's brother, Ragoba, at the head of a large force, came to Delhi, which he captured. Siege was laid to the fortified palace. After a month it was taken and plundered. Ragoba overran the Punjab, and leaving a Mahratta governor, returned to the Deccan in 1758.

The Mah-
rattas and
the vizir.

A.D. 1758.

The Mohammedan leaders of Northern India combined to check the incroachments of the Mahrattas, who had suddenly invaded Rohilcund. The son of Sujah Dowla, Soubadar of Oude, attacked them, and with great slaughter drove them over the Ganges. In the meanwhile Ahmed Shah was advancing with his formidable army, after a successful campaign in Scinde and Beloochistan, to attack them. He routed two of their leaders, Scindiah and Holkar, and reached Delhi. Ghazi-ud-din issued

A.D. 1759.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1754.

orders for the murder of the monarch, which were executed by two pretended Fakeers, who, under the mask of sanctity, induced the emperor to quit the palace. Shah Alum, the heir apparent, was in Bengal and escaped, and Ghazi fled and was heard of no more.

Delhi declines.

The Mahratta army, under their famous chiefs, came like a whirlwind towards the capital. In their march they summoned Surajee Mull, the Jāta rajah, to join them. He hesitated, for he was jealous of their power. They threatened to devastate his country. He joined them with reluctance, at the head of 50,000 men. Their force amounted to nearly 200,000 men. On their approach to Delhi, Ahmed Shah retired across the Jumna, and the Mahrattas again plundered the city. Their chief, Sedeshao Rao, tore down the ceiling of the Hall of Audience, seized all the ornaments of the princesses, and sent them to the mint. The wretched citizens were scourged, and forced to reveal where any treasure was hidden : thousands perished of starvation.

Grand
battle of
Paniput,
January,
1761.

The merciless Mahrattas were at length compelled, from want of provisions, to quit the city, and they proceeded to Paniput, where they encamped on the ground of Mohammed ; while Ahmed Shah occupied that selected by Nadir some years before. Several days passed in preparations. Attempts were made by Sujah Dowla to establish peace ; but neither side would yield. The Mahrattas were forced by want to offer battle, and on the 14th of January, 1761, the Afghans, who were also distressed finding the enemy had come out of their entrenched camp, rushed at them with irresistible impetuosity. The Mahratta force consisted of 55,000 regular, and 15,000 irregular cavalry, with 15,000 disciplined infantry, and 200 pieces of artillery, and a large supply of rockets. Ahmed Shah was at the head of 40,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian cavalry, and 38,000 Indian infantry ; with about thirty pieces of artillery, and some wall-pieces. The Mahrattas placed their formidable artillery in front, and withstood the shock with great resolution : they then attacked in turn, and drove the Afghans back almost to their camp. While elate with their success, they saw the head of their leader struck off by a cannon ball. The Jats deserted to the Afghans, and the Mohammedans attacked their now exposed flank ; and although prodigies of valour were achieved, the Mahrattas were routed. A horrible carnage ensued—no quarter was given—50,000 men fell in the action, and 30,000 in the pursuit, which lasted three days. Of the many Mahratta leaders, only one reached his own country—Mulhar Rao, who fled from

the field on the first charge. The Afghans glutted themselves with the spoils of the Mahrattas, who lost all that they had seized at Delhi. This grand defeat destroyed the spirit of the Hindus and Moslems, and left India to be taken by another power.

CHAPTER
III.

A.D. 1770.

Ahmed Shah went to Delhi—whither he invited Shah Alum to join him—and left the empire to the Shah's care, on promise of a large tribute. Sujah Dowlah, of Oude, whose name figures in subsequent years, was confirmed as perpetual Vizir. Ahmed Shah returned home, and never afterwards mingled in the affairs of India.

Shah Alum returned to his capital, where he was treated with neglect and indifference by his Vizir. He sent several messages, requesting the interference of the British authorities. In 1763, on his granting firmans appointing the East India Company to the office of *Deewannee*, or administrator of the revenues of Bengal, Lord Clive engaged to pay into the imperial treasury, the annual sum of twenty-six lakhs, which with other prerogatives, left the descendant of Timur nearly half a million sterling per annum.

In 1770, siege was laid to Delhi, by the combined forces of the 1770. Mahrattas and Jats; but Mulhar Rao, the leader of the former, was bought off by Shah Alum's minister. In 1772, Shah Alum having saved some money, tried, at the head of a Mahratta force, to carry on war against the son of his former minister; the Mahrattas betrayed him, and he became poorer than before. Various events at length threw him and his family into the power of Gholam Khadir, a Rohilla chief, by whom he, after many indignities, and after his family had been nearly starved, was blinded by having his eyes picked out with a dagger, on the 10th of August 1788. Scindiah, a Mahratta chief, subsequently took Delhi, and kept him prisoner until 1803, when General 1803. Lake liberated him. Shah Alum, after twenty years of misery and disaster, passed the remainder of life in comparative happiness. He died on the 18th of December, 1806. His eldest 1806. surviving son assumed his rank and titles, under the name of Shah Akbar, and as such received a pension from the Company, with which he maintained a nominal court. The supposed or implied vassalage of the East India Company to the nominal Padishah or Mohammedan ruler of Delhi, was finally terminated by Earl Amherst in 1827. So ended the glories of the Moslem 1827. emperors at Delhi.

CHAPTER IV.

WESTERN TRADE WITH INDIA, 1500, B.C.—1500. A.D.

The communications of Cyrus.—Of the Phœnicians.—Of Solomon, B.C. 1014.—Alexander invades, 331.—Alexander on the Indus.—Ptolemy and the Egyptians, 200.—Emporiums of trade.—Berenice.—Coptos.—Alexandria.—Trade by the Oxus and Persia.—Tadmor (Palmyra) in the desert.—The Romans destroy this Source.—Ceylon sends an Agent to Rome.—Constantinople encourages the Trade.—The Saracens carry on Commerce.—The Crusaders feel its Influence.—The Venetians form their grand Marts.—Columbus opens the New World.—Portuguese sail to “the Cape of Storms,” A.D. 1486.—Its name changed to “the Cape of Good Hope,” 1488.—Vasco de Gama’s Expedition, 1497.—Reaches Calicut, 22nd May, 1498.—The Zamoree plots to destroy Gama.—All Europe roused into activity by the Discovery of Gama.—The Venetians and Turks try to obstruct its Progress.—The Venetian influence destroyed by the League of Cambray.—Lisbon becomes the Emporium of Indian Commerce, 1520.

CHAPTER
IV.

B.C. 1014.

Cyrus.

LITTLE is known of the Hystaspide dynasty in Persia, except what has been communicated to us by the Greeks; and the continuous wars between them and the Persians, from the accession of Darius Hystaspes to the fall of Darius Codomannus, necessarily produced bitter animosities, which prevented the historians of Europe from devoting much attention to the detested despots of Asia. No stronger proof can be given of the little reliance to be placed on the Greek histories of Persia, than the utter inconsistency between the accounts given of Cyrus the Great, by Xenophon and Herodotus: they differ in almost every particular they record, respecting the birth, the life, and the death, of this mighty conqueror; and, furthermore, neither historian can be successfully reconciled to the incidental notices of Cyrus in the Bible, or to the traditions preserved in Oriental writers. There is, however, little reason to doubt, that commercial intercourse existed, from a very early period, between India and Persia; that the monarchs of the latter country reckoned some princes of Western India among their tributaries; and that caravans connected the trade of the Indus with that of the

Euphrates, probably by the great road through Candahar. The enterprising Phœnicians, and very probably the Egyptians, communicated with the countries of Southern and Eastern Asia, through the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. It was for the purpose of procuring his subjects a share of this lucrative trade, that Solomon took possession of the port of Ezion-geber, on the Gulf of Akaba; but his subjects did not share his spirit of enterprize: the Jews had not then reached such a state of civilization, as would enable them to appreciate the lucrative pursuits of commerce; and the judicious plans of their wisest monarch died with him.

CHAPTER
IV.

B.C. 1014.

The Phœnicians.

Solomon,

About one hundred and sixty years after the reign of Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great undertook his great expedition into India: he did not penetrate farther than the Punjab—in-
deed, he did not traverse the whole extent of that country, having been compelled to turn back by a mutiny of his troops on the banks of the Hyphasis. But, both as he advanced and returned, his soldiers were so spread over the country, and acted in so many separate divisions, and all his movements were so exactly measured and delineated by men of science, whom he kept in pay for the purpose, that he acquired a very accurate knowledge of that part of India.

B.C. 331.

Alexander
invades.

On his return to the banks of the Hydaspes, he found that his officers, during his absence, had assembled a numerous fleet, destined to sail down by that river and the Indus to the Ocean, and thence proceed through the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates. The armament thus prepared was so great and magnificent, as to be worthy of such a commander as the conqueror of Asia. It consisted of two thousand vessels of various sizes, one hundred and twenty thousand men, and two hundred elephants. As the conqueror pursued his course along the streams of these great rivers, the nations on both sides were compelled to submit; but, for the first time in the annals of history, the march of civilization accompanied the progress of military triumph—cities were founded, commercial marts established, and an active intercourse opened with the unknown nations of the remote interior. It took nine months for Alexander to descend to the mouth of the Indus, a distance of more than a thousand British miles; but the delay was occasioned by the prudent determination of Alexander, to leave nothing unexplored or unattempted, which would advance his great and noble project, of uniting the Eastern and Western world by the bonds of mutual trade. On reaching the ocean, Alexander led his army

Alexander
on the
Indus.

CHAPTER
IV.B.C. 250.
Ptolemy in
Egypt.

Emporium.

Berenice a
port on the
Red Sea.

Coptos.

Trade by
the Oxus.

and Persia.

Tadmor in
the Desert.

back to Persia by land; the fleet was left under the command of Nearchus, who, after a coasting voyage of seven months, conducted it safely up the Persian Gulf to the Euphrates.

The magnificent schemes of Alexander were frustrated by his early death, and by the destructive civil wars which arose between his successors. They were partially revived by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, who had taken a leading part in the Indian expedition, and who obtained Egypt for his share in the partition of the

Macedonian empire. The Seleucidæ might have more effectually carried out the schemes of the great conqueror, had they not been driven from Upper Asia by the Parthians, whose empire soon intervened between the Greeks of Bactria and Europe, thus cutting off the Bactrians from all communication with the western world. The erection of the city of Alexandria on the Nile, and the establishment of the port of Berenice on the Red Sea, made Egypt the high road of communication between India and Europe. From Berenice, Indian goods were brought overland to Coptos, on the Nile, and thence down that river to Alexandria. This became the principal route for Indian commerce, and so continued, during the two hundred and fifty years that Egypt flourished as an independent kingdom, under the paternal government of the Ptolemies.

Two other routes deserve to be noticed; goods destined for northern regions, were sent up the Indus, and thence through the passes of the Hindu Koosh to the river Oxus; they were conveyed down that river, which then flowed into the Caspian, and either by rivers or by land-carriage, distributed among the populous and opulent nations which then possessed the countries between the Euxine and the Caspian. The commodities of India, intended for the southern and interior provinces of western Asia, proceeded by land from the Caspian gates to some of the great rivers, by which they were circulated through every part of the country. This was probably the chief route of trade when Persia was governed by its native princes; and it has not been quite abandoned, even in the present day.

An overland communication between the Syrian coasts and the great rivers of Mesopotamia, appears to have existed from very remote antiquity; it was probably established before the time of Abraham. The journey through the intervening desert, was facilitated by its affording one station abounding with water and capable of cultivation. Solomon appears to have been the first who appreciated the commercial advantages of this favoured spot: he erected there a city, called by the Syrians *Tadmor*, and

by the Greeks *Palmyra*, both names, in their respective languages, being descriptive of the Palm-trees, which afford its inhabitants food and shelter. For many centuries this oasis was tenanted by a flourishing and independent community, until its last ruler, the gallant queen Zenobia, was conquered by the emperor Aurelian, and its prosperity blighted for ever by the withering influence of Roman despotism.

CHAPTER
IV.

A.D.

100—1000.

Zenobia.

The trade between Egypt and India was diminished but not ruined by the Roman conquest; and it soon revived when the increasing taste for luxuries in Italy produced a demand for the spices, precious stones, pearls, silks, and muslins of the East. An ambassador from the island of Ceylon presented himself at the court of the emperor Claudius, and the Chinese records contain an account of an embassy sent to their remote regions from Rome in the reign of the Antonines. When the seat of government was removed from Rome to Constantinople, the intercourse between the empire and the East was necessarily extended; but the Byzantines soon found formidable rivals in the Persians, when they were liberated from the Parthian yoke, and the independence of their country established under the native dynasty of the Sassanides. The Persians, with the usual rapacity of monopolists, raised the price of all Indian and Chinese commodities, particularly silk; and, like all monopolists, they were soon punished for their cupidity. The eggs of the silk-worm were brought into Europe, concealed in a hollow cane, by two monks; and the rapidity with which the insects were propagated in Greece, and subsequently in Italy, soon rendered the European states independent of the East for the supply of this valuable material.

Ceylon
sends an
agent to
Rome.Constanti-
nople.

The conquests of the enterprising Saracens gave an immense stimulus to Eastern commerce. They established commercial navies on the Persian Gulph; and the city of Bussorah, founded by the Kaliph Omar, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, soon became a place of trade hardly inferior to Alexandria. The Egyptian trade through the Red Sea was at the same time revived; and the hardy Arabs, not contented with following in the track of their predecessors, pushed forward their discoveries until they had accurately explored the greater part of the coast-line of south-eastern Asia. It is all but demonstrated that they obtained a knowledge of the mariner's compass from the Chinese, and that through them this vast improvement in the art of navigation was made known to Europe.

The
Saracens.

The Crusaders were non-trading enthusiasts; yet the capture

Crusaders.

CHAPTER
IV.A. D.
1100—1400

Venetians.

Columbus.

A. D. 1492.

America
discovered.The
Portuguese
discoveries.Round the
Cape, 1486.

of the two flourishing cities, Antioch and Tyre, pointed out to them the pleasures of Oriental luxuries, and the advantages of Oriental commerce. Both were appreciated by the rising republics of Italy, where the arts and industry, the usual concomitants of freedom, had made considerable progress. The Italian States supplied the means of transport to the fanatical soldiers of the Cross, receiving, in return, valuable immunities and privileges in the several cities they subdued. At this time the glory of the Saracens was gone; they had been trampled down under the feet of their Turkish mercenaries and slaves, who sold or leased out to the spirited merchants of Italy commercial advantages, which they were too proud or too stupid to use themselves. Other revolutions followed, which gave to the Genoese the monopoly of all the Eastern trade, which centred in Constantinople—and, to the Venetians, the command of all the commerce which passed through Egypt. Travellers from these States penetrated into the remotest parts of Central Asia; their observations led men to reflect on the geographical consequences resulting from the spherical figure of the earth, for, though the true shape of the globe had been long known, little attention had been paid to the inferences which necessarily followed. By a fortunate blunder, the eastern longitude of Asia had been increased far beyond the reality, and this error led Columbus to conclude that India might be reached by a voyage undertaken in a westerly direction. He proposed this scheme to the Genoese, and afterwards to the King of Portugal, without success; but, undaunted by these failures, he applied to the court of Spain, and obtained the means of equipping the little armament which discovered a new world.

Ptolemy's undetected error led to the discovery of America; the exposure of another of his mistakes was the chief cause of the first opening of a passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope. The ancient geographer asserted that Africa, towards the south, extended its breadth westwards to some unknown and enormous distance. The Portuguese, on the contrary, as they pursued their discoveries along the western coast, not only refuted the prevalent opinion—that the country beyond the tropic of Cancer was uninhabitable, on account of the excessive heat, but also found, as they advanced, that the continent seemed to contract itself and tend towards the east. Following out this important observation, Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, actually rounded the southern point of the African continent; but suffering severely by a tempest, he was compelled to return home.

after having named the great promontory which he had passed "The Cape of Storms." John II, king of Portugal, with a more just appreciation of the important discovery which had been made, commanded that it should be called "The Cape of Good Hope." His cousin and successor, Manuel, resolved to follow out the important discovery which Diaz had made, and on the 8th of July, 1497, an exploring expedition sailed from the Tagus for this purpose, under the command of Vasco de Gama. On the 22nd of the following May, the bold navigators reached the port of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. After escaping many plots formed for his destruction by the Zamoree, or monarch of Calicut, Gama returned to Europe, after having freighted his ship with the commodities peculiar to the Malabar coast, and with many of the rich productions of the eastern parts of India.

The hopes and fears of all Europe were roused by this brilliant discovery. It was at once seen that the Venetians, and their agents the Mohammedans and Turks must lose their lucrative monopoly of Indian commerce; and they entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, to prevent the establishment of Portuguese settlements in the eastern seas. Timber was supplied to him from the forests in Dalmatia to equip a fleet in the Red Sea, where twelve ships of war were soon built, and manned by a gallant body of Mamelukes, under the command of experienced officers. The Portuguese encountered their new enemies with undaunted courage; and after some conflicts they entirely ruined their squadron, and remained masters of the Indian Ocean.

After the overthrow of the dynasty of the Mameluke Sultans by the Turks, the Venetians easily induced the conquerors of Egypt to join them in a new league for the overthrow of the Portuguese power in India. But the Turks had not the skill and enterprize necessary for undertaking the perilous navigation of the Red Sea, and soon after the power of Venice was irretrievably ruined by the fatal league of Cambray. The Indian trade was consequently transferred from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; and Lisbon for a time was in possession of that commerce which had been the source of the wealth and of the glory of Venice.

The lovers of poetry will find a magnificent description of the discovery of India by Vasco de Gama, in Camoens' *Lusiad*.

The Portuguese were the first dealers in slaves. In 1503, they sent negroes from Africa to the Spanish dominions in America. At that time the Christians, when taken by the Mohammedans, were sold as slaves—and the negroes were treated in the same manner by their captors.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1497.
"The Cape of Storms" called "the Cape of Good Hope"
Vasco de Gama reached India, May, 1498.

Intrigues of the Moors and Venetians.

The Turks send expeditions to ruin the Portuguese trade.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

Expedition of Cabral, 1501.—Discovers the Brasils.—Reaches India and treats with the Zamoree.—The Mohammedans oppose the trade.—Cabral takes an Indian ship.—Restores it.—Duplicity of the Zamoree discovered.—Attack on Calicut.—Success of the Portuguese.—Cabral returns to Lisbon.—Vasco de Gama's Second Expedition.—Albuquerque founds the Portuguese Empire.—Goa, an excellent Station, selected, 1510.—The Island Ormuz, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, occupied.—Excellent government of Albuquerque.—His Death and dying Requests.—His Successors are corrupt, and peculate.—Soarez recalled to Lisbon.—Siqueyra a bad Governor.—Vasco de Gama's Third Expedition.—His Wisdom, Zeal, and Activity.—His Death causes Confusion, 1525.—Quarrels between Sampayo and Mascarenhas.—Nunho d'Acunha restores Prosperity.—Possession of Diu received as a Recompence.—Bahadur of Guzerat tries to retake it.—His Treachery is discovered, and he jumps over-board.—The Turks send an Expedition to India.—The Siege of Diu.—Gallant Defence.—The Siege raised.—The Portuguese triumph.—Noronha forms various Alliances.—Dies.—Estevas de Gama sails up the Red Sea.—He sends his Brother into Abyssinia.—The Brother loses his Life there.—Souza supersedes Gama, and persecutes the Natives.—Second Siege of Diu.—Joao de Castro adds lustre to the Portuguese Name.—His Exploits.—St. Francis Xavier converts many Natives.—The Portuguese Soldiers become corrupt.—Goa beleaguered.—Chaul besieged.—The Settlement at Ternate lost, 1598.—Mesquita's Conduct produces an Insurrection.—Death of Dom Sebastian, 1578.—The Spaniards take possession of Portugal and its Dependencies.—The Dutch learn to trade with the East.—The English send Ships.—The Portuguese Monopoly destroyed.—A Dutch Squadron enters Goa Harbour, 1632.—The Power and Trade of Portugal decline.

CHAPTER
V.

A.D. 1501.

MANUEL, king of Portugal, was well aware that the Moslems would soon make preparations to dispute with him the empire of the

Indian Seas ; they had indeed, from the first, exerted themselves to drive out the European intruders, and menaced them with a formidable war. A fleet therefore of thirteen sail and fifteen hundred men, was fitted out for India, and the command of it given to an experienced officer, Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. His instructions were to enter into a treaty with the Zamoree (the sovereign of Calicut), and obtain leave to build a fort in the vicinity. On his voyage he was driven to the coast of South America, where he made the first discovery of Brazil. He lost several of his sloops in doubling the Cape, but still his forces appeared so imposing at Calicut, that the reluctant Zamoree deemed it prudent to conclude a commercial treaty with the Portuguese, and assign them a house for their factory in the city. Correa, with seventy men, took immediate possession of this new acquisition.

CHAPTER
V.

A.D. 1501.

Discovers
Brazil.

Cabral's fleet was to be laden with spicery ; the Mohammedan merchants used every effort to retard the collection of the freight, and in the mean time, the Zamoree requested the admiral to take for him a large vessel belonging to the king of Cochin, with whom he pretended to be at war. Aware of the great importance of producing an impression of European superiority, Cabral sent one of the smallest of his ships against this vessel. The Indians, exulting in their superiority of force, laughed the Portuguese to scorn ; but when the battle had once begun, they were unable to endure the sustained fire of the European guns, and were brought in triumph into Calicut. This circumstance not only established the character of the Portuguese for bravery, but gave them a favourable opportunity to display their integrity and honour. When Cabral conversed with the captives, he found that he had been completely deceived by the Zamoree ; he therefore restored the sloop to the king of Cochin, and paid for the damage she had sustained. Some other circumstances created dissensions between the new allies, until at length the Zamoree, instigated by the Mohammedans, attacked the Portuguese factory and slaughtered Correa, with most of the garrison. Cabral immediately attacked the Mohammedan vessels in the harbour, ten of which he plundered and burned ; he then bombarded Calicut, and after having slain six hundred of the inhabitants, forced the Zamoree to submit to new conditions of peace. The intelligence of these events brought ambassadors to Cabral from all the neighbouring powers ; and he entered into very close alliances with the rulers of Cochin and Cannanore. Having left factors at

Takes an
Indian ship.Restores it.
A.D. 1502.Treats with
the native
princes.

CHAPTER
V.

A.D. 1502.

some of the principal ports, he returned to Europe, and brought Manuel such information, as shewed that there was a necessity for great and continued exertion, in order to establish a Portuguese empire in India.

Vasco de
Gama.

The Portuguese monarch, in consequence of the information brought by Cabral, fitted out a fleet of twenty ships, the command of which was given to Vasco de Gama. On his arrival in India, Gama, disgusted with the treachery of the Zamoree, proceeded to trade with other states, upon which the sovereign of Calicut, sent out several armed cruisers, to intercept the Portuguese vessels; his ships, however, were all destroyed, and Gama returned home, having left a squadron to protect the ruler of Cochin, whose favours to the Europeans had provoked the resentment of the Zamoree of Calicut. Loche, who had been left in command of the squadron, abandoned his duty, in the hope of obtaining prizes in another quarter. The Zamoree advanced against Cochin, and captured the city. Fortunately, the death of Loche, left the fleet at liberty to return; the brothers Albuquerque arrived nearly at the same time, and Cochin was recovered for its former master.

Albu-
querque the
great leader
of the
Portuguese.

The command of the Portuguese now devolved upon Pacheco, under whose guidance, the forces of the king of Cochin, though inferior in number, defeated the undisciplined hordes of Calicut in several engagements. But the papal bull, by which all the East was bestowed on the Portuguese, began now to produce its injurious effects. The Portuguese claimed, as matter of right, the submission of the native princes, while they were utterly unable to conceive how an old prelate residing in Rome, could acquire a claim to deprive them of the authority and independence which they had inherited from their ancestors. Almost every port now opposed the entrance of the Portuguese, and the cargo of almost every ship they loaded, was purchased with blood. It was at this time, that Albuquerque was placed at the head of the Portuguese in India, and entered on the career of victory, which has immortalized his name. One of his first visits was to the island of Ormuz, an island barren by nature, but which commerce soon raised to a temporary celebrity, such as has rarely been rivalled. The king of the island prepared for defence and assembled an army, said to exceed thirty thousand men; yet these were totally defeated, by the discipline and skill of less than five hundred Europeans; and the king of Ormuz submitted to vassalage.

A.D. 1510.

Takes the
island of
Ormuz.

The foundation of the Portuguese empire in the East, may be

said to date from the occupation of Goa, by Albuquerque. He fortified it in the best manner, so as to render it impregnable against any attack of the Hindus, or Mohammedans ; and having thus discovered the great advantage to be derived from the occupation of cities and harbours, he began to direct his whole course of policy to territorial acquisitions. One of his first conquests was Malacca. He afterwards attempted to storm Aden, but was repulsed. From Malacca to the island of Ormuz, the coast-line of India was studded with forts and commercial marts, occupied by Portuguese garrisons, or dependent on their power. The financial talents of the governor, were even greater than his military prowess ; he raised the revenue by lowering the rate of duties, trade naturally flowing towards those places where it was least exposed to taxation and vexatious interference. After a brilliant regency of five years, he died at the entrance of the harbour of Goa, on his return from the island of Ormuz, which he had rescued from the dangers to which it was exposed by a sudden attack of the Persians. "The princes of India," says an eminent historian, "who viewed Albuquerque as their father, clothed themselves in mourning on his death, for they had experienced the happiness and protection which his friendship gave them ; and the sincerity of their grief showed Manuel what a subject he had lost. He was buried at Goa, and it became customary for the Mohammedan and Gentoo inhabitants of that city, when injured by the Portuguese, to come and weep at his tomb, utter their complaints to his manes, and call upon his God to revenge his wrongs."*

CHAPTER
V.A.D. 1510.
Occupies
Goa.
Nov. 1510.His good
govern-
ment.

Under Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, a system of His speculation and corruption was introduced ; "the period," say successors the Portuguese authors, "commenced when the soldier no more peculate. followed the dictates of honour, when those who had been captains became traders, and rapacious plunderers of the innocent natives." Many quitted the military service, and became private adventurers ; and many who yearly arrived from Portugal, in place of entering into the king's service, followed this

* A little before his death, (December 16, 1515) he wrote this manly letter to the King of Portugal. "Under the pangs of death, in the difficult breathing of the last hour, I write this my last letter to your highness ; the last of many I have written to you, full of life, for I was then employed in your service. I have a son, Blas de Albuquerque ; I entreat your highness to make him as great as my services deserve. The affairs of India will answer for themselves and for me."

- CHAPTER V.
 A.D. 1515-34
 Soares recalled.
- example. The courts established by Albuquerque, were either corrupted, or without power, and the petty governor of every petty fort, was arbitrary in his own harbour. After a regency of three years, Soares was recalled. He left the affairs of his government in a state of the greatest confusion, and the power of the Portuguese perceptibly on the decline ! nor was the administration of his successor Siqueyra more beneficial. Unmeaning slaughter on the coasts of Madagascar, the Red Sea, India and the Moluccas, comprise the whole history of his regency.
- Siqueyra.
- A.D. 1521.
- The death of King Manuel, produced a change in the Portuguese councils. One of the first acts of the new reign, was to remedy the disorders of India ; and for this purpose the government of the Eastern colonies was entrusted to Vasco de Gama, who had been raised to the dignity of Count de Vidigueyra. Though a very old man, Gama displayed equal wisdom, zeal and activity. He delivered Cochin from a siege, with which it was menaced by the Zamoree ; his detached squadrons cleared the seas of the Moorish pirates that invested them, and he made preparations for restoring the wise and liberal policy of Albuquerque. His death at the end of three months, soon followed by that of his successor Menezes, again threw affairs into confusion. Sampayo and Mascarenhas, paying little attention to the edicts of the distant court of Lisbon, contested the office of chief governor by force of arms. The contest terminated in favour of the former. No sooner had he triumphed over his rival, than he entered on a career of sanguinary conquest, in the midst of which he was arrested by Nunho d'Acunha, who had been commissioned to supersede him, and was sent home a close prisoner to Lisbon.
- Vasco de Gama goes to India and dies.
- A.D. 1525.
 Contest for the rule.
- Nunho d'Acunha.
- Nunho d'Acunha soothed and relieved the wrongs of the various princes, whom his predecessors had injured ; innocence and industry were again protected ; prosperity began to revive. Taking advantage of the war between Bahadur, sultan of Guzerat and Humayoon, emperor of Delhi, the Portuguese, by a promise of aid to the sultan, obtained possession of Diu, which had been long the object of their ambition. When the war was over, Bahadur wished to resume his gift, and a desultory war ensued. At length the sultan proposed that all differences should be arranged at a personal interview, to which the Portuguese commanders assented. Suspicions of treachery were entertained ; they led to a squabble in the boats, which ended in the death of the sultan. The resolution of the Portuguese may be learned from the fact, that a soldier, being among some ruins, with
- Diu taken.
- Turks in India.

abundance of powder, but not balls, pulled out his own tooth and fired it off against the Turkish assailants. Another soldier carried a barrel of powder with a lighted torch into the midst of the enemy, and then blew himself and forty Turks to pieces. Selim, the Turkish sultan, sent an immense armament to the relief of his Mohammedan brethren in India; Diu was closely invested, and the succours which Nunho d'Acunha had prepared for its relief, were delayed by Noronha, his unworthy successor. The desperate valour of the garrison daunted the Turks. Even the women took arms; and the officers' ladies went from rampart to rampart, upbraiding the least appearance of languor. The Turks at length raised the siege, though there were not more than forty men, out of the original garrison of six hundred, who were in a condition to bear arms for the defence of the place.

CHAPTER
V.
A.D. 1538.

Although Noronha had made no effort to relieve Diu, he profited by the impression which its brave defence had produced on the princes of India; several of them, including the Zamoree, entered into alliance with Portugal, and thus afforded the governor leisure for extending the limits of the colony in Ceylon. Noronha's administration was sullied by much cruelty and oppression, so that his death gave equal joy to the natives and the settlers.

A.D. 1538.

Alliances

Estevao de Gama, the son of the great Vasco, succeeded to the administration; he sailed up the Red Sea and took the town of Tor, near which he found the monks of St. Catherine, not far from Mount Sinai. Gama came within two leagues of Suez; but finding difficulties, he returned to Tor, where he received an agent of the king of Abyssinia (nicknamed Prester John), who besought him for aid against invaders from Zeyla. Gama sent his brother Christopher with 400 men. Several battles ensued—Christopher was wounded and taken prisoner, and then beheaded by the Mohammedans. Estevao returned to Goa in 1541, and was there met by ambassadors from Persia, Cambay, and Calicut. The sultan of Guzerat, aided by large bodies of Turkish and Moorish auxiliaries, again laid siege to Diu. The city was as bravely defended as it had been on the former occasion; but it would most probably have fallen, had not the gallant Joao de Castro been sent to take the place of the imbecile Souza. Castro not only relieved Diu, but he attacked the enemy in their fortified trenches, and routed them with great slaughter. He then carried the war into the hostile country, and so humbled the monarchs of Guzerat and the Deccan, that they were

Expedition
to the
Red Sea.

Second
siege of
Diu.

Joao de
Castro.

CHAPTER
V.

A.D. 1545.

glad to submit to the terms of peace dictated by the conqueror. The civil government of Castro merited even greater praise than his military exploits; under his sway, justice was fairly administered and commerce protected, so that Camoens was justified in saying, *

"O'er Indus' banks, o'er Ganges' smiling vales,
No more the hind his plunder'd field bewails;
O'er every field, O Peace, thy blossoms glow,
The golden blossoms of thy olive bough;
Firm based on wisdom's laws great Castro crowns,
And the wide East the Lusian empire owns."

St. Francis
Xavier.Results of
his labours.

Under the administration of Castro, the Portuguese settlements in India reached the highest point of all their greatness. He was succeeded by Gabriel de Sa, whose brief rule is chiefly remarkable for the establishment of the Jesuit missions in the East, under St. Francis Xavier. The Jesuit was respected as an apostle; and many thousands, on his preaching, assumed the Christian faith. As a politician, Xavier was minute and comprehensive; every offer of religious instruction, was attended with the most flattering proposals of alliances;—of alliances, however, which were calculated to render the natives dependent on the Portuguese, and in fact mere tributaries. In this plan of operations, the great abilities of Xavier were crowned with rapid success; kings and kingdoms, won by his preaching, sued for the friendship of the Portuguese. But while the olive of peace seemed ready to spread its boughs over India, the unrelenting villany of the Portuguese soldiers and merchants, counteracted the labours of Xavier; and several of the newly baptized princes, in resentment of the injuries they received, returned to paganism and hostility. Xavier, who became acquainted with the military and civil government of those princes, not only from time to time laid these abuses before the king of Portugal, but also interested himself greatly, both in the civil and military councils of Portuguese India. He was the intimate friend and counsellor of the great Castro; and his political efforts were only baffled by the hardened corruption of the Portuguese manners.

A.D. 1552.

In 1569, Goa was beleaguered for nine months by Aid-ul-Khan,

* A singular trait of Castro's character was shown in his cutting off his beard, and pawning it for a sum of money which he wanted to complete the fortifications of Diu, which still remains a Portuguese settlement at the southern point of Guzerat.

a native rajah, at the head of a large army. The inhabitants defended themselves valiantly, and repulsed the enemy. In 1570 Chaul, another Portuguese settlement, was attacked by Nizam Malek, and for nearly a year the inhabitants displayed great valour, and drove the Indians off. Chaul is now a ruin. The Portuguese established a settlement at Ternate, in the Moluccas, where they carried on a furious contest with the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands for fifty years. In 1571, the murder of the king caused a bloody war, in which the Portuguese lost many men. Some years afterwards the Dutch joined the natives, and expelled the other Europeans.

CHAPTER
V.

A. D. 1570.

The misconduct of Mesquita provoked one of the most desperate insurrections that ever occurred in India. Mesquita was sent to obtain satisfaction for an insult offered to a Portuguese ship; he scoured the coast of Malabar, seized all the native vessels he could find, and murdered the crews, generally sewing them up in their own sail-cloths and hurling them into the sea. The friends of Mesquita's victims went from place to place among their countrymen, exhorting them to revenge; thousands flew to arms, vowing never to relax in their efforts until they had extirpated the Portuguese. A body of the insurgents beset the fort of Cannanore, and burned above thirty ships that lay at anchor under its cannon. The natives of Ceylon were driven to arms by similar outrages, and the people of Amboyna expelled the Portuguese from the island. In the midst of these perilous wars, the death of Dom Sebastian, king of Portugal, enabled Philip II. to annex that country to Spain.

Insurrection
against
Mesquita.Loss to the
Portuguese

A. D. 1578.

Houtman, a Dutch merchant, while confined for debt in the jail of Lisbon, acquired some valuable information respecting India. He sent an account of it to his countrymen, then engaged in their glorious struggle against the tyranny of Spain; a subscription was made to pay his debts, and on his return to Holland, the Dutch East India Company was formed. The first appearance of a Dutch fleet in the Indian Seas gave as much alarm to the Portuguese as their own arrival had to the Moslems. No art was left untried by the Jesuits, to stimulate the Hindus against the Dutch intruders; but the name of the Portuguese was detested in the East, and the machinations of the Jesuits recoiled on their own heads. The English soon appeared, to claim a share in the lucrative commerce of India, where they erected several factories; and the Portuguese became every day less able to compete with their enterprising rivals. The English were, however, fettered in their operations by the senseless

The Dutch
learn to
trade with
India.

A. D. 1600.

The Eng-
lish come.

CHAPTER
V.A.D. 1573—
1632.The Dutch
injure the
Portuguese.

policy of their imbecile monarch, James I, who was not inaptly described as "the wisest fool in Europe:" he sacrificed the interests of his own subjects to conciliate the court of Spain. But the Hollanders, who were under a better government, defied the powers of King Philip; they gained nearly the whole of the spice trade, and annually interrupted the Portuguese commerce with China. To complete the ruin of the Portuguese colonies, an order was sent from the court of Madrid to the governor-general Azevedo, commanding him to dispose of every employment and office, civil or military, by public sale, in order that money might be raised to support his government. Shipwrecks and dreadful tempests added to the miseries of the Portuguese; and the most remarkable events of the government of the Count de Redondo, who in 1617 superseded Azevedo, were the solemn fasts held at Goa. In some of these the citizens lay day and night on the floors of the churches, imploring the divine mercy, in the deepest and most awful silence, while not a sound was to be heard in the mournful streets.

A. D. 1617.
Solemn
fasts at Goa.

In 1632, under the viceroyalty of the Count de Linharez, "our European enemies," says the Portuguese historian, "roved over the seas without opposition, took away many of our ships, and ruined our trade. They also everywhere incensed the Indian princes against us; for we had no agents at any of their courts to vindicate our cause." Yet, deep as such declension appears, Linharez, on his return to Europe, presented the king of Spain with a hat-band, and the queen with a pair of pendants, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. In 1632, while the Archbishop of Goa was governor, a squadron of nine Dutch vessels rode triumphant in the river of Goa, and burned three galleons in the harbour without opposition; "for the fort," says Faria, "was destitute of both ammunition and men." In 1640, the kingdom of Portugal, by one of the noblest efforts on record, threw off the yoke of Spain, and the Portuguese in India acknowledged the Duke of Braganza as their sovereign. And in 1642 a viceroy was sent to India by John IV.; but though the new monarch paid attention to India, and though the English, during their civil wars, abandoned the commerce of the East, the Dutch were now so formidable, and their operations so well conducted and continued, that every exertion to recover the dominion of India was fruitless and lost. Soon after the civil wars, the English arose to more power and consequence than even the Dutch in India, and many of the Portuguese became their agents and naval carriers. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the

A.D. 1632.

A.D. 1642.

court of Lisbon turned its attention to the Brazils, and neglected India. A succession of viceroys was, however, continued ; but, of numerous settlements on every coast of the Eastern world, few remained in possession of the Portuguese. Such was the fall of that power, which once commanded the commerce of Africa and Asia—from the Straits of Gibraltar to the eastern side of Japan !

CHAPTER
V.
A.D. 1642.

The decline of the Portuguese rule in the East dates from the period of their conjunction with Spain, under Philip II. This monarch was remarkable for his religious enthusiasm, and he loved fanaticism and cruelty more than freedom and commerce. The clergy sought to make converts in India, and did make many ; but the government neglected to make soldiers. The rule of the Portuguese was a continued warfare with Moham-medanism and Hinduism. Against the former they had established settlements at the entrances of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. They still retain Goa, Diu, Macao, and Timor but their power and trade have fallen into insignificance. Their ecclesiastical heads lay claim to extensive patronage over the Roman Catholics in the East ; and disputes continue between them and the British vicars apostolic, which ought, for the sake of pure Christianity, to be settled by the proper authorities.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA, 1500—1754.

Trade carried on through the Levant.—Venetian Carrack lost off the Isle of Wight.—Thorne's Northern expedition, 1576.—Frobisher sails to try the Northern Passage.—Sir Francis Drake's Voyage.—Cavendish's Voyages. 1588.—The first Charter granted.—Five Ships, sent out under Captain Lancaster, reach Achen, 1602.—The English beat their Rivals in the Indian Seas.—Sir T. Roe sent as Ambassador to Delhi, 1614.—James I. sacrifices the English Merchants to the Dutch for Money.—A bad Treaty made with the Dutch.—Massacre at Amboyna, 1623.—Cromwell obtains Redress.—Madras founded, 1639.—Calcutta founded, 1656.—Charles II. cedes Bombay to the Company, 1668.—An English Armament stopped by Charles II., to please the Dutch.—James II. favors the East India Company, 1686.—Sir J. Child a bad Governor at Bombay, 1687.—Proposals made in the Convention-Parliament to open the Trade with India and China, 1688.—The Proposal neutralized.—The Company forfeits its Charter.—Much money spent in "Gratifications."—A new Company started, 1698.—After three Years of Disputes, it coalesces with the old one, 1702.—The complete Amalgamation of both, 1708.—A British Embassy sent to Delhi: Grant of Privileges, 1715.—The French Trade at Pondicherry.—Becomes a Cause of Jealousy, 1720.—A Fleet sent to India, 1743.—Captain Barnett gains a Victory.—The English Fleet, under Peyton, flees from before the French Fleet.—Labourdonnais attacks Madras, and takes it in a Week, 1746.—It is restored by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1749.—Admiral Boscawen besieges Pondicherry; but is obliged to leave it, and perishes, 1748.—Clive distinguishes himself at Devi Cottah, 1749.—The French East India Company exert themselves to gain Power and Influence.—Confusion in the Carnatic Districts.—The Portuguese lose Bassein and Salsette to the Mahrattas, 1750.—The Mahrattas exhibit their Strength.—Intrigues and Battles in the Deccan.—Dupleix shows great Talents as a Politician, 1751.—Clive takes Arcot, and defeats Chunda.—His gallant Defence of Arcot.—The Decision of Lawrence and the Enterprize of Clive.—A tedious Campaign ensues.—Dupleix obtains great Influence.—The French Company grow tired of wasting Money, and they are abandoned by their Allies.—Dupleix recalled and Peace established in India, 1754.

SOON after the termination of the Wars of the Roses, and the restoration of national tranquillity under the Tudors, the English people began to manifest the spirit of maritime discovery, commercial enterprise, and adventurous colonization, which they had inherited from their Saxon ancestors. This spirit had long been suppressed by the Norman aristocracy, alien to England in lineage, language, and feeling; but in the sanguinary struggle between the rival divisions of the Plantagenet family, the Norman nobles had wasted their resources, thinned their ranks, and lost their exclusive possession of political power. Families of Saxon descent began to be raised to the peerage; the seizure of monastic lands enabled Henry VIII. to endow the new nobility with estates; and other branches of the same families, emulous of their greatness, sought a road to fame and fortune in the paths which the discoveries of Columbus and Gama had opened to boldness and enterprise. Among all the navigators and adventurers who suddenly appeared under the Tudors, there was scarcely one who could claim affinity with the old Norman nobility; nearly all of them belonged to the class of country gentlemen, the descendants of the Saxon Franklins, men who preferred the paths of honourable industry to the gilded profligacy which had usurped the name of chivalry.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1500.
English commerce dates from Henry VII.

The Saxon race become traders.

Previous to the accession of Elizabeth, this country was supplied with Indian commodities from Venice, by an annual ship of great value; and as the Venetians could then charge what price they pleased, the commerce was anything but lucrative to England. The shipwreck of a rich Venetian carrack, on the Isle of Wight, excited the English merchants and mariners to attempt obtaining a share of the productive commerce of the East. Sir William Monson, who witnessed the loss of the vessel, appears to have taken an active part in urging the people of London to attempt to rival the Venetians; and he found the citizens very ready to second his attempts. "They devised," he says, "how such commodities may come into our hands by a more direct way, than to be served, as we were, at second-hand; and therefore resolved to make an overture, by favour of the Queen and her letters, to the Great Turk, for an immediate traffic from England to Turkey, and his dominions, and so thence again, with ships of her own subjects, without being beholden to them (the Venetians). These letters were sent by her Majesty, and received with great courtesy and friendship by the Grand Seigneur, as appears by his letters yet extant. In conclusion, the articles were agreed upon, and a grant made of great privileges and immunities

A.D. 1518.

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A. D. 1576.

The
Northern
passage
tried.

to her Majesty's subjects, which have since continued and been peaceably enjoyed. Thus the first trade between England and India was opened through the Levant, and the Turkey merchants were regarded as the true East India traders.*

A London merchant, named Thorne, who had long resided in Seville, and acquired an extensive knowledge of the East India trade, on his return to England, represented to Henry VIII. the great advantages which the country might derive from Eastern commerce, and suggested that it would be possible to discover a new passage by the north-east or north-west to the Indian Seas, and avoid the tedious navigation round Cape Horn or the

A.D. 1576.

Frobisher.

Drake.

A.D. 1582.

Fitch.

A.D. 1591.

Cavendish
sails.

A.D. 1587.

Cape of Good Hope. Some merchants of London, hoping to reap the benefits of this discovery, fitted out two ships under Captain Frobisher, who made three vigorous attempts to effect this passage, but failed, as all his successors have done. Sir Francis Drake, on returning from his voyage round the world, gave it as his opinion that the route which Thorne had suggested was impracticable. Captain Stephens went from England by the Cape of Good Hope, and sent home a very full account of his voyage from Goa. Further information was obtained from Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, who had reached India by a different route. This gentleman, who appears to have been engaged in the Levant trade, travelled from Tripoli in Syria to Ormuz, and thence to Goa. After a short residence amongst the Portuguese, he sailed to Bengal, Pegu, Siam and Molucca, visiting the island of Ceylon, and the cities of Cochin and Calicut; he then returned to Ormuz, whence he proceeded overland to Tripoli, where embarking, he reached England A.D. 1591. The route, however, was still considered precarious until the famous Cavendish opened a certain passage to the East, in his voyage round the world A.D. 1587. Cavendish was a young

* It appears from Hackluyt, that there was a very considerable trade to the Levant in English bottoms, between the years 1512 and 1534. He tells us that several stout ships from London, Southampton, and Bristol had a constant trade to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beirout in Syria. Our imports were silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmesies, muscadels, and other wines; sweet oil, cotton goods, carpets, gall, cinnamon and other spices. Our exports were fine and coarse kerseys, white western dogans, cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, skins, and leather. From a cotemporary document it appears, that in this early day Manchester had already acquired some fame as a manufacturing town, particularly for the production of certain woollen cloths, which, singularly enough, were called *cottons*, a corruption of 'coatings.'

man of fortune, who had wasted his property by a life of fashionable extravagance, and hoped to retrieve it by a voyage to the southern seas. He sailed from England, in 1586, with three small ships equipped at his own expense. After having touched at Sierra Leone and the Cape de Verd Islands, he steered for the Straits of Magellan, through which he passed in the January of 1587. Having coasted for some months along the western side of America, he crossed the Pacific to the Indian Archipelago, visited several of the islands and returned by the Cape of Good Hope to England, where he arrived in September, 1588. This voyage was highly instrumental in forwarding the Queen's design of opening a direct trade with the East Indies; the merchants of London were so impressed with the importance of the information communicated by Cavendish, that they formed themselves into a trading company, and applied to the Queen for a charter. Their request was granted, and in December, 1600, the merchant adventurers were incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies." *

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A.D. 1586.

Returns.

A.D. 1600.

First Charter.

In this charter, the first governor, Thomas Smythe, and twenty-four directors, were nominated by the crown, but power was vested in the company of proprietors to elect a deputy governor, and also a governor and other members for the future. The privileges granted to them, their successors, their sons on attaining their legal majority, their apprentices, factors and servants who had been employed by the company for fifteen years, are thus stated in the original charter, "freely to traffic and use the trade of merchandise by sea, in and by such ways and passages already discovered or hereafter to be discovered, as they should esteem and take to be fittest, unto and from the East Indies, unto the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and unto and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, rivers and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Magellan, where any trade or traffic may be used, to or from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty and condition, as they themselves should from time to time agree upon and determine." They were further empowered to make bye-laws; to inflict punishments either corporal or pecuniary, provided that such

* The subscriptions or shares in this company were at first only £50 each, and the original capital £369,891 5s. In 1676, this capital was doubled by adding the profits to the stock.

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A.D. 1602.

punishments did not contravene the laws of England, to export goods free of duty, and afterwards to be allowed a drawback of duty on all exported goods which might be lost on the passage, or so injured as to become unsaleable.

The country had at this time made so much progress in the science of political economy, that doubts were entertained of the prudence of creating new monopolies; and Elizabeth was afraid that the exclusive privileges granted to the new company might be unpopular, and perhaps prejudicial to trade; she therefore inserted a proviso, that if within the space limited by the charter, this monopoly should appear in any respect detrimental to the public, it should then, upon two years' warning under the privy seal, become null and void. But if experience proved, that this new corporation promoted the weal and benefit of the nation, her majesty pledged her royal word, that she would not only renew the charter, but add such other clauses and graces, as should appear most conducive to the interest of the commerce, and of the undertakers, and the general advantage, of the kingdom.

Lancaster's
Expedition.

Five ships under the command of Captain Lancaster, were sent out by the new company; they reached the roads of Achen on the 5th of June, 1602. A commercial treaty was concluded with the king of the country on equitable terms; after which, in order to complete their cargo, the little squadron proceeded to Java. Another commercial treaty was concluded with the king of Bantam; after which the ships returned home, having made a most profitable voyage. This success led to several other voyages, which were generally attended by the same prosperous results.

English
vessels
attacked by
the Dutch.

The rivals of the English were the Portuguese and the Dutch; both nations had established forts and factories along the coast, and had made extensive territorial acquisitions, from which they most carefully excluded all foreign traders. The English company felt this disadvantage very severely, especially as the Dutch equipped armed vessels to attack the English shipping. The Portuguese adopted the same course of policy, and the Company was forced to send larger vessels well armed into the

Middleton's
victory.

Indian Seas. Sir Henry Middleton was attacked by the Portuguese with a very superior force off Surat; but he inflicted on them a very severe defeat, to the surprise and pleasure of the Indian princes, who had hitherto believed the Portuguese invincible. A second victory over the same jealous foes was obtained by Captain Best, whose valour was reported to the emperor of Delhi, and produced a most favourable impression on his court.

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The governor of the Company wisely resolved to take advantage of these propitious events. In consequence of his application, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as ambassador to the court of Delhi, and nearly at the same time the Shirleys appeared as English envoys in Persia. Factories were erected at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay and Gogo, to the great annoyance of the Dutch, who were firmly resolved to prevent any interference with their lucrative monopoly of the spice trade. Negotiations were commenced in Europe to prevent any collision between the Hollanders and the English: but James I. who wanted money to gratify his rapacious and unprincipled favourites, deliberately sacrificed the rights of his subjects and the best interests of the nation over which he unworthily ruled, to the bribes that were offered him by the merchants of Amsterdam.

A.D. 1614.
Roe, ambassador.

Although in a great measure deserted by their government, the English under many disadvantages bravely maintained their ground, and at length a treaty was concluded between the East India Companies of England and Holland. Such, however, was the confidence of the Dutch in the mercenary stupidity of the English monarch, that the negotiations had been scarcely concluded when every article of the treaty was atrociously violated. At length, under the pretence that the English had stimulated the natives to insurrection, all the Company's agents in Amboyna were arrested, and subjected to the most horrible tortures in order to force them to confession. They were then put to death in the most barbarous manner, and their destruction was followed by a series of public rejoicings and thanksgivings.

Treaty with the Dutch.

Massacre at Amboyna.
A.D. 1623.

When the intelligence of these atrocities arrived in Europe, the indignation of the English was extreme; even James was roused to bestow heavy maledictions on the authors of such cruelties, but his wrath ended in execrations. His successor, Charles I., shewed himself more alive to the honour of the nation, but having been involved at the very commencement of his reign in a struggle with his own subjects, he had not leisure to bestow any attention on foreign affairs. The English trade with India rapidly declined, until the termination of the great civil war, when Oliver Cromwell, who with all his faults possessed a true English spirit, having declared war against the Dutch, so completely humbled them, that they were forced to submit to the terms of peace which he dictated. One of the articles in the treaty concluded April 5th, 1654, was in the following terms, "that the Lords the States General of the United Provinces, shall take care that justice be done upon those who are partakers

Cromwell's spirit.
A.D. 1654.

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A.D. 1662.

and accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." In consequence of this stipulation the Dutch had to pay a compensation of 82,000*l.* to the English East India Company, and also to give large sums to the families of their victims.

Madras.
A.D. 1689.

A settlement was effected at Madras, in 1639. The fortification of Arnegaoon was first selected as affording security for the persons and property of the English traders—but after some time experience showed that it was not a convenient spot for the sale of their piece-goods. Permission was then obtained of Sri Ranja, Rajah of Chandragheri, to erect a fort at Madraspatam. The grant is dated March 1, 1639. A fort was erected called Fort St. George, from which, as the seat of the Madras Government, all the official documents are still issued. Mr. Day, was the governor who removed from Arnegaoon to Madras.

Calcutta.
A.D. 1666.

In 1636, an English physician, Doctor Boughton, accompanied the British Envoy from the factory at Surat to Agra, where the emperor, Shah Jehan, was stationed. The favorite daughter of the Shah was cured of a dangerous illness by the skill of Doctor Boughton; the Shah, from gratitude, granted to him the right of free trade over the empire. This right the Doctor sold to the Company, who made use of it by establishing a new factory on the banks of the Hoogley, on a spot convenient for their shipping. This was the foundation of Calcutta. Fort William was first erected in 1697-98, and called after the king of England. It is now the official seat of the Supreme Government.

Bombay.
A.D. 1662.

Charles II., after his restoration in 1660, confirmed and extended the privileges of the Company. In 1662, he sent a fleet to take possession of the island of Bombay, which formed part of the dowry of the princess of Portugal whom he had married—but the Portuguese, who knew the value of the island, which they, from its excellent harbour, used to call *Bom-bahia*, "good bay," would not cede it. The English demanded the island of Salsette, as a dependency—but this was positively refused. Sickness prevailed amongst the troops, who were compelled to take refuge at Angediva. The commander of the English force offered to give over the king's rights to the heads of the factory at Surat—but they declined. Mr. Cooke, on whom the command of the English force devolved, made any terms he could, and got possession of Bombay island. The convention made by Cooke was refused by Charles II., who sent out Sir Gervase Lucas to take the government of the island. In 1668 the island

was ceded to the Company at an annual rent of ten pounds in gold. The government was removed from Surat to Bombay, in 1686. "The Castle," a small fort, is the nominal seat of the Bombay government. Bombay was looked upon at first as the graveyard of Europeans; but it is now one of the most healthful places on the coast of India.

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A.D. 1686.

In consequence of the improved aspect of their affairs, the English merchants resolved to attempt the recovery of Bantam, which had been wrested from them by the Dutch. An armament was prepared for that purpose; but when it was on the point of sailing, the Dutch offered a large bribe to the weak and profligate Charles II. who laid an embargo upon the expedition, and finally prohibited the enterprise altogether. This king ceded the island of St. Helena to the company, in 1674.

Charles II.
favours
the Dutch
St. Helena
ceded.
A.D. 1674.
A.D. 1685.

James II., the last of the Stuarts, was the best of the line, so far as trade and commerce were concerned. He afforded every encouragement to the Company, and gave them additional administrative powers. But, unfortunately, their prosperity was greatly injured by one of their own servants, Sir John Child, Governor of Bombay, whose fraud, ambition, and tyranny brought the settlement to the very verge of ruin. His folly led him to provoke a war with the Emperor of Delhi, who sent a considerable force to attack Bombay. Child's cowardice was as conspicuous as any of his other qualities, and the fort must have fallen, had not his seasonable death relieved the garrison from the greatest of dangers, an imbecile and treacherous commander. On Child's death, the emperor, Aurung-zebe, consented to make peace, and granted more favourable terms than the English had a right to expect. Child's successors were little better than himself; so great were their profligacy and rapacity, that from being a populous place, Bombay was almost rendered a desert; it would most probably have been abandoned altogether, if the Company's servants could have found means of escaping from the insolence and oppression of their governors by returning to England; but this favour was refused them, and they were detained by their tyrants without a glimmering of hope.

Bombay
attacked.
A.D. 1687.

In consequence of this misgovernment abroad, and the speculation introduced by Sir Josiah Child into the management at home, the Company's affairs fell into sad confusion, and the merchants of London proposed either to throw open the trade with India and China, or to form a new commercial association on a wider basis. The matter was brought before the convention parliament, which was assembled on the abdication of

A.D. 1688.

Distress
of the Com
pany.

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A.D. 1698

Bribery and
corruption.The charter
becomes
void.Bribery for
a new
charter.Another
Company.
A.D. 1698.

James II., and formed one of the many useful projects which the authors of the revolution sacrificed to base and mercenary motives. The directors of the Company found the patriots and statesmen of the day ready to break their pledges to the nation for a share in the wages of iniquity; perhaps, indeed, there never was a parliament in which purity was more loudly professed, and venality more extensively practised, than in that which conferred the crown upon William III. Bribes deferred the danger by which the Company was threatened for three years, but at length the increasing discontent of the commercial and mercantile interests, compelled the House of Commons to interfere, and an address was presented to the king, praying that the Company might be dissolved and its charter revoked. William referred the matter to his privy council. The directors lavishly distributed bribes among its members, and an order for renewing and extending the charter was obtained. The House of Commons had under discussion a bill for imposing taxes on several joint stocks; they inserted a clause, that any company not paying the tax within a specified time, should forfeit its charter. The East India directors were so infatuated as to neglect the first quarterly payment, whereby their charter became void, and new arguments for dissolving the Company were furnished to their adversaries.

The matter was again referred to the privy council. On the one side were the petitions from the merchants of London and the manufacturers of the west of England; on the other, were the ready bribes of the directors, and the latter of course prevailed. Great were the astonishment and indignation of the public. The task of enquiry was forced upon the House of Commons; and it appeared from the books of the Company, that the sum expended for secret services in one year, had amounted to about one hundred thousand pounds, which was confessed to have been spent in "gratifications." It is mortifying to add that the parliamentary investigations stopped at this point; a further prosecution of it would have involved many persons of the highest rank and influence, including the most flaming patriots of the day. The necessities of the government rendered it necessary to raise a loan of two millions: a new association of merchants offered to procure that sum; and, in consequence, they obtained a charter by which they were incorporated as a new East India Company. The two companies spent a few years in mutual attempts to damage each other; but they soon found that their common interests were thus injured, and they at length

formed a coalition. Little attention was now paid to East India affairs; the nation was involved in an arduous war with France, to restrain the unprincipled ambition of Louis XIV., and the readiness with which the united Company negotiated loans, recommended them so strongly to the ministry and the parliament, that very large additions were made to their privileges.

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A.D. 1708.
The two
Companies
unite.

From the union of the two Companies in 1708, a great change was wrought in the management of East India affairs. The courts of directors and proprietors were regularly constituted, and their respective duties and relations clearly defined. In 1726, a charter was granted, by which the Company were permitted to establish a Mayor's Court at each of the three presidencies they had created in India, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, empowered to decide in civil cases of all descriptions; criminal jurisdiction over every offence, except high treason, was given to the court of quarter sessions; and the president and council were erected into a court of appeal. In 1753 this charter was extended, and the authority of European courts finally established.

A. D. 1708.

Charter of
1726.

Extended
1753.

The revolutions which followed the death of Aurung-zebe opened many favourable opportunities for the extension of the Company's power in India. In 1715, an embassy was sent to the court of Delhi to procure additional privileges and protection, and in pursuance of advice received in Calcutta, the envoys gained the favour of Khan Dowran, a nobleman high in the confidence of the emperor; but, unfortunately, for that very reason, an object of suspicion to the powerful vizir, Jaffier Khan. As the vizir was also viceroy of Bengal, he looked with a very unfavourable eye on the requests of the English, and it appeared probable that the objects of the embassy would be defeated. At this crisis, the emperor was attacked by a painful disease, which delayed the marriage he was anxious to conclude with the daughter of the Rájá of Jodpore; he was advised to make a trial of the skill of a medical gentleman named Hamilton, who had accompanied the English embassy; and under his judicious treatment the emperor's health was soon restored. The grateful monarch desired his restorer to name his reward; Hamilton requested that the privileges solicited by the Company, including freedom of trade and some grants of territory, should be conceded. After some delay, the boon was granted; but the vizir contrived for a considerable time to prevent the Company from profiting by the imperial permission to purchase the villages round Calcutta.

Embassy
to Delhi,
1715.

Intrigues.

Dr. Hamilton cures the Shah, and obtains privileges for the Company.

It was about the year 1723 that the French trade with the

CHAPTER VI.	East Indies became so important as to attract notice ; and from that time the English began to look with great jealousy on the flourishing colony of Pondicherry, which their rivals had established on the Coromandel coast. When war was declared between France and England, in 1743, Lord Carteret, who had then the principal management of public affairs, proposed that a squadron should be sent to the East Indies. Three ships of the line and a frigate were accordingly despatched, under the command of Commodore Barnet, who took several rich prizes. The French East India Company proposed that a neutrality should be established in the Indian Seas ; but when their terms were rejected by the English, they made the most vigorous preparations to defend their interests, selecting for their commander Labourdonnais, an admiral of high reputation. By the death of Commodore Barnet, the command of the English squadron devolved on Captain Peyton, who wanted both the courage and the skill necessary for such an enterprise. After an indecisive engagement, he fled from the Southern Sea to the Bay of Bengal, abandoning Madras, which was in a scandalously defenceless condition, to the mercy of the enemy.
A.D. 1720. French trade with India, 1728.	
War against the French, 1744.	
Barnet's success.	
Peyton's cowardice.	
Labourdonnais. A.D. 1746.	Labourdonnais made immediate preparations for the attack of this important settlement. On the 14th of September, 1746, he effected a landing about twenty miles south of Madras, and protected by his fleet, which accompanied the march of the army along the coast, advanced to invest the town. Madras was badly garrisoned, and worse defended. After a siege of less than a week the place capitulated, Labourdonnais stipulating that it should be restored on the payment of a ransom ; but this condition was not ratified by the Governor of Pondicherry. He received a strong reinforcement, and was preparing to expel the English from India, when a violent storm on the 2nd of October dispersed and destroyed his squadron. Labourdonnais behaved so generously to his prisoners, that at the conclusion of the war a large present was voted to him by the East India Company. On his return to Europe he was captured by an English cruiser ; but his conduct at Madras was remembered : all ranks vied with each other in shewing him respect, and he was liberated by the government on his simple parole. It is melancholy to add, that on his return to France he was thrown into the Bastile, and detained a prisoner for three years by the machinations of his enemies. His merits, however, were finally established ; but the unmerited treatment he received, so weakened his mind and body, that he did not long survive his liberation.
Attacks Madras.	
Takes it.	
Treated badly in Paris.	

Admiral Boscawen, having arrived with a strong reinforcement to the English, it was resolved to undertake the siege of Pondicherry. Few enterprises have been worse conducted; time was wasted when every moment was valuable; the trenches were opened at a distance from the walls, which rendered the fire of the besiegers ineffectual; finally, the approach of the rainy season rendered it impossible for the army to keep the field, or the fleet to remain on the coast, and Boscawen at length retired, after having suffered a very severe loss in men and stores. Before his efforts could be renewed, intelligence was received of peace having been concluded between France and England at Aix-la-Chapelle; but Boscawen seemed to be still pursued by misfortune: several ships, and about twelve hundred seamen, perished miserably in a storm on the coast of Coromandel.

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A.D. 1748.

Boscawen besieges Pondicherry.

Withdraws.

Loses many ships.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Madras was restored to the English, was little better than a hollow truce in Europe; in India it scarcely interrupted the operations of war. A passion for territorial acquisitions appears to have seized the French and English Companies simultaneously, and each prepared to take advantage of the political revolutions so common in all Oriental governments, to extend their dominions by hiring out their aid to rival competitors. The English were the first to draw the sword; and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling fort belonging to the rajah of Tanjore, on the Coromandel coast. Tanjore was one of the petty kingdoms, into which the Mohammedans found the country divided when they first invaded India; it occupied little more than the space enclosed and intersected by the numerous mouths of the Cavery, being about seventy miles in length, with the same extent of breadth. After several revolutions it was seized by the brother of Sivajee, the celebrated founder of the Mahratta empire, who bequeathed the throne to his posterity. Sahuje, one of his descendants, was dethroned, in 1741, by his chief minister, who transferred the title of king to Prataup Sing, notwithstanding the stain of illegitimacy attached to his birth. The new monarch reigned quietly for several years, and the English rulers at Madras not only recognised his title, but entered into amicable correspondence with him, and solicited his co-operation against the French. In 1749 the dethroned Sahuje presented himself at Fort St. David, soliciting aid for the recovery of his dominions, promising to reward the assistance of his allies by the cession of the fort of Devi-Cotah, and declaring that many, if not most, of his subjects were ready to take arms in his favour. It was supposed that

A.D. 1748.

Madras restored.

Tanjore disputes.

A.D. 1741.

A.D. 1749.

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A.D. 1749.

Coleroon, the northern branch of the Cavery, on which Devi-Cotah stands, would afford the advantage of an excellent harbour, and it was therefore resolved to accept Suhajee's offer. A force of one hundred Europeans and five hundred sepoys was sent under the command of Captain Cope, who was aided by the Nabob, to take possession of Devi-Cotah, and support any party which might be formed in favour of Suhajee. Artillery and provisions were ordered to be sent round by sea.

Cope experienced no impediment until he had passed the Coleroon, and entered a difficult country covered with wood and jungle. His forces suffered severely from ambuscades of the Tanjorines, and when he came in sight of Devi-Cotah, he was unable to procure any intelligence of the ships, though they were then anchored only four miles off, at the mouth of the river. After having thrown a few shells into the place, the English disgracefully retired; they had found no party formed in favour of Sahujee, and, indeed, they do not appear to have taken the trouble of enquiring whether any such was in existence.

A.D. 1749.

Clive distinguishes
himself.

A second expedition was sent out from Fort St. David, under the command of Major Lawrence, to retrieve Cope's disgrace. In this army there was a young lieutenant, named Clive, destined to achieve for himself the most memorable character in the annals of British India, who had been at first employed in the civil service, but had taken the earliest opportunity of exchanging the pen for the sword. Lawrence, who was a shrewd judge of merit, appreciated the talents of this young officer, and often consulted him in the difficulties of the expedition, which were neither few nor trifling. The armament proceeded by sea, a landing was effected on the side of the river opposite to Devi-Cotah, the ground of the bank where the fort stood being so marshy that it would have been impossible to erect breaching batteries on it. Three days after the fire of the artillery had opened, a practicable breach was effected, and preparations for storming were made. It was however necessary to cross the river, a work of some difficulty, for the stream was both wide and rapid, besides which the Tanjorines kept up a smart fire from the thickets which lined the opposite shore. A ship's carpenter, named John Moore, suggested the means for overcoming these difficulties; a raft was constructed sufficient to convey four hundred men, and Moore swam across the river at night, and fastened a rope to a tree, by which it could be pulled across. Having secured the rope and carefully concealed it in the water and bushes; he returned undetected. Before the raft began to

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move, some pieces of artillery were brought to bear on the part of the bank to which the rope was fixed, which compelled the Tanjorines to remove to some distance. The first detachment having passed over in safety, the transport of the remainder was easy. Major Lawrence resolved to storm immediately, and Clive volunteered to lead the attack. He advanced with a platoon of Europeans and seven hundred sepoy, but rashly allowing himself and the platoon to be separated from the sepoy, he narrowly escaped with his life, and the platoon was all but annihilated. Major Lawrence advanced with his whole force, the soldiers mounted the breach, and after a feeble resistance took possession of the place. A little enquiry shewed that there was no hope for Sahujee in Tanjore; an accommodation was therefore made with Prataup Sing, and the English not only abandoned the legitimate monarch, but agreed to detain him prisoner, to prevent him giving any further molestation to the reigning sovereign. It is even asserted that but for the humanity of Boscawen, he would have been delivered into the hands of Prataup Sing.

Devi-
Cottah
taken.

In the meantime, the French East India Company had engaged in transactions of still higher moment, and a great revolution was accomplished in the Carnatic. The Carnatic is the name given to an extensive district stretching along the Coromandel coast, from the little river Gundigania to the mouths of the Caverry; to this was sometimes added the range of country between the northern branch of the Caverry and Cape Comorin; but this was usually distinguished as the Southern Carnatic. In extending westward from the coast, the Carnatic includes every variety, both of soil and scenery, which is to be met on the great continent of India; that part between the first range of mountains and the sea, was called the Carnatic below the Ghauts; the western district, between the first and second range of mountains, was called Canara or the Carnatic above the Ghauts. When southern India was annexed to the empire of Delhi, the Carnatic was included in the great Subah or viceroyalty of the Deccan, governed by the Nizam; the great extent of the Deccan rendered the governors of districts, under the Nizam, persons of great power and influence; they were called Nabobs or deputies, and were not unfrequently rivals of the viceroy. When Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed viceroy of the Deccan, a chief named Sadatulla was Nabob of the Carnatic, and retained his situation under the Nizam until his death in 1732. Sadatulla's nephew and adopted son, Dost Ali, then A.D. 1732.

The French
progress.

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A.D. 1730-40

seized the nabobship without waiting for the sanction of the viceroy; and to strengthen himself in this position gave his four daughters in marriage to different chiefs, remarkable for their rank and power. One of these, Chanda Sahib, was appointed Dewan, or chief minister of finance to his father-in-law. Under pretence of collecting the arrears of the revenue he marched to Trichinopoly, a tributary state governed by a native Hindu. Chanda Sahib's real object was to take advantage of a disputed succession. The Raja of Trichinopoly died in 1736, leaving a child to succeed him, whose mother exercised the sovereignty under the title of regent. She had to maintain a doubtful struggle against a competitor for the principality, and she therefore cheerfully accepted the proffered aid of Chanda Sahib, which ensured her the victory. Grateful for his support and confiding in his friendship, the princess gave Chanda Sahib free access to the citadel; he abused her confidence by making himself treacherously master of the fortress, and throwing the princess into prison, where she died of grief. Dost Ali rewarded this perfidy by investing his son-in-law with the principality of Trichinopoly.

Dost Ali's
treachery.

A. D. 1740.

He is slain.

This ambitious treachery greatly alarmed the Hindu Rajas; they applied to the Mahrattas, as a people of the same origin and religion, to march to their assistance, taking advantage of the struggles in Northern India, which engaged the attention of the Nizam too effectually to allow of his giving any assistance to his feudatory, the Nabob of the Carnatic. A Mahratta army, commanded by Ragojee Bonslah, advanced to the frontiers of the Carnatic in the month of May, 1740. The passes of the mountains might easily have been defended, but a Hindu officer betrayed an important post, and left a free opening to the Mahrattas. Dost Ali then resolved to hazard an engagement. He was defeated and slain; his son, Safder Ali, who was envious of Chanda Sahib, immediately entered into negotiations, paying them a large sum of money, and promising to offer no impediment to their seizure of Trichinopoly. After some delay, the Mahrattas invested that city; Chanda Sahib defended himself gallantly for several months, but was finally forced to surrender, and was sent prisoner to Sattara. Fortunately, he had previously secured the safety of his family by sending them to the French settlement of Pondicherry, where they were most kindly treated by the prudent governor, M. Dupleix, who foresaw that a time would come when he might avail himself of the grateful services of Chanda Sahib.

The descendants of Dost Ali filled the Carnatic with all the confusions of war, murder and assassination, the usual accompaniments of a disputed succession, whether small or great, in Asia. Nizam ul Mulk, on his return from Delhi, resolved to arrange the troubled affairs of the Carnatic; and, after several changes, conferred the nabobship on Anwar-ud-din Khan, but nominally as regent, for the rightful heir, was a minor. In a short time, however, the young nabob was murdered by a band of Patan soldiers, as the Afghan mercenaries were usually called, who clamoured for arrears of pay due to them, or pretended to be due to them, by his father. It was generally believed that this murder was instigated by Anwar-ud-din, which, combined with the oppressive nature of his government, rendered the people of the Carnatic anxious that he should be dethroned, and the line of Sadatulla restored in the person of Chanda Sahib. M. Dupleix zealously seconded the same course of policy; he corresponded with Chanda Sahib in his captivity, and advanced a considerable portion of the sum which the Mahrattas demanded for his ransom. On being liberated, in 1748, Chanda Sahib raised a body of partisan troops and entered into the quarrels of the petty Rajas between the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. By this means he collected some treasure, and greatly increased his followers; so that at the death of Nizam ul Mulk, in 1749, he was at the head of an army of 6,000 men.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1740.
Disputes in
the Car-
natic.

A.D. 1748.

A.D. 1749

Nizam ul Mulk was succeeded in the vicereignty of the Deccan by his second son, Nazir-Jing, but as he had been in open rebellion against his father, it was affirmed that the Nizam had bequeathed his dominions to a favourite grandson, Musaffir Jing, and, after a brief parade of negotiations, an appeal was made to arms. Chanda Sahib immediately tendered his services to Musaffir Jing, and persuaded him to unite in commencing their operations in the Carnatic, where the memory and family interest of Sadatulla would afford them immense advantages. Dupleix entered into the views of the aspiring chiefs, and supplied them with a valuable auxiliary force. Thus strengthened, they marched against Anwar-ud-din, who had posted himself in an entrenched camp under the fortress of Amboor. The French offered to storm the entrenchment, and though twice beaten back, at length succeeded in forcing an entrance. Anwar-ud-din, who had attained the uncommon age of one hundred and seven, fell in the engagement; his eldest son was taken prisoner, and his second son, Mohammed Ali, fled with the wreck of the army to Trichinopoly, of which he was governor.

CHAPTER
VI.

A.D. 1751.
Defends it
against a
great force.

his capital ; he at once sent his son, Rajah Sahib, with a force of four thousand men, to expel the English ; and this body was joined by one hundred and fifty Europeans from Pondicherry, and about three thousand men who had collected around the fugitive garrison of Arcot. These forces found no difficulty in entering the city. Clive, notwithstanding the enormous disparity of strength, resolved to dislodge them, and sallied from the fort with his artillery. The enemy, however, occupied the houses with their musketry, and he was compelled to retreat with the loss of fifteen men killed, and sixteen badly wounded, the latter including his only artillery officer. On the following day the enemy, reinforced by two thousand men from Vellore, commenced a regular siege of the citadel. One of Clive's eighteen-pounders was soon disabled, the other dismounted and withdrawn ; his light guns were, of course, utterly useless ; to add to these disadvantages, the enemy occupied some houses which overlooked the ditch, and swept the parapet with a heavy fire of musketry at a distance of thirty yards. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Clive, by frequent sallies, so retarded the operations of the besiegers, that, though they were assisted by French officers, it was a fortnight before they could effect a breach. Two of very considerable extent were at length opened, and Clive prepared for their defence, though he had only eighty Europeans and one hundred and twenty Sepoys fit for duty ; but he had contrived to infuse into them a portion of his own dauntless spirit, and they resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Rajah Sahib made his assault on the 14th of November, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ali's family, the festival most revered by Mohammedans of the Shiah sect. Clive had prepared for his reception by erecting some works behind the breaches, which commanded them and the traverses also. When the assailants advanced, they found themselves exposed to cross-fires, so close and well sustained that they were mowed down by entire ranks. They recoiled from the murderous discharge, but repeated their efforts and were again driven back, until at length they abandoned the attempt, with the loss of four hundred men in killed and wounded. The enemy evacuated the town that night, after having maintained the siege for fifty days. On the following morning, Clive being joined by a detachment from Madras, and a body of Mahrattas, commenced an active pursuit, and having overtaken the enemy, inflicted upon them a severe defeat, and recovered Conjeveram, which had been garrisoned by the French. Two wounded officers, who had been taken on their

The enemy
retire,
Nov. 14th.

road from Arcot to Madras, were prisoners in the fort, and the French governor threatened to expose them on the ramparts to the fire of their own countrymen, if Clive persevered in his attack ; but these gallant men exhorted Clive to disregard their safety. It is pleasing to add, that when Conjeveram was taken they were found uninjured.

CHAPTER
:VI.
A.D. 1751.

Clive returned to Fort St. David about the end of December. The enemy took advantage of his absence to resume their operations, and he had to take the field in February to relieve Arcot, which was menaced with a siege. On his road he unexpectedly encountered the enemy, who were vastly superior in number, just as night was beginning to close with the usual rapidity of a tropical climate. A smart but irregular action was fought by moonlight, and the English seemed on the point of being routed, when Lieutenant Keene, who had been sent to attack the rear of the grove in which the enemy were posted, by a sudden charge, got possession of the French guns, and turned them on their former owners. The effect of the surprise was complete ; the enemy fled in every direction, and few of the disbanded troops ever returned to their former standards.

A.D. 1752.
He routes
the French
near
Coorepank.

Clive would have made use of this success to attempt the capture of Vellore, but he was summoned back to Fort St. David in order to join Major Lawrence, who had now returned from England, in raising the siege of Trichinopoly. Law, who commanded the besiegers, would at once have retired from Trichinopoly but for the pressing and reiterated commands of M. Dupleix ; he was, however, compelled to abandon his camp and take up a new position in the island of Seringham, formed by the branches of the Cavery. Here he was closely besieged by the English, who had been strengthened by contingents from the Rajas of Tanjore and Mysore. Dupleix, aware of the danger to which Law was exposed, sent a large reinforcement to his relief under D'Auteuil, but Clive intercepted the convoy, forced D'Auteuil to retreat, attacked him in the fort to which he retired, and made him prisoner. Law was now in distress for want of provisions, his camp was cannonaded by the English, the troops of Chanda Sahib deserted in whole battalions ; and the nabob himself, despairing of escape, yielded himself a prisoner to the Raja of Tanjore. Chanda Sahib's fate was lamentable ; a dispute arose between the allies respecting the possession of so important a captive, which the Tanjorine ended by causing him to be assassinated. The French army, left without resource, was forced to capitulate, and Mohammed Ali was again recognized as nabob of the Carnatic.

Clive's
gallantry.

CHAPTER
VI.
A.D. 1752.

Lawrence was anxious to recover the rest of the province, especially the strong fortress of Gingee, but he was mortified to find that Mohammed Ali was by no means eager to second his exertions. In fact, the nabob had promised to surrender Trichinopoly to the Raja of Mysore as the price of his timely assistance; he now refused to fulfil his agreement, and the English sanctioned his breach of faith. This gave so much offence to the rest of the allies, that they returned to their own homes, while the Mysoreans and Mahrattas opened negotiations with the French.

Salabat
gives great
power to
Bussy.

There were many circumstances which prevented Dupleix from being so much dispirited by these successive reverses as might have been expected; but none was of greater weight than the influence he possessed in the court of the viceroy of the Deccan. Salabat-Jing owed his elevation to the French, and particularly to M. Bussy, by whose aid he had been enabled to defeat the machinations of his turbulent nobles. The Omrahs were so enraged against Bussy, that they insisted on his being dismissed; a treacherous ambuscade was posted to intercept him as he returned to Pondicherry, but he defeated the assassins by his personal strength and valour. When this was told to the Nizam, he ordered Bussy to be recalled to his court, and invested him with the government of the four provinces called the Northern Circars; "thus," says Mr. Orme, "rendering the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of six hundred miles, from Medapelly to the pagoda of Juggernaut." These provinces not only afforded large pecuniary resources, but furnished means of receiving reinforcements from Pondicherry and the Mauritius, so as to encourage the French to hope for the establishment of their political supremacy through the whole extent of the Deccan.

A.D. 1752.

It was resolved, not very wisely, by the Madras Presidency, that the first military operation undertaken should be the reduction of Gingee. Lawrence strenuously opposed the enterprize, but, being forced by ill health to return to Fort St. David, his successor sent a detachment against the fortress; it was intercepted by the French in the mountainous defiles, and routed with great slaughter. Soon after, a body of Swiss, sent from Madras to strengthen the garrison of Fort St. David in open boats, was met by a French ship of war and forced to surrender. Lawrence, though imperfectly recovered, would no longer remain inactive; he hastened into the field, and on his approach, the enemy, though superior in force, retreated behind the bound-

hedge of Pondicherry. This hedge, which commonly forms a part of Indian fortifications, is formed of thorny plants, which grow very rapidly, and, twining together, soon make a fence very difficult to be penetrated. Lawrence hesitated to attack the enemy thus protected; he feigned a retreat, and retired in apparent confusion to Bahur. Dupleix gave immediate orders for a vigorous pursuit; Lawrence only waited until they had advanced so far as to render an action inevitable; he then formed his troops into two lines, and charged the hostile ranks with so much impetuosity that they were at once broken. Had the nabob's cavalry done their duty not a man of the enemy would have escaped; but these horsemen of the Carnatic turned aside from the pursuit, for the more agreeable task of plundering the camp, and the remnant of the French obtained time to shelter themselves again behind the bound-hedge of Pondicherry.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1752.
The French flee to Pondicherry.

In the following campaign some new circumstances brought the hostile armies once more into the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. Captain Dalton had been left with a garrison in Trichinopoly, but had great difficulty in defending himself from the machinations of the Mysoreans and Mahrattas, who wished to gain possession of the place as perfidiously as they had been deprived of it. Their disputes at length led to open war. Dalton was blockaded in Trichinopoly, and he had the mortification to find that the care of furnishing the magazines which he had entrusted to the Mohammedan governor, had been so grossly neglected that, instead of having provisions for six months, the supply was little more than adequate for twice that number of days. Information of his danger was conveyed to Lawrence, who immediately marched to relieve Trichinopoly; the French army advanced in the same direction, and for more than twelve months, a series of skirmishes and indecisive engagements took place in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, which generally terminated in favour of the English.

A.D. 1753.

Campaign near Trichinopoly.

The French East India Company had now become weary of the expenses in which they were involved by the ambitious policy of Dupleix; the French and English governments were also displeased that their respective companies should carry on war while they were at peace in Europe; a conference was appointed in London, and there all parties agreed to throw the blame upon Dupleix. The enterprising governor was recalled; Dupleix and a treaty was then concluded, which threw into the hands of the English all the advantages resulting from the revolutions of the Deccan. Soon afterwards, Bussy displeased Salabat Jing, by

CHAPTER VI.
A.D. 1754. his reluctance to carry on war against the Mahrattas, who were in close alliance with the government of Pondicherry. The Nizam was so dissatisfied, that he dismissed his French officers and auxiliaries, soliciting the Presidency of Madras to supply their place with an English detachment. Circumstances, however, occurred in a different part of India, which prevented the authorities at Madras from profiting by the favourable disposition of the Nizam, and led to events which, though threatening in the commencement, finally opened the way for establishing a British empire in India.

CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH SUPREMACY IN THE CARNATIC, 1754—1761.

Ali-verdi's rule as Viceroy of Bengal.—Suraj-ud-Dowlat succeeds him.—His vicious Conduct.—Takes Calcutta.—The Black-hole Horrors, 20th June, 1756.—Clive in England.—Appointed Deputy-Governor of Madras.—Pirates destroyed at Gheriah.—Clive obtains the Command of a Force.—Clive retakes Calcutta. The Battle of Plassy, 22nd June, 1757.—Suraj-ud-Dowlat assassinated.—Deceit practised on Omichund.—Meer Jaffier becomes Subahdar.—The French still struggle in Oude and the Carnatic. Trichinopoly besieged.—Relieved by Calliaud.—Lally sent from France to India.—His sanguine temperament.—He is badly seconded.—He takes Fort St. David, 1st June, 1758.—Bussy successful in the Deccan.—Lally wants Money.—Demands it from Tanjore.—Blows Brahmins from the cannon's mouth.—Obliged, by want of support, to raise the Siege.—Masters Arcot, and approaches Madras.—Lally routed at Wandewash, 22nd Dec., 1759.—He asks for aid from Hyder Ali.—Lally's schemes fail.—Pondicherry forced to surrender.—Lally returns to France.—Lally butchered in Paris.—The French East India Company extinct.—Surat taken by the English, 4th March, 1759.—The French send an Expedition, and take GAMBROON, 15th October.

NOTWITHSTANDING the patent rights and privileges which had been conceded to the English by the Emperor of Delhi, they were prevented from extending their power or possessions by the pertinacious opposition of Jaffier Khan, the influential Subahdar or Viceroy of Bengal. On his death, Shujah Khan, by the address of two brother adventurers, obtained possession of the viceroyalty, and in gratitude for their services, he bestowed the administration of the province of Bahar on the younger of the two, Ali-verdi Khan. On the death of Shujah, his son and successor, Sereffraz Khan, ill-treated the brothers to whom his father had been so largely indebted, upon which Ali-verdi Khan, having obtained a patent for the viceroyalty from the court of Delhi, marched against Sereffraz, and slew him in battle. Ali-verdi had reduced the whole country to obedience, and was rapidly increasing its prosperity by the wisdom of his adminis-

CHAPTER
VII.A.D. 1754.
Bengal.Ali verdi
rules.

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1756.

tration, when the Mahrattas of Berar, having forced the passes of their mountain frontier, began to ravage the rich provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. During the fifteen years of his administration, or rather reign, for his obedience to the court of Delhi was merely nominal, Ali-verdi was engaged in almost incessant wars with the Mahrattas, and his own Patan or Afghan mercenaries, who seized every opportunity of attempting to coerce him into gratifying their cupidity. These circumstances prevented him from paying all the attention to the character and education of his heir which he might otherwise have bestowed. As he had no children, he selected for his heir the eldest son of his youngest nephew, on whom he bestowed the title of Suraj-ud-Dowlat. A worse choice could hardly have been made; Suraj indulged himself in all the vices of an Oriental prince, and allowed nothing to interfere with the gratification of his passions.

Suraj-ud-
Dowlat.Attacks
Calcutta.

The first act of Suraj-ud-Dowlat, was to plunder his uncles and aunts of all the treasures they had accumulated under the government of Ali-verdi; while thus employed, he learned that the finance minister of his second uncle had escaped to Calcutta, and his demand that the fugitive should be sent back, was peremptorily rejected. Suraj had always disliked the English: he knew that Calcutta was badly governed, and he believed it to be immensely rich; to gratify, therefore, at once his rage and his avarice, he directly marched against the town, nor could all the remonstrances and submissions of the governor and council divert him from his purpose.

Takes it.

The Black
Hole.20th June,
1756.

After a hurried consultation, the governor and part of the council of Calcutta resolved that the place was untenable, and prepared to make their escape on board the shipping. This was effected with such disgraceful precipitation, that one hundred and forty-six persons, including Mr. Holwell, the second member of council, were left behind, exposed to the doubtful humanity of the Subahdar. Suraj-ud-Dowlat did not meditate cruelty, he promised the prisoners that not a hair of their heads should be touched, and then gave orders that they should be secured for the night. The Hindu guards placed them in a small, ill-ventilated chamber, called "the Black Hole," where one hundred and thirty-one of them died from heat and suffocation before the morning. Intelligence of this calamity was conveyed to Madras, where Clive and Admiral Watson were fortunately present, and the forces intended to be sent to Salabat Jing, were ordered to be got ready for the recovery of Calcutta.

Clive had gone to England, where he was rewarded for his services by the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the royal army, and the appointment of deputy governor of Fort St. David. On his arrival at Bombay, where it was arranged that he should act in concert with the Mahrattas, in attacking Salabat Jing and expelling the French from the Deccan, he found that the peace of Southern India had been restored by the events recorded in the conclusion of the preceding chapter; and he therefore resolved to reduce the pirate Angria, whose depredations had inflicted severe injuries on the English trade. Watson commanded the fleet, and Clive the land forces in this expedition; they sailed to Gheriah, Angria's capital, which was situated on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and defended by a fort of extraordinary strength. Notwithstanding these advantages, Gheriah was taken after a very ineffective resistance. The fort was retained by the English, in contravention of the terms under which they were engaged to co-operate with the Mahrattas, whom they contrived to anticipate in a mutually-projected scheme of deception.

CHAPTER
VII.A.D. 1756.
Clive in
England.February,
1756.

Notwithstanding the fame which he deservedly obtained by this exploit, Clive found some difficulty in obtaining the command of the expedition designed to recover Calcutta. After two months had been spent in dispute, his appointment was finally sanctioned; his authority was declared to be independent of that of the Presidency of Calcutta, and he received strict orders to return to Madras as soon as the objects of his mission should be accomplished. Clive found little difficulty in retaking Calcutta; the garrison scarcely resisted the cannonade from the shipping for two hours, when they evacuated the place. The merchandize belonging to the Company was found mostly untouched, because it had been reserved for the Subahdar, but the houses of individuals were totally plundered. This success was followed by the capture of Hoogley, a wealthy city about twenty-five miles higher up the river, an event which so enraged the Subahdar that he returned to besiege Calcutta. Clive resolved to surprise him in his camp; and though this bold attempt failed, it produced such an effect on the mind of the Subahdar, that he concluded a treaty with the English, and, two days after, entered into an alliance with them, offensive and defensive. An attack was next made on the French settlement at Chandernagore, which was taken after a brief resistance, before the Subahdar, who had prohibited such an attempt, could effectually interfere.

Clive
retakes
Calcutta.2nd Jan.,
1757.

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1757.

Clive's
plans.

Clive had now effected more than what had been originally intended, and the time had come when, according to his instructions, he was bound to return with the army to Madras.

But Clive had now formed plans for establishing the British influence in Bengal on a permanent basis. Meer Jaffier, who had married the sister of Ali-verdi Khan, had organized a conspiracy against Suraj-ud-Dowlat, and by a promise of immense bribes to the English generals and members of council, he secured their co-operation in his traitorous attempts. The war with the Subahdar was renewed, and Clive took the field; as he advanced, he was surprised at not being joined by Meer Jaffier, but he received a letter from that politician, stating that he could not move in consequence of the awakened suspicions of the Subahdar, but that, if the English proceeded and hazarded an engagement, he would desert to them on the day of battle.

Clive called a council of war, in which it was resolved not to hazard a battle; but after the council had separated, further reflection led him to change his mind; he crossed the river, and at about one o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of June, took up his position in the grove of Plassy.

Battle of
Plassy,
22nd June.

Clive's forces amounted to little more than three thousand men, about one-third being Europeans; his artillery consisted of eight six pounders and two small howitzers. The Subahdar advanced against this handful of men, with fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. At eight in the morning the battle commenced, and continued until five in the afternoon, but was nothing more than a distant and irregular cannonade. Meer Jaffier was seen moving off with his troops, at the moment that Clive was advancing to charge. Both events so terrified the Subahdar, that he fled from the field on a fleet camel, accompanied by his attendants: no further resistance was made, and the English took possession of the hostile camp, having lost no more than eighty men in killed and wounded. Never, perhaps, before had the fate of a mighty kingdom been decided in so feeble an engagement.

On the following morning, a message was received from Meer Jaffier, declaring that he and many of the Omrahs waited for the commands of the conqueror. Clive invited him to his quarters, whither the Meer went rather reluctantly, as he feared that the English general might reproach him, for not having joined him with the promised aid previous to the battle. His apprehensions were soon dispelled, Clive received Meer Jaffier with the greatest

kindness, and entrusted him with the charge of proceeding to the capital, in order to prevent the escape of Suraj-ud-Dowlat and the removal of his treasure.

The unfortunate Subahdar had fled from the field of battle to Moorshedabad, and sought shelter in his palace. He found no friend or partisan to join him, so that when Meer Jaffier approached, he fled in disguise from the city, hoping to make his escape to the French in Bahar. The rowers of his boat were soon worn out by fatigue; they stopped at Raj Mahal, where the unfortunate Suraj-ud-Dowlat was recognized by a man whom he had formerly treated with great cruelty. He was seized and delivered over to Meer Jaffier, who placed him under the custody of his son. The son, a brutal and ferocious prince, caused him to be assassinated.

Clive arrived at Moorshedabad on the 25th of June: a meeting was held, to confer about the sums which Meer Jaffier had consented to pay in restitution to the Presidency, and in presents to the civil and military officers; but the chief officer of finance declared that the whole of the late Subahdar's treasures were inadequate to meet the demand. This intelligence was equally painful and unexpected; but the most stringent enquiry only confirmed its truth. It was at last agreed that one half of the money should be paid immediately, and the remainder in three equal payments in three years. In this partition of plunder a piece of consummate, but not unmerited, trickery was practised upon a Hindu schemer, which must not be passed over without notice. One of the principal agents in the plot against Suraj-ud-Dowlat, was Omichund, the owner of a large property in Calcutta, but who had attached himself to the court of Moorshedabad. He was the principal agent in conducting the negotiations between Meer Jaffier and the English; he was thus master of the secrets of both, and he resolved to profit by his position. When every thing was prepared for action, he waited on Mr. Watts, the Company's agent at the factory of Cossimbazar, and threatened to reveal the whole secret, unless he was assured of a donation of thirty lacs of rupees, equivalent to about 350,000*l*. It was necessary to promise compliance with this exorbitant demand, for the rejection of it would have been followed by the murder of all the Company's servants at Cossimbazar, the destruction of Meer Jaffier, with all his family and adherents, and the frustration of all the great projects which the English had formed. Lured by the expectation of so large a bribe, Omichund continued to divert the suspicions which the

CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1757.
Suraj-ud-Dowlat slain.

Clive proceeds to Moorshe-dabad.

Omichund deceived.

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A.D. 1757.

unfortunate Subahdar had formed of Meer Jaffier's fidelity, and thus led him blindfold to his ruin. Omichund now claimed the stipulated reward of his treachery, but he learned to his great surprise, that two treaties with Meer Jaffier had been drawn up and signed; one on red paper, in which satisfaction should be provided for Omichund, and which he should see; another, and that which should be really executed, in which he was not named.* When Omichund, at the final settlement, was informed of the trick that had been played upon him, he fainted away. It is added, that he lost his reason, and was from that moment insane; but this statement is evidently exaggerated.

Bahar.

After the arrangements with Meer Jaffier had been concluded, Major Coote was sent with a strong detachment to expel the French from Bahar, and to reduce the governor of that province to the obedience of the Subahdar. The troops were forwarded in boats, so wretchedly manned and equipped that their progress was both slow and hazardous; Coote disembarked, and attempted to push forward by land; but the European portion of his force broke out into a dangerous mutiny. The result of these delays was, that long before Coote could reach Patna, the French having been amply supplied with everything necessary to their convenience, retired to Oude, where they met a ready reception, and fresh instructions arrived from Clive, which led to an amicable arrangement with the Governor of Bahar.

Mutiny
of the
Europeans.Embarass-
ments at
Madras.

Although Mohammed Ali, whom the English had made nabob in the Carnatic, was without a rival, he received but a very small share of its revenues, and was, consequently, unable to pay the stipulated subsidies to the government of Madras. The forces of that presidency had been greatly diminished by the sending of the armament to Calcutta; and Clive refused to send any of the soldiers back, though war now raged between France and England, and a fleet was daily expected with reinforcements to the French in Pondicherry. Under these circumstances, the president and council of Madras adopted a general resolution to remain inactive, from which, however, they soon swerved, by directing Captain Calliaud, the governor of Trichinopoly, to attempt the reduction of Madura and Tinevelly, which were supposed to be capable of yielding large pecuniary supplies.

* To the honour of Admiral Watson it should be recorded, that he refused to be a party to this trick. He would not put his name to the false treaty, and the committee forged his signature. He died highly honoured in Calcutta, on the 16th of August, 1757.

Calliaud, who was a brave and enterprising officer, made the best preparation his inadequate means would admit for the reduction of both places ; but when he came before Madura, he found the place much stronger than he had anticipated, and after an ineffectual attempt to take it by storm, he resolved to wait for his battering cannon. An expedition against Nellore was similarly circumstanced ; but before artillery could be furnished, it was necessary to recall the detachment to Madras.

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VII.

A.D. 1757.

The government of Pondicherry had resolved to wait for the arrival of the forces which they expected from Europe ; but when they saw the English so largely employed, and their small army dispersed over so wide a space, they determined to avail themselves of the advantages offered them by fortune. Carefully masking their intentions, they collected all their available strength, and when they were least expected, presented themselves before Trichinopoly. The garrison, deprived of the troops which had been sent against Madura, were insufficient to guard the walls, and they had five hundred French prisoners in the fort. Intelligence of the danger to which Trichinopoly was exposed reached Calliaud before Madura. He immediately raised the siege, and marched for Trichinopoly, where an army five times the number of his own waited his approach. On one side of the town was a large plain, seven miles in extent, consisting of rice-fields covered with water, which the French had neglected, believing it to be impassable. But nothing could daunt the spirit of Calliaud's troops. Wearied as they were by their forced march from Madura, they made their way through the rice-fields, up to their knees in mud, and formed a junction with the garrison. The French commander, astonished at the news of their entrance, and despairing of success, marched away for Pondicherry on the following day.

Several petty operations were undertaken by the French and English, with little advantage to either side. Colonel Aldercron was sent with a detachment against Wandewash ; he took the town, but was unable to capture the fort, before the return of the French from Trichinopoly compelled him to retreat. At his departure he set fire to the defenceless town, an outrage which the French revenged by burning Conjeveram. A third power soon appeared to claim a share in the plunder of the Carnatic : a powerful Mahratta army passed the frontiers, to claim payment of the *chout* or annual tribute, which they levied on the chief princes of India, and the English government found it necessary

Bold plans
of Calliaud.The Mah-
rattas
claim *chout*.

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1758.

to comply with their demands. Calliaud renewed his attack on Madura ; but, finding himself unable to take it by storm, he purchased its surrender by a large bribe to the garrison. The French and English troops, without engaging in any great enterprise, continued to make incursions upon each other, and to devastate mutually the unhappy country. "These operations," says Mr. Orme, "being always levelled at defenceless villages, carried the reproach of robbery more than the reputation of war." Events, however, were in progress, which soon changed the character of the war, and rendered it, on each side, a desperate struggle for existence.

Lally
sent from
France.

Upon the breaking out of the war between France and England, in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. The Count de Lally was appointed to the chief command. He was descended from one of the Irish families, which had been compelled to emigrate at the revolution of 1688, in consequence of having adhered to the cause of the Stuarts ; and he was therefore animated by a bitter hatred of British ascendancy, which had crushed both his country and his creed. At the battle of Fontenoy he took several English officers prisoners with his own hand, and was raised to the rank of colonel by King Louis himself on the field of battle. He was accompanied to India by his own Irish regiments, composed of the best troops in the service of France, by fifty of the royal artillery, and by several officers of great distinction. Although he lost more than four hundred men during the voyage, by a malignant fever caught at Brest, he was so confident in his strength, that he resolved to open the campaign with the siege of Fort St. David, before which he left his fleet, while he proceeded to Pondicherry, in order to collect and bring up the land forces of the presidency. Here he found his first great difficulty in the deplorable ignorance of the French governor and council ; they could give him no information of the condition of the English, nor of the state of the towns along the coast ; they furnished him with unskilful guides, and an inadequate supply of provisions, so that his forces, when he arrived before Fort St. David, were quite worn down with hunger and fatigue. This gave them a motive and an apology for commencing a system of plunder and insubordination, from which they could not be easily recalled. A more serious interruption to his plans was the arrival of an English squadron under Admiral Pococke, which, though inferior in force, at once proceeded to attack the French ships at their station off Cuddalore. The engagement

terminated to the advantage of the English ; but, as the French ships were superior in sailing, they escaped with the exception of one, which was driven on shore.

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1758.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Lally commenced the siege of Fort St. David, which he pushed forward with the most ardent spirit. The place was wretchedly defended ; the greater part of the ammunition was wasted in a distant cannonade, and the fleet, notwithstanding its success, made no attempt to throw in any relief. At length, after a month's siege, the English capitulated on the 1st of June, 1758. The officers and soldiers remained prisoners of war ; but the fortifications were destroyed and levelled to the ground. Lally then sent a detachment against Devi-cotah : at its approach, the garrison evacuated the place, and retired in the utmost trepidation to Trichinopoly.

Siege of
Fort St.
David.

A.D. 1758.

In the meantime the judicious policy of Bussy had established the temporary supremacy of the French in the Deccan. After having forced the Nizam and his Omrahs to submit to his terms, by his brilliant defence of his position at Hyderabad in 1756, Bussy proceeded to the Northern Circars, for the purpose of collecting the revenues of these provinces at the point of the bayonet. Few of the Polygars, or local chiefs, ventured to resist his progress. The Polygar of Bohilee, however, defended his fort to the last extremity ; and when no further hope of protracting resistance remained, he set fire to the fortress, the garrison of which slew themselves rather than yield to the enemy. The English establishments in the Circars, including the important settlement of Vizagapatam, surrendered almost at discretion ; but it is creditable to Bussy that he treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness and consideration. From these labours he was called to protect the Nizam from the results of a revolution which threatened him in his capital. Contrary to the prudent advice of Bussy, Salabat Jing had entrusted his two brothers with the government of important provinces, and in particular had bestowed upon Nizam Ali, the younger and more dangerous of the two, Berar, the most extensive province of the Deccan. Taking advantage of a dangerous mutiny of the troops, Nizam Ali presented himself before his humbled brother, Salabat Jing, and offered to ensure his safety, provided he were recognised as heir to the government, and entrusted with the custody of the Nizam's great seal. Salabat Jing was forced to comply, and Nizam Ali transferred the seal to his brother, Bassalat Jing, having first taken security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.

Bussy

judicious.

The
Polygars.

On receiving intelligence of these events, Bussy made a forced

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1758.

Bussy
shows
talent.

march to Aurungabad by a road which had never before been travelled by European troops. His presence disconcerted the plans which had been formed for the dethronement of Salabat Jing; and Bussy having soon after secured himself by obtaining possession of the celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, assumed the complete dictation of the Nizam's policy. One of the turbulent brothers was slain in a scuffle, and Nizam Ali was so alarmed that he fled northwards, leaving Salabat Jing in full possession of his recovered authority. Both the Nizam and Bussy were equally aware that the permanence of this state of things could only be ensured by the continuance of the French at Aurungabad: they were therefore equally surprised and annoyed when Lally sent an imperious order, that Bussy and his troops should immediately join him to carry out the schemes which he had formed for the complete overthrow of the British empire in India.

Lally
wants
money.

Lally's gigantic plans were impeded by want of money, and he adopted the most desperate courses to obtain an immediate supply. The government of Pondicherry had a dubious claim on the king of Tanjore for five millions of rupees. Lally resolved to enforce payment; and as there were not sufficient numbers of the lower caste in Pondicherry to perform the servile operations necessary in a camp, he pressed all the citizens without distinction, or regard to Hindu prejudice, and compelled them to carry burdens and perform whatever labour might be required. Nor was he less harsh in his conduct to the Europeans. He attributed their refusal to supply his large demands for funds and supplies, to dishonesty and misconduct, displaying so little prudence as incessantly to declare these opinions in the most pointed and offensive terms which his language could supply. Such proceedings rendered him in a short time odious to every class of men in the colony, precluded all possibility of cordial co-operation, and destroyed all chance of a tolerable management of their common concerns.

Demands
some from
the Rajah
of Tanjore.

From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money, no part of the equipment of the expedition against Tanjore, was complete in any one of its particulars. During its progress, the pagoda of Kiveloor was stormed, but none of the wealth it was reputed to contain could be found, which so enraged Lally that he ordered six of the Brahmins belonging to the temple to be seized, and, as if they had been convicted spies, to be blown to pieces from the muzzles of his cannon. The siege of Tanjore was commenced, but want

of ammunition prevented the French from making a rapid progress, and Calliaud twice relieved the place by detachments from Trichinopoly. Still a vigorous assault might have been successful; but before it could be attempted, intelligence was received that an English fleet had arrived off Carical, whence the besiegers derived their supplies. A council of war was held, and a resolution taken to raise the siege. This was soon discovered by the garrison of Tanjore; they sallied out, and severely harassed the rear of the retreating French, who had great difficulty in reaching Carical, where they found the English fleet anchored at the mouth of the river. Lally's hopes now rested on the French fleet, which was numerically stronger than that of the English, but in an engagement off Carical, which lasted about an hour, the French admiral was so roughly handled, that he was forced to sheer off and make all sail for Pondicherry; and thence, in spite of the most urgent remonstrances, he departed to the Mauritius.

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1759.

Tanjore
besieged.

Relieved.

Still resolved to besiege Madras, Lally made himself master of Arcot, where he failed to procure the supplies which he had expected, and what was scarcely less injurious to his cause, he neglected to seize Chinglapet while it lay defenceless, thus giving his adversaries time to fortify a possession essential to the supply of the garrison. After many vexatious delays, he arrived before Madras, and took possession of the Black Town. The unity wanting in the councils of the besiegers, was maintained in Madras by the abilities of Governor Pigot and the veteran Lawrence. Still, the weak defences might probably have yielded to the vigorous efforts of Lally, who, though opposed and impeded by his officers, was zealously supported by the soldiery, had not a reinforcement arrived from Bombay at a most critical moment, February 16th, 1759. "Words," says Lally, "are inadequate to express the effect which the appearance of these reinforcements produced. The officer who commanded in the trenches deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the landing of the enemy, and two hours before receiving orders, retired from his post. So precipitate was the retreat, that the sick and wounded were abandoned to the English, who treated them with all the care which the laws of war and humanity imperatively prescribe.

Lally takes
Arcot.Attacks
Madras,
12th Dec.
1758.Reinforce-
ments
reach from
Bombay,
16th Feb.
1759.

Reinforcements to both parties arrived from Europe; but the French fleet having escaped from an indecisive naval engagement, returned to the Mauritius. Colonel Coote, who had come out with the new armament to take the command of the English,

- CHAPTER VII.** opened the campaign with the capture of Wandewash. Lally hastened to recover this important place, and Coote permitted him to exhaust the strength of his men in constructing approaches, until everything was ready for an assault. The English then advanced by a rapid march, which gave them the great advantage of being able to choose their ground before Lally could form his lines. At the very commencement of the action, the French cavalry, after having advanced a few paces, fled as if seized by a sudden panic, without striking a blow. Lally brought up his infantry, but permitted his men to exhaust themselves by opening fire at such a distance that their shots were ineffectual. As the column approached, it was received by the opposite English regiment with a close and murderous discharge; but pressing forward by its own weight, it broke through the opposing battalion. This apparent success was fatal; the severed ranks of the English overlapped the flanks of the assailing column, and completely destroyed it by close and repeated volleys. A panic seized the whole French line; their entrenchments were carried at the point of the bayonet; Bussy, who attempted to recover them, was dismounted and made prisoner; it was no longer a battle, but a rout. The cavalry, which had behaved so badly in the action, protected the retreat with great gallantry, so that Lally was enabled to carry off his wounded and his light baggage; but his artillery, munitions of war, and heavy baggage, were abandoned to the victors. Had Coote immediately advanced against Pondicherry, the settlement would probably have fallen, so disheartened were the French, and so divided were their councils.
- A.D. 1759.**
Coote takes Wandewash.
Battle.
Rout of the French.
22nd Dec.
Bussy a prisoner.
Arcot taken by the English.
- The English marched from Wandewash to besiege Arcot, taking Chettaput on their road. Arcot made but a feeble resistance; it capitulated when two breaches, neither of them practicable, had been made. Gingee was abandoned at the same time, and Lally took up a position at Valdore, in order to keep open the communications of Pondicherry with the southern districts, from which alone provisions could be obtained. The French army was absolutely without equipments, stores, and provisions; Lally repaired to Pondicherry to obtain supplies; but the council of the presidency were unwilling, or unable, to afford him any effectual relief, and their mutual recriminations increased the distracted state of their affairs. Coote steadily pursued his victorious career. Timery surrendered after a feeble resistance; Devi-Cotah was abandoned; the forts of Trincomalee, Permacoill, and Alamparva, were taken

with little difficulty. It was expected that Carical, the chief naval possession of the French, would have made a very obstinate defence, but it was surrendered almost on the first summons; Valdore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore were taken about the same time, so that on May the 1st, 1760, the French were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town. Large reinforcements arrived from England, increasing the fleet to the amount of seventeen sail of the line, and adding greatly to the European part of Coote's army. Lally, as a last resource, applied for assistance to Hyder Ali, who had at this time become master of the resources of the kingdom of Mysore; Hyder sent an auxiliary force to his aid, which defeated an English detachment that attempted to intercept their march. But the Mysoreans were soon discouraged by the wretched condition in which they found the affairs of the French, and having received information that their presence was required by an emergency at home, they quitted their camp in the night, and returned to Mysore.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1760.
The French restricted to Pondicherry.

Eight months had now elapsed since the total discomfiture of the French at Wandewash, during which time the intrepid Lally had contrived to deter the English from forming the siege of Pondicherry. Even now, abandoned by the Mysoreans, and thwarted by his own countrymen, he formed a plan for surprising the English which displayed great judgment and sagacity. Four bodies were formed to attack the English camp in the night, and had they acted in complete concert, the issue would have been very doubtful; but one of the divisions fell behind its time, and disconcerted the operations of the remainder: the French were repulsed, and their condition rendered worse than ever.

Lally tries various schemes but fails.

At this critical moment a commission arrived from England, giving the command of the forces to Monson and superseding Coote, who was ordered to Bengal. The council of Madras wished to delay the execution of these orders, but Coote at once resigned the command to Monson, and even permitted him to retain the services of his own regiment. Monson's first operation was to force the bound-hedge of Pondicherry; the plan was badly executed, and a considerable loss was incurred. Monson himself was so severely wounded as to be rendered incapable of active exertion, he, therefore, united with the council in soliciting Coote, who had not yet sailed for Bengal, to resume the command of the army.

Monson takes the command, but being wounded resigns it.

CHAPTER
VII.

A.D. 1760.

Coote
invests
Pondicherry.

Coote's return gave the greatest pleasure to the soldiers ; under his guidance they executed all the fatiguing operations necessary to complete the investment of Pondicherry, while Lally made the best use of his post, in the fort of Ariancopang, to annoy the besiegers and obtain provisions for the town. The blockade was rigidly maintained during the rainy season, at the termination of which, batteries were erected for an active siege. On the night of the 30th of December, all the labours of the English were nearly frustrated by one of the most terrific hurricanes remembered in India. Three ships of war foundered, by which eleven hundred lives were lost ; the tents were rent to fragments, the works blown down, and the whole camp thrown into confusion. Fortunately the tempest was accompanied by an inundation, which prevented the French from profiting by the disasters of the English ; and Coote used such diligence in repairing the works, that the trenches were opened on the 12th of January, 1761. Two days afterwards, the place capitulated, the whole garrison and civil establishment remaining prisoners of war. The English were so much astonished at their own success, that they did not well know what to do with their new acquisition ; Coote and the military officers claimed Pondicherry for the crown ; Governor Pigot asserted that it belonged of right to the Company, and declared that no money should be advanced for the troops, until the Company's officers received possession of it. Coote, after solemnly protesting against the measure, gave way ; possession was taken of Pondicherry in the names of the Directors ; and, according to the orders previously received from home, all its fortifications were destroyed.

Takes it
12th Jan.,
1761.The French
empire
annihilated

The capture of Theagur, Gingee, and Mahe, completed the total annihilation of the French empire in India ; the intelligence excited great commotion in France, and the Directors had the art to turn the whole of the popular indignation against the brave, but unfortunate, Lally. On his arrival in Europe, he was seized and thrown into the Bastille, from whence, as a place too honourable for him, he was removed to the common prison. He was granted the mockery of a trial before the parliament of Paris, convicted, and sentenced to an ignominious death. With indecent precipitation he was executed that very day. He was dragged through the streets of Paris in a common dung-cart ; and, to prevent him from addressing the people, a gag was forced into his mouth, so large that it projected beyond his lips. At a later period, full justice was

Lally
executed
at Paris.

done to the memory of this calumniated victim ; his persecutors derived little advantage from the crime,—the French East India Company did not long survive this last display of imbecility and injustice. CHAPTER
VII.
A.D. 1761.

Two facts may be mentioned here as belonging in some measure to the Bombay presidency. One is that Surat was taken by Captain Maitland, on the 4th of March, 1759 ; and the other relates to the capture by the French of Gombroon,* an old English settlement in a large sea-port of Persia, on the 15th of October of that year. This port, which like Ormus, was once remarkable for commerce, was soon after abandoned by the Europeans, on account of its insalubrity.

* Now better known as Bunder-abbas.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ENGLISH RULE ESTABLISHED IN BENGAL, 1757—1767.

Meer Jaffier in pecuniary Difficulties.—Seeks to oppress the Hindus, but prevented by Clive.—Change of the Calcutta Government.—Clive becomes President.—Discontent of the Polygar Rajah with the French.—He asks Aid from Clive, who sends Colonel Forde.—Forde defeats Conflans.—He takes Masulipatam by Assault.—This brilliant Success produces a good Effect.—The Emperor Alum Ghir menaces Bengal.—The Expedition fails.—Clive receives a splendid Grant from the Viceroy.—The Dutch land in Bengal, and are defeated by Forde.—Shah Alum threatens Patna; is beaten by Calliaud.—Knox routs the Imperialists.—Pecuniary Difficulties at Calcutta.—The English treat their Prisoners well.—Meer Cassim butchers some of the Hindus.—Disputes in the Council at Calcutta.—The Natives lose Confidence.—Mr. Amyatt murdered.—Campaign against Meer Cassim.—Sumroo appears in the Meer's Army.—He is routed and flees, 1763.—A Mutiny breaks out in the Bengal Army.—Munro quells it.—Munro marches against the Nabob of Oude.—He routs the Nabob's Troops.—A Treaty concluded with the Emperor of Delhi.—He recognises the Sovereignty of the Company.—Appoints the Company to the Office of Dewanee (Revenue Collectors) in Bengal.—Clive sent from England as Governor of Bengal.—He reforms some abuses and creates others.—Great Monopolies established.—The Nabob Vizir of Oude yields.—Officers dismissed on Account of Batta.—Disaffection in the Army.—Clive quits India for England.—His Successes raise the Price of India Stock.—Verelst Governor.—Cartier Governor.—They do little, from want of Money.

CHAPTER
VIII.A.D. 1757.
Bengal.Difficulties
of Meer
Jaffier,
1757.

WHEN Meer Jaffier had obtained the great object of his ambition, the viceroyalty of Bengal, he found that he was in a far more difficult and unpleasant position than that which he had occupied before his elevation: his treasury was exhausted; he had promised immense sums to the English, which he was altogether unable to pay; the chiefs, whom he had seduced from their allegiance to Suraj-ud-Dowlat, were indignant because their rebellion had not produced such rich fruits as they had expected;

and the pay of his troops was in arrear. Under such circumstances, it was impossible for any man to give perfect satisfaction to all parties ; and Meer Jaffier's character was not the best suited to the difficult circumstances in which he was placed. In fact, had it not been for the guiding influence of Clive's superior mind, and the judicious manner in which he employed the authority which Meer Jaffier's failure to pay his debts had placed in the hands of the president and council, the viceroy must soon have effected his own ruin. In nothing was Clive's sagacity more clearly displayed, than in his preventing the viceroy from effecting the destruction of the Hindu agents of his government, who were the best ministers he could have procured, though he viewed them with jealousy and suspicion.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1757.

Clive
upholds the
Hindus.

Ali-verdi Khan, aware of the turbulent spirit of the adventurers from Persia and Afghanistan, who were usually the chief ministers and officers under the Mohammedan princes of India, adopted the wise policy of promoting the Hindus, who, though less enterprising, were also less dangerous. He entrusted Ram Narayin, one of this race, with the important government of Berar ; another Hindu, Dooloob Ram, held the office of Dewan, or superintendent of the finances ; while the celebrated family of the Setts of Moorsshedabad, who by merchandise and banking had acquired the wealth of princes, shared in his councils, and influenced the operations of his government. Meer Jaffier resolved to change this policy ; and though he had been under the deepest obligations to Dooloob Ram, he resolved to commence with the destruction of that minister. His preliminary steps, however, provoked insurrections on every side, and he had no means of averting the danger with which he was threatened but by invoking the aid of the English. On his arrival at Moorsshedabad, Clive effected at least a formal reconciliation between Meer Jaffier and Dooloob Ram ; the insurgents were reduced to obedience, and the viceroy hoped that he might be able to remove Ram Narayin from the government of Berar. Clive did not directly oppose this project ; but he accompanied the viceroy's army into Berar, and prevented the commission of any act of hostility. The Subahdar of Oude, a French auxiliary force under M. Law and a body of Mahratta marauders, being about to invade the province, Clive convinced the viceroy that a reconciliation with Ram Narayin was essential to his safety, and induced him, though very reluctantly, to abandon his machinations against that chieftain. At the same time he obtained for the English a lease of the saltpetre monopoly, which formed a principal part of the

Meer Jaffier
tries to get
rid of his
minister.And of his
governor.The French
in Oude.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A. D. 1758.

commerce of Bengal. He offered, indeed, the highest rent which the government had ever yet received ; but Meer Jaffier was very unwilling to lose his chance of extorting presents from a tenant placed at his mercy, and would not have signed the lease, but for the pressing necessity of his circumstances.

Clive
chosen
president.

On his return to Moorshedabad, Clive received intelligence of the indecisive engagement between the English and French fleets on the Coast of Coromandel, and the investment of Fort St. David. Concealing the latter circumstance, he spread a report that the English had won a decisive victory, and then hastened to Calcutta, where the critical state of affairs required his presence.

A. D. 1758.

He found there that a new instrument of government had arrived, nominating a council of ten, and appointing four governors, each to preside three months in rotation. Clive's name was not mentioned in the new arrangements ; but the gentlemen appointed to conduct the administration unanimously resolved that he alone had sufficient authority to compel Meer Jaffier to perform his obligations. They invited Clive to accept the office of president, and soon found that by so doing they only anticipated the fresh instructions which were sent out when intelligence of the battle of Plassy reached England.

The intrigues of Meer Jaffier and his son Meeran, for the destruction of Dooloob Ram were renewed ; they were seconded by Nuncomar, a Hindu, who had risen into high employments under the government of the Subahdars, and at length Clive was obliged to give Dooloob Ram shelter in Calcutta to save him from destruction. More active interference in behalf of the injured minister was prevented by intelligence of the disasters which the English had met in the Carnatic, where Fort St. David was taken, and Madras threatened with a siege. Clive resolved not to send any of his forces to Madras ; but, at the same time, he engaged in an enterprise likely to effect a diversion in favour of that presidency, and, at the same time, highly advantageous to the government of Bengal.

The
Polygars.

Rajah Anumderaz, one of the Polygars in the northern Circars, was greatly displeased at the conditions on which Bussy had granted him the investiture of his government ; and, on the departure of that gentleman to support Salabat Jing against his rebellious relatives, the rajah attacked and took the French settlement at Vizigapatam. He then sent to the presidency of Madras, offering to surrender his new acquisition to the English, provided that they would send him a body of troops to aid in the reduction of the Circars. The authorities of Madras were, at the

Clive's
decision.

time, too seriously alarmed by the progress of Lally to undertake any distant enterprise, and the rajah next made application to Clive. In spite of the unanimous opposition of the council, Clive at once concluded a treaty with Anumderaz, and despatched a large armament under Colonel Forde to his assistance. The rajah was in the condition of most Indian princes at the time; he was believed by the Europeans to be immensely rich, but, in reality, was miserably poor. Forde's operations were, therefore, much retarded by want of money, and he found great difficulty in obtaining a moderate supply. Being joined by the rajah, Forde advanced against the French, who, with superior forces under M. Conflans, occupied a strong position at Rajamundri. Forde, who was worthy to be joined with Clive, gave orders for an immediate attack; and though he was deserted by Anumderaz, who remained during the battle cowering in a hollow tank, protected from shot, he defeated the French completely, took possession of their camp, and drove them from Rajamundri. The reluctance of the rajah to fulfil his pecuniary engagements prevented Forde from immediately profiting by his distinguished success. After a long and vexatious delay, the English again began to move; and M. Conflans, afraid to meet him in the open field, threw himself into the strong fort of Masulipatam. Forde summoned the place; but the French treated his pretensions with ridicule. The defenders within were more numerous than the besiegers, both in their European and native force; a considerable army of observation was left in the field; Salabat Jing was on his march to their aid with the grand army of the Deccan; and a large reinforcement was expected from Pondicherry. Under all these disadvantages, Forde resolved to attempt a siege, though his troops were in mutiny for want of pay, and his store of ammunition very scanty. He kept up a hot fire from the 25th of March to the 6th of April, 1759, when his engineers reported that there was not enough of ammunition left to supply the batteries for two days; and, at the same time, intelligence was received that the French army of observation was on the point of effecting a junction with the approaching forces of the Deccan. Under these apparently desperate circumstances, Forde resolved to hazard an assault. The batteries were directed to keep up as hot a fire as they possibly could during the entire of the day, and the troops were directed to be under arms at ten that night. Forde divided his little force into three divisions, and led them at midnight under the walls of the fort. As no such enterprise had been expected, the assailants gained the

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1759.

Colonel
Forde sent
to aid
AnumderazRouts the
French.25th March
6th April.Masulipa-
tam taken.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1759.

palisades of the ditch before they were discovered. A heavy fire was then opened on them, which sadly thinned their ranks ; but they pressed forward with undaunted energy, until they reached the ramparts, when, wheeling to the right and left, they stormed bastion after bastion with an impetuosity which bore down all opposition. Surprised, confused, and terrified by the sound of firing in different and opposite quarters, the French surrendered at discretion just as dawn began to appear. When the sun rose they found, to their mortification, that in Europeans and disciplined Sepoys they considerably outnumbered their captors.

The French
banished.

The effect of this, the most brilliant achievement of the war, was great and immediate. Salabat Jing at once entered into a treaty with Forde, ceding Masulipatam to the English, and consenting to banish the French for ever from his dominions ; the reinforcement from Pondicherry arrived too late, and having vainly endeavoured to perform some useful service, returned back, after having endured very severe privations.

Ram Nar-
rayin tem-
porizes.

A new danger in the mean time menaced Bengal ; Alumghir II. Emperor of Delhi, instigated by those who were dissatisfied with the government of Meer Jaffier, granted to his son the investiture of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the young prince assembled a powerful army to assert his rights. Had Ram Narrayin, the crafty ruler of Berar, joined the imperial forces, the power of Meer Jaffier and of the English would have been greatly endangered ; but the cunning Hindu temporized until he could discover which party had the fairer chance of success ; a visit to the imperial camp convinced him that the prince was not suited to the struggle he had undertaken ; and he therefore closed the gates of Patna. The imperial forces besieged the place ; Clive hastened to its assistance, but before he arrived, the prince's allies had turned their arms against each other ; the Subahdar of Oude having seized the fortress of Allahabad, and afterwards murdered its rightful owner, whom he had invited to trust himself to his generosity. The desertion of one ally and the murder of another, reduced the heir of the once mighty empire of Delhi to such distress, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and promising in requital to withdraw from the province. The terms were granted, and all danger was removed. Meer Jaffier was so grateful for his deliverance, that he conferred upon Clive the rank of a chief Omrah of the empire, and bestowed upon him, as a jaghire or estate, the rent which the Company was bound to pay for the lands round Calcutta. This splendid grant

Clive's
jaghire.

amounted to the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds a year.

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VIII.

Clive returned to Calcutta, where he was joined by Forde just in time to meet the danger of another emergency. Although there was peace between England and Holland, the Dutch were exceedingly jealous of the progress which the English had made in Bengal; an armament was prepared in Batavia, destined to form a counterpoise to the English power in that province. It consisted of seven ships, having on board seven hundred Europeans and eight hundred Malays. Clive obtained an order from Meer Jaffier, that the Dutch should not land, but this they disregarded; they entered the Hoogley, and put their forces on shore within a few miles of Calcutta, to commence their march to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. Forde received orders to intercept their progress, and three of the Company's ships were prepared to attack the Dutch East Indiamen. It was not without some hesitation that Forde attacked the troops of a nation in amity with England,* but he, nevertheless, acted with such dexterity and promptness, that only fourteen of the Europeans ever reached Chinsura, the rest being either slain or taken prisoners. The seven Dutch ships were forced to surrender to the Company's cruisers, and thus the entire armament was destroyed; and, to complete the matter, the Dutch, in order to avert their total expulsion from Bengal, were forced to pay the expenses of the war. After this exploit, Clive and Forde returned to Europe, leaving the command of the army to Colonel Calliaud, who had just arrived with reinforcements from the Carnatic.

A.D. 1760.
The Dutch
invade
Bengal.

A.D. 1760.

They are
defeated.

Calliaud was not long permitted to remain idle; the emperor's son again attempted to dethrone Meer Jaffier. Scarcely had he commenced operations, when he received intelligence of his father's murder, and he immediately caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the title of Shah Alum. The reverence which still attached to the imperial majesty, and the influence of the Nabob of Oude, whom he wisely appointed his vizir, procured him large additions to his forces, and he advanced to besiege Patna. Contrary to the advice of his most prudent counsellors, Ram Narayin resolved to hazard a battle; he was

* He wrote for more explicit instructions; Clive received the letter while playing a game of whist, he tore a slip from it, and wrote with a pencil,

"Dear Forde,

"Fight them immediately, and I will send an order of council to-morrow."

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1760.

22nd Feb.

Calliaud
a good
commander

completely defeated, and the small English detachment which had been left for his protection, was cut to pieces. Calliaud immediately marched to save Patna, accompanied by Meer Jaffier's son, Meeran, whose cowardice, incapacity, and treachery nearly frustrated every arrangement made by the English leader. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Calliaud gained a signal victory over the imperialists, which would have put an end to the war, had not Meeran refused to countenance a vigorous pursuit, preferring to enjoy an interval of ease and pleasure at Patna. This neglect suggested to Shah Alum an enterprize of great promise, to push forward to Moorshedabad and secure the person of Meer Jaffier. Had he shown the same promptitude in the execution of the plan, as there was vigour in its conception, he would assuredly have succeeded, but he delayed until Calliaud and Meeran arrived. On their approach to attack him he set fire to his camp and fled. The imbecile Meeran again prohibited pursuit, and the emperor, having been joined by Mr. Law, with his small body of Frenchmen, renewed his attack on Patna. Law twice attempted to storm the town, and was with very great difficulty repulsed. A third assault was expected, and scarcely a hope entertained of its being withstood, when Captain Knox, who had performed the journey from Moorshedabad to Patna in thirteen days, entered the walls with a strong reinforcement. Knox belonged to the same class of officers as Clive and Forde. Scarcely allowing his soldiers any time for rest and refreshment, he attacked the imperial camp during the hour of afternoon's repose, surprised his enemies in their sleep, and drove them from their works, to which they never returned.

Knox's
bravery.

This victory had scarcely been achieved, when intelligence arrived that the Naib, or deputy-governor of Poorania, was approaching to join the emperor with twelve thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon. Knox, whose forces consisted only of two hundred Europeans, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about three hundred irregular horse, perfectly astounded the people of Patna, by declaring his resolution to cross the river and give battle to the Naib. Ram Narayin's soldiers unanimously declared that they would have nothing to say to such an act of madness; an auxiliary rajah, who had about three hundred men in his pay, was, however, so charmed with Knox's valour that he volunteered his aid, which was accepted. Knox's first design was to surprise the enemy's camp at night; but his guide missed his way, and this plan was abandoned. His troops were preparing to take a little repose, when the Naib's army was seen

approaching. Knox promptly took his ground, and, though surrounded by his enemies, defeated them at every point, drove them from the field, and pursued them until his men were sinking from sheer exhaustion. Colonel Calliaud and his precious ally, Meeran, soon got on the track of the retreating Naib, and continued the pursuit for several days. At length, on the night of the 6th of July, 1760, Meeran's tent was struck by lightning, and that prince with all his attendants perished. The death of their leader, is to an Indian army the signal to disband; and Calliaud, aware of this danger, returned with the English forces to Patna.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1760.

6th July.

Clive's departure for England produced injurious changes in the government of Calcutta. According to the usual routine, the government should have devolved on the senior member of council; but the court of directors conferred it upon Mr. Vansittart, who had acquired an unmerited reputation for financial talents, and who possessed an imposing gravity of demeanour, which some believed to indicate steadiness of purpose, and others supposed to be the result of obstinate stupidity. His appointment gave great and not unjust offence to many of the members of the Calcutta council; parties were formed at the board, and state affairs were discussed with a heat and violence which led to very disgraceful results. Vansittart found the treasury at Calcutta empty, the troops at Patna ready to mutiny for want of pay, Meer Jaffier's allowance to his auxiliaries several months in arrear, and very little hope of obtaining either that or the large balance due to the Company from his first arrangement. Mr. Vansittart instead of consulting the council, discussed his plans with a secret and select committee; the result of their deliberations was a determination to compel Meer Jaffier to place the entire administration of his affairs in the hands of his son-in-law, Meer Cassim, and a detachment of troops was sent to Moorshedabad, to enforce the viceroy's compliance. Meer Jaffier acted with unexpected spirit, he refused to yield to any thing but force, and when he found he had no reasonable chance of defending himself, he refused to retain an empty title, and came to reside as a private individual in Calcutta. Men remembered the high price which Meer Jaffier had paid for his elevation; it was reported and believed, that Meer Cassim had similarly purchased the vicerealty from Vansittart and his select committee, and many condemned the impolicy of the transaction, because they despaired of obtaining any share of the bribes.

Pecuniary
difficulties.

Meer Jaffier
deposed.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1761.
Carnac
defeats the
Shah.

Meer Cassim exerted himself to pay the sums for which he had contracted, as the price of his elevation, the English lending him military aid to enforce the collection of revenues in the provinces. About the same time, Major Carnac, who succeeded Calliaud in the command of the troops at Patna, defeated the imperial forces, and compelled Shah Alum to abandon the province of Bahar. In this battle M. Law was taken prisoner, and the respect with which the English officers treated their gallant enemy, produced a very favourable impression on the minds of the Hindus and Mohammedans.

Meer
Cassim
plunders
Ram
Narrayin.

The payments to the English and the expenses of reducing some insurgent chiefs who were aided by the Mahrattas, exhausted Meer Cassim's resources; he resolved to recruit his finances by the plunder of Ram Narrayin, the Hindu governor of Berar. Major Carnac and his successor Colonel Coote, aware of the false pretences which were brought forward for injuring so old and faithful a friend of the English, as Ram Narrayin, steadily protected him against the artifices of Meer Cassim, but Mr. Vansittart was resolved to support the viceroy of his choice, and he recalled both Coote and Carnac from Patna. Meer Cassim made that use of his opportunity, which Mr. Vansittart was unable or unwilling to foresee. Ram Narrayin was immediately seized and thrown into prison; his house was plundered; his friends tortured to obtain information of hidden treasures; and his life was only spared for the moment, lest the indignation of the English should be too strongly roused. He was eventually put to death with circumstances of great barbarity.

Confidence
in the Eng-
lish lost.

The intelligence of these events, excited a violent spirit of opposition against Mr. Vansittart's government, both in the presidency and the factories; the natives of rank lost all confidence in English protection, when they saw so steady a supporter of the English interests as Ram Narrayin, sacrificed without scruple; and many of the Europeans, both in the military and civil service, did not scruple to assert, that such partiality to Meer Cassim was the result of corruption, or of a blind determination to support the viceroy at all hazards. At this critical moment, Mr. Vansittart's chief friends in the council were recalled to Europe, for having signed, conjointly with Clive, a letter in which the policy of the court of directors was condemned in very severe, or rather very intemperate terms. The president was thus left in a minority; and Ellis, the most violent of his opponents, was appointed resident at Patna. Ellis treated Meer Cassim with the most insulting airs of authority; he seized

Change in
the Council.

several of his collectors for interfering with the transit of goods to and from the stations, and he took forcible possession of a quantity of nitre which had been purchased for the viceroy's private use. In these acts of violence, Mr. Ellis was supported by the whole body of the Company's servants. Since the elevation of Meer Cassim, they had insisted that the Company's passport, which was only entitled to protect the goods of actual exportation, or importation, from the payment of transit duties, should protect the private trade of the Company's agents, of all descriptions, in every part of the country. Thus protected, the English were fast engrossing the entire trade of the provinces, to the ruin of the native merchants, and to the annihilation of the customs' duties, which were the chief source of the viceroy's revenues. Vansittart honourably exerted himself to check this glaring abuse ; but it afforded vast emoluments to the majority of the council ; Warren Hastings alone supported the projected system of reform. An arrangement was made with the viceroy, by which private English traders were bound to pay the same transit duties as his own subjects, and no more. These equitable conditions were instantly and ostentatiously violated by the Company's servants. Meer Cassim then published an edict abolishing all transit duties in his dominions, in order that his own merchants should participate in the spoils of their sovereign. It will scarcely be believed that speculation had rendered the majority of the council of Calcutta so dead to every feeling of justice, shame and ordinary decency, as to induce them to declare that this abolition of duties was an act of hostility against the Company, and to menace war, unless the edict was recalled. Meer Cassim paid no attention to so iniquitous a requisition, and both sides prepared to decide the dispute by force of arms.

CHAPTER
VIII.
A.D. 1762.

English
rule
roughly.

Meer
Cassim
resists.

Some boats, laden with muskets for the use of the troops in Patna, arrived at Mongheer ; the viceroy, aware that the resident, Mr. Ellis, meditated the seizure of that city, stopped the boats, and it was with great difficulty that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay, who had been sent to remonstrate with him by the party opposed to Vansittart, could obtain leave for the convoy to pass. After some discussion, he granted permission for Amyatt to return to Calcutta, but retained Mr. Hay as an hostage. Intelligence of Amyatt's departure having reached Ellis, he laid aside all moderation, and by a night-attack surprised and took the city of Patna. Meer Cassim, justly enraged at such an outrage, sent a party to overtake and bring back Mr. Amyatt ; that

CHAPTER
VIII.A. D. 1762.
Mr. Amyatt
killed.

gentleman resisted and was slain, with several of his attendants. The enterprize on Patna was as unfortunate in its termination as it was unjust in its conception ; the troops after entering the town, were allowed to disperse in search of plunder ; the governor, who had only retreated a few miles, when he was joined by a reinforcement from Mongheer, returned and attacked them unexpectedly ; the English were driven into their factory, which after a feeble defence, they evacuated and attempted to make their escape in boats. They were intercepted, forced to surrender and sent prisoners to Mongheer ; and their fate was shared by the English belonging to the factory of Cassimbazar, which was stormed and plundered by the natives.

When the news of these unexpected events reached Calcutta, the council was thrown into the utmost confusion. After much angry crimination and recrimination, it was resolved, in opposition to Vansittart and Hastings, that no proposals of accommodation should be received from Meer Cassim, and that the imbecile Meer Jaffier should be invited to resume the authority of which he had been recently deprived. Meer Cassim's administration had been, on the whole, beneficial to the provinces ; he paid off the heavy arrears due from his predecessor to the English. Availing himself of the services of Sumroo, a German adventurer, who had been a sergeant in the French army, he trained several battalions of sepoy in European discipline, and he had adopted many wise plans to encourage the industry and trade of his native subjects. Such merits were, in the East, sufficient to counterbalance the original crime of usurpation ; but, in the view of the council of Calcutta, his very virtues afforded sufficient ground for his dethronement.

Sumroo.

A. D. 1763.
2nd July.

On the 2nd of July, 1763, the English army commenced the campaign. Their first engagement was with the van of the viceroy's army, which had taken up a strong position to protect Moorsheadabad ; the Indians were defeated, but they fell back upon Gheriah, where they were joined by Meer Cassim himself with all his forces. On the 2nd of August he was attacked, and after a fierce engagement, which lasted four hours, totally routed, with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and one hundred and fifty boats laden with provisions. The beaten army then entrenched itself in the strong ground supplied by the range of hills at Oodiwa Nala. The English were detained nearly a month before the lines ; but on the 5th of September they made a successful assault on the viceroy's position, and drove the viceroy's troops from their entrenchments in the utmost confusion. They

Meer
Cassim
routed,
2nd Aug.

then laid siege to Mongheer, which the viceroy had made his capital; a practicable breach was made, and the garrison amounting to two thousand sepoys, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Each successive defeat inflamed the fears and rage of Cassim to renewed acts of cruelty; when routed at Gheriah, he commanded the execution of Ram Narayin, with several chiefs and persons of distinction; after the rout of Oodiwa, he put to death two of the Setts of Moorshedabad; and now, driven almost to insanity by the loss of his capital, he commanded all his European prisoners to be butchered, with the single exception of Dr. Fullarton, who had won his favour by the exercise of his professional skill. The execution of this barbarous command was entrusted to the renegade Sumroo, who fulfilled it to the very letter. CHAPTER VIII.
A.D. 1763.

Patna was taken by storm on the 6th of November, and Meer Cassim, losing all hopes, fled to Oude, where he placed himself under the protection of the Nabob-vizir. Though unable to compete with the English, his disciplined sepoys enabled the vizir to gain an easy victory over the revolted inhabitants of Bundelcund, who had refused to pay their quota of taxation. Patna taken.
6th Nov.

The English remained in cantonments on the frontiers of Oude, partly in hope that the Nabob-vizir could be induced to surrender Meer Cassim, Sumroo, and the other deserters, but principally in consequence of the mutinous dispositions of the troops, three hundred of whom, principally French and Germans, marched off in a body to Benares. Sumroo, aware of the insurrectionary spirit in the English camp, suddenly attacked it near Patna, May 3rd, 1764, but was repulsed with great loss. Carnac, the English commander, was too weak to follow up his advantages, and the war lingered until the arrival of Major, afterwards Sir Hector Monro, with a strong reinforcement from Bombay. A.D. 1764.

Monro had hardly taken the command when the spirit of mutiny raged fiercer than ever; a whole battalion of sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. They were, however, overtaken and captured by some troops which remained faithful, and twenty-four of the ring-leaders were sentenced by a court-martial to be blown from the mouths of cannon. The whole army was drawn out to witness this fearful execution; four of the unhappy men were blown away, when the officers of the sepoys came to the Major, and declared that their men would not allow the execution of any more. Monro at once ordered his field-pieces to be loaded with grape, and the Europeans to form in line, having the guns at proper intervals; Sumroo repulsed,
May 3rd.
Mutiny.
Monro quells it.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1764.

Routs the
Nabob-
vizir,
22nd Oct.Meer
Cassim
escapes.Meer
Jaffier dies.
A.D. 1765.His son
appointed
viceroy
by the
Company.Clive
becomes a
peer and
Governor
of Bengal.

he then directed the sepoy officers to return to their men and command them to ground their arms, declaring that if a single man stirred he would give immediate orders to fire. The sepoys, daunted by his firmness, instantly obeyed, and the execution proceeded.

After this exhibition of resolute determination, Monro marched against the Nabob-vizir of Oude, and completely routed his army near Buxar. The emperor Shah Alum himself now sought the protection of the English, declaring that he had been held in captivity by his ambitious vizir. Meer Cassim fled to the Rohillas, believing that he was no longer safe in Oude, and the emperor concluded a peace on terms which left the English supreme in Bengal. These advantages were counterbalanced by the dilapidated condition of the finances in Calcutta. It was utterly impossible for Meer Jaffier to pay the sums due to the Company, and, at the same time, to gratify the rapacity of individuals who claimed exorbitant compensations "for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the Indian merchants." These demands were urged, too, at a time when half of his provincial revenues had been ceded to the Company, and when the abuses of private trade had completely deprived him of the income derived from transit duties. His embarrassments proved too much for his feeble health, and he died a victim to care and vexation in January, 1765.

The Company's servants, without even going through the form of consulting the emperor or his vizir, took upon themselves to invest Meer Jaffier's second son with the viceroyalty, stipulating at the same time that the military defence of the country should be placed in their hands. They also appointed Rez-Khan to be the viceroy's prime minister and deputy—a wise choice, though one which was far from being acceptable to the new potentate. Vansittart, finding that he was in every instance overborne by the majority of the council, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Mr. Spencer, under whose auspices the treaty with the new viceroy was completed.

The East India proprietors in England had been hitherto inactive spectators of the proceedings of their servants in India; but, alarmed at the intelligence of renewed wars in India, of the mutinous spirit of their troops, and the disturbed condition of their finances, they proposed to the court of directors that Clive, who had been elevated to the peerage, should be appointed

governor, as the only man capable of retrieving their disordered and almost desperate affairs. This was far from an agreeable proposal to the directors. Clive's last act, before leaving India, had been a direct insult to their authority. He had commenced a Chancery suit, to recover from them the proceeds of his jaghire, which they attempted to withhold ; and he undisguisedly was the strenuous opponent of Mr. Sullivan, the deputy-chairman, and the most influential member of the court. After a violent contest, thirteen of the directors voted for his appointment, which was resisted by eleven. The high powers which he demanded were given with less difficulty. He was invested with the authority of Commander-in-Chief, President, and Governor of Bengal ; and, together with a committee of four, nominated by the directors, empowered to act without consulting the council, or being subject to its control.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1764.

Bengal was not the only part of India whose condition excited uneasiness ; the capture of Pondicherry enabled the English to secure the sovereignty of the Carnatic for their creature, Mohammed Ali, and they soon began to show the Nabob that they expected him to rule for their profit. He was forced to raise large sums at a usurious interest to defray the expenses of the late war, and was, at the same time, defrauded of his share of the stores which had been taken from the French. Assistance was given him to reduce his revolted vassal at Vellore ; but they refused to aid him in the subjugation of Tanjore, and took upon themselves to act as mediators in the contest. They compelled the rajah of Tanjore to pay a large sum to the Nabob as a compensation for arrears ; but, in return, they obtained for him permission to repair the mound of the Cavery, an embankment which, by preventing the chief branch of that river from re-uniting with the Coleroon, supplies Tanjore with the means of irrigation, and thus contributes to the fertility of the country. They also joined him in the no very justifiable attack on the governor of Madura, who made so obstinate a resistance, that his capture, which was finally effected by treachery, is said to have cost a million sterling. Finally, the English resolved to take the entire administration of the revenues of the Carnatic into their own hands. The Nabob was very unwilling to consent to such an arrangement, but resistance was useless, and he submitted.

Great
powers
granted
to him.Carnatic
government
asked for
money.The rajah
of Tanjore
pays large
sums.The Com-
pany takes
the admi-
nistration
of the
Carnatic.

Lord Clive had two monstrous evils to correct : the custom of receiving presents, which were, in fact, arbitrary extortions ; and the abuses of the private trade. To remedy the first, he insisted that the servants of the Company, both civil and military, should

Clive sup-
presses two
great evils.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1765.

Establishes
a monopoly.

sign certain covenants, in which it was stipulated that they should not accept presents from the native princes under any pretence whatever. General Carnac delayed signing these regulations until he had received two lacs of rupees from the emperor; but this present was fairly earned, and was subsequently sanctioned by the East Indian authorities. The subject of trade presented far greater difficulties; Clive knew very little about commercial principles, and he felt strongly the necessity of giving some emoluments to the servants of the Company, as a compensation for the miserable and inadequate amount of their salaries. Instead of abolishing the private trade, he created a monopoly of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company; the profits to be divided in shares proportioned to their respective ranks. No statesman in the present day would defend such an arrangement; but a century ago, few persons understood the real nature of trade; the East India Company was itself a monopoly, and its servants could not suspect that they were wrong in acting on the principles of their masters.

The Nabob
vizir yields.

The war against the Nabob-vizir of Oude had been so vigorously prosecuted, that he was compelled to throw himself on the mercy of the English, and submit to whatever terms they were pleased to dictate. He was permitted to retain his dominions, with the exception of Korah and Allahabad, which were resigned to the emperor, and he engaged not to molest his vassal, Bulwant Sing, Rajah of Benares, who had joined the English during the war, and rendered them important services. Warned by the abuses, which under the name of free trade, the Company's servants had perpetrated in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, he refused to entertain any proposals on the subject, and the name of trade was not so much as mentioned in the treaty. The unfortunate emperor was obliged to abandon his claim to all the arrears of revenue due to him from the Bengal provinces, and on the condition of receiving twenty-six lacs of rupees annually, to assign over to the Company, the *Dewanee*, or right of receiving and collecting all the public revenues in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

The Com-
pany be-
comes
Dewan of
Bengal.The Bat'a
disputes.

During the war, the Company had made an allowance to their officers, called *Batta*, to recover the heavy expenses which service in the field entails in India. When the army was sent to support Meer Jaffier, he agreed to give the officers twice the usual amount, under the name of *double batta*; and the practice had been continued by Meer Cassim. When the revenues of Bengal were transferred to the Company, the *double batta* was found to

be a very serious charge, which the finances could ill bear, but no party had courage to propose, much less enforce a reduction. Lord Clive resolved to remedy the evil, and having first established a new system for regimenting the troops, he issued an order, that from and after January the 1st, 1766, double batta should cease, and that, with some few exceptions in favour of distant and expensive stations, officers in the field should receive single batta only, and when in garrison or cantonments, that they should have no allowance in addition to their pay.

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VIII.

A.D. 1766.

The officers entered into a conspiracy to resign their commissions in a body on a certain day, unless the double batta was restored, at a time when the province was menaced by an invasion of the Mahrattas. Clive received early intelligence of the danger; he sent expresses to Calcutta and Madras for a supply of fresh officers, arrested the chief movers of the conspiracy, and took effectual care to prevent them from debauching the minds of the men. A number of the ringleaders, and among others, General, Sir Robert Fletcher, were tried, convicted of mutiny, and dismissed the service. This leniency was probably caused by some doubt of the Company's power to punish Europeans capitally; but Clive would doubtless have gone much farther, could he have foreseen that, by family interest and political intrigue, Sir Robert Fletcher would not only be restored to his rank, but appointed at no distant period to the command of the forces in the presidency of Madras.

The officers
conspire.

The court of directors repeatedly disallowed the trading company which Clive had formed for the monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco; finding their remonstrances disregarded, they sent out orders so direct and positive, as to leave no room for disobedience, and it was arranged that the company should be dissolved, so soon as existing contracts were fulfilled and accounts settled. With this event Clive's administration terminated; he left his authority in the hands of a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Verelst.

Clive re-
signs, 1767.

Verelst at
the head of
a com-
mittee.

The intelligence of the great acquisitions which Clive had made, raised the most extravagant expectations in the minds of the proprietors of East India stock; forgetting the vast expense incurred in making these conquests, and the heavy charge which their retention involved, they carried, in opposition to the directors, a vote that the dividends should be increased to twelve-and-a-half per cent.; as this could not be done without borrowing money at a ruinous rate of interest, the interference of the British ministry and parliament was invoked, and thus, to

The East
India stock
rises at
home.

CHAPTER
VIII.

A.D. 1767.
Verelst and
Cartier do
little.

the annoyance of both parties, the question was brought before the public, of permitting a trading company to exercise sovereignty over a great and extending empire. The delusion of the enormous riches to be obtained from India, continued during the successive administrations of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier, though even under their peaceful rule the revenues were scarcely adequate to meet the ordinary expenses of the government, and an expedition undertaken to restore the Raja of Nepaul, who had been dethroned by his neighbour, the Ghoorka, was abandoned for want of funds, it being necessary to husband all the resources which British India could afford, in order to meet the imminent dangers which menaced the presidency of Madras.

Lord Clive was received with honour in England ; but he was subsequently harassed by motions in parliament, calling on him to explain his acts while in India. With a fiery temperament and a diseased liver, he bore those attacks badly ; and at length in a fit of desperation, promoted by the abuse of opium, he put an end to his life on the 22nd of November, 1774, having then completed his forty-ninth year.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMPANY BECOMES A SOVEREIGN POWER, 1767—1788.

The Company becomes a Sovereign Power.—The Nizam of the Deccan intrigues.—He is aided by French Agents, and by Hyder Ali.—He suffers some Defeats and changes Sides.—The Madras Council send Colonel Wood to aid him.—Wood from Ignorance of Indian Warfare is defeated.—Hyder marches 120 Miles in three Days.—His Approach frightens the Madras Council.—A hasty Treaty of Peace is concluded, 1769.—Mr. Cartier becomes Governor of Bengal.—Famine, 1770.—The British Legislature organizes the Indian Government.—Warren Hastings becomes a Governor General of India, 1772.—The Emperor Shah Alum applies for Aid, but is disregarded.—He forms an Alliance with the Mahrattas.—The Rohillas being defeated, seek aid from Oude.—The Mahrattas quarrel with Shah Alum.—They enter Delhi and take him Prisoner.—Warren Hastings concludes a Treaty with Oude.—Colonel Champion defeats the Rohillas.—The Rohillas butchered by the Subahdar.—The New Constitution established in India.—Warren Hastings tries to favour the Nabob of Oude.—His Policy is opposed in India and at Home.—The Mahrattas dispute about their Peishwa.—The Bombay Government support Ragoba.—Ragoba yields several Portions of his Territory.—A Treaty made between him and the Bombay Government.—The Directors at Home interfere and reject the Treaty.—Warren Hastings accused of Corruption and Peculation.—Nuncomar is the chief Witness.—Nuncomar is charged with Forgery, tried, and hanged.—Disputes in Council at Calcutta between Hastings and Francis.—A new Governor named, who introduces various Changes.—Warren Hastings disregards the Orders of the Directors.—Bombay Expeditions; mismanaged.—The disgraceful Capitulation at Worgaum.—Goddard routs the Mahrattas.—Popham distinguishes himself by his Gallantry.—He takes the stupendous Fortress of Gwalior.—Duel between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis.—Philip Francis returns to England.

THE East India Company was transformed from a trading association into a sovereign power, without its consent, and almost without its knowledge. Hence it happened that many advantages, which could have been obtained with little difficulty

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1767.

CHAPTER
IX.

A. D. 1767.
The Com-
pany's so-
vereignty.

Invoked in
the Deccan.

Nizam Ali
esi. let he
English.

They buy
him off.

Hyder Ali
rises.

at critical moments, were abandoned, to be afterwards recovered with no small expenditure of blood and treasure. Many writers have assailed the Company and its servants for acts of questionable prudence, and still more questionable morality, in utter forgetfulness that Asia is not Europe, and that in the period when such an extensive empire as that of Delhi is crumbling into ruins, and when its fragments are offered to reward the cupidity of the first daring adventurer who can muster sufficient strength to proclaim his independence, it is impossible to adopt any uniform and consistent course of conduct. The most perfect beings that ever existed, must have been obliged to regulate their conduct by existing circumstances, which they could neither command nor control. When the conquest of Pondicherry gave the English the supremacy in the Carnatic, they little imagined that they would be involved in the complicated politics of the entire Deccan, and that their efforts to obtain the tranquil possession of the Circars, would lead to the most perilous war in which they had ever been engaged in India.

The Subahdar of the Deccan, Salabat Jing, had not been mistaken in his belief that the departure of Bussy and the French, would compromise his safety; he was murdered in September, 1760, by command of his brother, Nizam Ali, who resolved to assert the rights of his viceroyalty over the Deccan, with greater stringency than his victim, and particularly to establish the ancient supremacy of his viceroyalty over the Carnatic. He invaded the country, and devastated it with more than the usual barbarity of Indian warfare, but on the approach of the English army, made a precipitate retreat. When the English obtained from the emperor the investiture of the northern Circars, which had been always considered part of the viceroyalty of the Deccan, Nizam Ali resisted their attempts to take possession of the country, until they purchased his permission by stipulating to pay an annual tribute, and to assist him when necessary by the aid of an auxiliary force. The latter stipulation involved the presidency in hostile relations with Hyder Ali, the Governor of Mysore.

Hyder Ali, during the wars between the French and English in the Carnatic, had risen from being the captain of a petty band of marauders to the rank of commander of the army of Mysore, by prudently watching opportunities to sell his services at the moment when they were most wanting, and would bring the highest price. At the same time he acquired an independent principality for himself, by the conquest of the Nairs in Malabar

and by seizing several small districts, which in the distracted condition of Southern India, seemed to be left without a master. The English had joined with the Nizam, pursuant to their unwise stipulation in the invasion of his acquisitions ; Hyder made peace with that faithless prince, and prepared to attack the allies whom he had abandoned.

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IX.

A.D. 1767.

Colonel Smith having received intimation that it was the intention of the Nizam to betray the English to Hyder, retreated to Trincomalee, after having sustained a smart action against the forces of his faithless ally and open enemy. In several engagements of little moment, the English maintained their wonted superiority over Indian troops ; and the Nizam, alarmed at his danger, hastily broke off his connection with Hyder, and renewed the treaty with the Presidency of Madras.

The
Nizam's
treachery.
Sept 1768.

This change of policy on the part of the Nizam, filled the minds of the council of Madras with perilous dreams of conquest ; they looked upon Mysore as an easy acquisition, and actually conferred upon Mohammed Ali the title of its sovereignty ; they recalled Colonel Smith, who was too experienced an officer not to understand the danger which was thus wantonly provoked, and conferred the chief command upon Colonel Wood, who was devoid of experience in Indian warfare.

The
Madras
Government
removes
Col. Smith.

Hyder defeated Wood, who was unable to save his baggage, and then by a pretended show of timidity drew the English army to a distance from Madras. He then made a rapid march of one hundred and twenty miles in three days. At the head of six thousand horse, he appeared suddenly on the Mount of St. Thomas, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. The Presidency were filled with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of Smith ; but the open town, with its riches, the adjacent country and the garden-houses of the President and Council, would have been ravaged and destroyed. Peace was therefore made with Hyder on his own terms ; a mutual restitution of conquests, and a treaty of mutual alliance in defensive wars.

Wood
is routed
by Hyder.
Hyder's
rapid move-
ments.

Peace with
Hyder.
A.D. 1769.

Mr. Cartier assumed the Government of Bengal, in 1770 : that year was distinguished by a dreadful famine in India. In 1771 the revenue was decreased to an extraordinary amount.

A.D. 1770.
Famine.

In the meantime, the British government was compelled to interfere in the concerns of the Company ; a bill was introduced into parliament, vesting the government of Bengal in a governor-general and four councillors, whose authority extended over the two other Presidencies, and establishing at Calcutta a supreme

New
system of
govern-
ment.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1770.

court of judicature, consisting of one chief and three puisne judges. The patronage of these officers was placed in the court of directors, subject to the approbation of the crown ; the Company's correspondence of every kind, was obliged to be laid before the ministry ; presents were strictly prohibited ; and the governor-general, the councillors and judges, were excluded from all commercial profits and presents. Finally, the qualification for a vote in the court of proprietors was raised to one thousand pounds, and instead of an annual election of the whole of the directors, it was enacted "that only one-fourth of the number should go out every year." These changes were strenuously resisted by the Company, but the ministerial projects were supported by large parliamentary majorities, and in due course of time became law.

A.D. 1772.
Warren
Hastings.

Mr. Warren Hastings succeeded Mr. Cartier, in the government of Bengal, early in 1772 ; great expectations were formed of his financial and administrative powers, from the improvements which he had effected when employed in a subordinate station on the coast of Coromandel. The directors had been sadly disappointed in the amount of treasure derived from Bengal ; they first blamed their European servants, and then turned their wrath against the native agents ; orders were issued for the arrest of Mohammed Reza Khan, whom the English had themselves appointed chief minister to the viceroy of Bengal ; and Rajah Shitab Roy, who held the same office in the court of Patna, was similarly treated. After a long detention both were acquitted, but they were not restored to their offices. That portion of Reza Khan's duty, which consisted in the guardianship of the Rajah's family, was conferred on Munny Begum, a second wife, or rather concubine of Meer Jaffier, and the administration of the finances was entrusted to Rajah Goordass, the son of Rajah Nuncomar.

Want of
remittances
vex the
directors.Shah Alum
asks aid,
but is dis-
regarded.
Allies him-
self with
the Mah-
rattas.

In the meantime, Shah Alum became impatient to be restored to his throne in Delhi, and urged the English to fulfil the promises they had made of assisting him in effecting that object. His requests and remonstrances being disregarded, he entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas ; an army of these adventurers easily opened for the monarch a way to his capital, but they insisted that their services should be rewarded by the plunder of the country of the Rohillas. The emperor joined them in an expedition against Zabita Khan, whom he had deprived of the government of Delhi, and whom he therefore suspected of hostile designs. Zabita Khan made a spirited defence, but was

CHAPTER
IX.A.D. 1772.
Attacks
Zabita
Khan.The
Mahrattas
quarrel with
the Shah.

Withdraw

Hastings
meets the
Subahdar
at Benares,
1778.Sells two
districts.

unable to withstand the united forces of the imperialists and the Mahrattas; he was completely defeated, his wife and children fell into the hands of the enemy, and his country, which had long flourished under a beneficent government, was laid waste by the Mahrattas, in spite of the remonstrances of the emperor. The other Rohilla chiefs were filled with alarm; in their terror they applied for aid to their old enemy, the Subahdar of Oude, who was exposed to equal danger with themselves from the Mahrattas, and they entered into a treaty, by which they engaged to pay him thirty lacs of rupees, on condition of his expelling the Mahrattas from the Rohilla country. In the meantime, the Mahrattas, having quarrelled with the emperor, returned to Delhi, forced an entrance into that capital, and made Shah Alum in all but name a prisoner. Having extorted from their captive a grant of the districts of Korah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the English, they returned to the banks of the Ganges, which they made preparations to cross. The Rohillas urgently requested the Subahdar of Oude to lend them effective assistance; he evaded their applications, but, when the Mahrattas retired in consequence of events in their own country, he demanded payment of the promised subsidy, though he had never granted the stipulated protection.

A meeting took place between the Subahdar and Mr. Warren Hastings at Benares, in the beginning of September, 1773, and it led to a treaty in which the emperor of Delhi and the Rohillas were deliberately sold and sacrificed to the ruler of Oude. From the time that Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, the English had made his conduct a pretext for withholding the stipulated tribute from Bengal, though it was their refusal of their promised aid which had caused the unfortunate sovereign to take this course. Mr. Hastings now went farther: he sold to the Subahdar of Oude, for the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, the districts of Korah and Allahabad, which the English occupied under pretence of preserving them for the emperor. Still more indefensible was the conduct pursued towards the Rohillas. Mr. Hastings agreed to aid the ambitious ruler of Oude in the "extermination" of this innocent people, on condition of his paying forty lacs of rupees into the Company's treasury, and defraying the expenses of the corps employed in his service.

No opposition appears to have been made to the withholding the stipulated payment from Shah Alum, and the alienation of the territories which had been placed under the guardianship of

The
Rohillas
attacked.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1773.

They are
routed.

English honour ; but the destruction of the Rohillas was so inconsistent with the plainest dictates of common justice, and even sound policy, that Mr. Hastings for some time concealed this part of the treaty of Benares from his council. The Subahdar, however, demanded the promised aid ; and an English brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, was sent to join in the projected invasion. The brunt of the war fell upon the English, who totally routed the Rohillas and slew their gallant leader, Hafiz Rahmet Khan ; but all the advantages of the victory were seized by the cruel and rapacious followers of the Subahdar. Never was triumph more fearfully abused ; every one who bore the name of Rohilla was either butchered or forced to seek safety in flight and exile. The emperor of Delhi had been induced to favour this enterprise by a promise of a share in the conquered territory ; but, as his troops arrived too late to take an active part in the war, Suraj-ud-Dowlat refused to fulfil his engagements, and was supported in his breach of faith by the English. In the end, the Subahdar acquired possession of the whole of Rohilcund, with the exception of a small district, which, at the entreaty of the English, he assigned to one of the Rohilla chiefs, named Fyzollah Khan, after receiving full assurance of his fidelity and allegiance.

A D. 1774.
New con-
stitution,
1st August.

On the 1st of August, 1774, the new constitution, which the British parliament had framed for the government of India, came into operation, and, on the 19th of the following October, three new councillors arrived from England, who, together with Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, were to form the board of administration. The subject of the Rohilla war was the first discussed by the council, and the three councillors who had just arrived severely censured its justice and its policy. They also complained that the correspondence of Mr. Middleton, whom the Governor-General had sent as political agent to the court of Oude, was withheld from them ; and, in their indignation, they voted that the agent should be recalled, that the British forces should be withdrawn from the Subahdar, and that immediate payment should be demanded of the sums stipulated for their services. At this crisis

Extortions.

Suraj-ud-Dowlat died, and the council insisted that his son and successor should not only fulfil his engagement, but cede to the Company the territory of the rajah Cheyte Sing, Zemindar of Benares, and raise the allowance for the service of the European brigade. Mr. Hastings protested against this extortion to no purpose ; the policy of his opponents in the council was warmly approved by the court of directors at home.

CHAPTER
IX.A.D. 1750.
Bombay.
Bassein and
Salsette.

While the territories of the Company in Bengal and the Carnatic had been gradually enlarged, little or no addition had been made to their possessions in Western India. Bassein and Salsette, which commanded the entrance into the harbour of Bombay, remained in the possession of the Portuguese until the year 1750, when they were occupied by the Mahrattas, by whom they were highly valued. An opportunity of acquiring these important posts appeared to be offered by a cruel war among the Mahrattas, arising out of a disputed succession to the office of Peishwa, which, though nominally a subordinate dignity, had for some time included all the real sovereignty of the state. A similar dispute at the same time distracted Guzerat, which had been

Guzerat.

wrested from the empire of Delhi by Pilagee Guicowar, or "the herdsman," who rendered the sovereignty hereditary in his family, and gave to the epithet, by which he was distinguished, the title of royalty. The presidency of Bombay supported Ragonath Rao, or, as he is more commonly called, Ragoba, as lawful claimant of the office of Peishwa, stipulating to receive Salsette, Bassein, and some other cessions as the price of their services. After some delay these terms were ratified, and these important stations were occupied by English garrisons. An army was at the same time sent to put Ragoba in possession of Poonah, the Mahratta capital, which would, no doubt, have succeeded had not orders arrived from the Supreme Council of Calcutta, disapproving the

Ragoba
treats with
the Bombay
governor.It is dis-
approved
at Calcutta.

entire course of policy pursued by the presidency of Bombay, and peremptorily commanding that the cause of Ragoba should be abandoned. A treaty was concluded with that chieftain's rivals, which deprived the English of Bassein and all their acquisitions in Guzerat, but which, at the same time, secured them the possession of Salsette and the adjacent islands. To complete the confusion, this arrangement had scarcely been made when letters arrived from the court of directors, approving, in the strongest terms, the previous proceedings of the presidency of Bombay, which had just been condemned and overthrown by the council of Calcutta.

A.D. 1775.

In the meantime, the majority of the council had begun to receive grave charges of corruption and peculation against Mr. Warren Hastings, while he exerted all his authority and influence as Governor-General to stifle enquiry. The principal witness on the most serious charge was the Brahmin Nuncomar, who exhibited the particulars of a sum amounting to 354,105 rupees, which he asserted that his son Goordass and Munny Begum had paid for

Warren
Hastings
accused of
corruption
and
peculation.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1775.

Nuncomar
hanged.

5th August.

Dissatisfac-
tion with
the judge
and the
Governor-
General.

A.D. 1776.

their elevation to the offices mentioned in a preceding page. So great was the effect produced on the council by this evidence, that Mr. Hastings was commanded to refund the money which he had thus illegally received. But he refused to acknowledge the majority as a council, and returned no answer.

A suit was instituted against Nuncomar, for conspiring with others to get up a petition against the parties to the prosecution ; but it proved a complete failure. An obscure native was brought forward to indict Nuncomar for forgery, and on this charge he was arrested and thrown into prison. He was then tried before the supreme court, by a jury of Englishmen, convicted and hanged. The crime for which he was made to suffer was not capital by the laws of Hindustan, whether Mohammedan or Hindu ; the date of its alleged commission was 1770, while the law which gave jurisdiction to the supreme court was not passed until 1774. It had been expressly declared, that all civil disputes between native and native should be decided in their own courts, and it was the obvious design of the framers of the statute to extend the same regulation to penal cases ; finally, there were said to have been marks of precipitancy and unfairness on the part of the judge, which shewed that Nuncomar was a predestined victim. The impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, the judge who tried the case, subsequently failed, and the execution cannot, therefore, be fairly stigmatised as a judicial murder ; but there can be no doubt that it was a case in which the rigours of the law were extended to their very utmost range, in order to remove an individual whose inconvenient disclosures rendered him dangerous to persons in power.

The necessity of new arrangements for collecting the revenues, led to fresh disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis ; the former proposed that the districts should be farmed to the Zemindars on leases for life ; the latter recommended that the Zemindars should be recognized as proprietors of the soil. After a long dispute, both projects were rejected by the court of directors, who ordered that the settlements should be made only from year to year, on an average of the collection raised during the three years preceding. The death, in November, of Colonel Monson, an opponent, gave Mr. Hastings a majority in the council ; but he had previously deputed an officer of the name of Maclean, to propose his resignation in England, where it had been accepted by the court of directors. Mr. Wheler was named as his successor, presented to the king for his approbation, and accepted.

General Clavering, as senior member of the council, was empowered to administer the government until Mr. Wheeler should arrive.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1777.

When this intelligence arrived in Bengal, it produced a scene of confusion which nearly led to fatal consequences. Hastings disavowed the proceedings of his agent, and refused to resign. Clavering insisted that he should be recognized as governor. An appeal to arms seemed inevitable. Hastings was ready to abide the result; but Clavering fortunately had either less courage or more prudence; and the matter was referred to the courts of law, which decided in favour of Hastings. No sooner was his authority thus recognized, than he began to reverse the proceedings of the former majority of the council, Mr. Bristow was recalled from Oude, and the governor's creature Mr. Middleton was sent to take his place. Mr. Fowke was deprived of his office in Benares, under the pretence that the purposes of his mission were accomplished; but, in a few days after, another resident was appointed. Both these transactions were condemned by the court of directors; but Hastings paid no regard to their remonstrances. General Clavering died in August.

The interference of the supreme council in the affairs of the Bombay Mahrattas, had left the minds of the rulers of Poonah and those of the presidency of Bengal, in a state of mutual jealousy and dissatisfaction. Certain French emissaries made their appearance in Poonah, and there was reason to fear that they would obtain from the Mahrattas, permission for their countrymen to establish a station on the coast of Malabar. Some of the council proposed to conciliate the Mahratta chiefs by yielding up Ragoba; but Mr. Hastings espoused the policy of the Bombay presidency, which had been so recently condemned, and ordered forces to be prepared to aid in restoring Ragoba to his office as Peishwa.

A.D. 1778.

Six battalions of Sepoys, one company of artillery, and a corps of cavalry, marched from the station of Calpee, under the command of Colonel Leslie, to act in concert with the Bombay army, which was entrusted to Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, and Mr. Carnac, a civilian, who acted as field deputies.

Hastings
favours
Ragoba.

Never, perhaps, was any expedition worse managed: Egerton contrived, after wasting much precious time, to reach a post within sixteen miles of Poonah, where he found the Mahrattas prepared to dispute his progress. He and the other deputies lost what little sense or courage they possessed. In spite of the remonstrances of the military men, who felt assured of an easy victory, orders were given for an immediate retreat. It was as

A.D. 1779.
Leslie sent
to aid
the Bombay
troops, who
retreat.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1779.
A humiliating
convention at
Worgaum.
January 11.

Leslie's
conduct
disgraceful.

Goddard
redeems the
character of
the army.

A.D. 1780.
Goddard
storms Ah-
medabad.
15th Feb.

Defeats
Scindiah
and Holkar.
3rd April.
Sir Eyre
Coote
arrives in
India.

wretchedly conducted as it had been imprudently commenced. The Mahrattas overtook the retiring soldiers, and harassed them very severely. The cowardly committee then proposed to enter into a convention, and concluded a bargain for their own safety on the most humiliating terms, at Worgaum. Egerton and Cockburn were afterwards dismissed the service, and Carnac was degraded.

Colonel Leslie's conduct was equally disgraceful; he advanced very slowly, wasting his time in negotiations and transactions with various local chiefs, which exposed him to the suspicion of selfish and dishonourable motives. The supreme council, finding that he disregarded their urgent commands to accelerate his march, sent orders that he should be deprived of his command; but he escaped this disgrace by death: he was succeeded by Colonel Goddard, an officer of a very different character. Goddard advanced into the very heart of the Mahratta country, in the hope of being able to co-operate with the Bombay army; fortunately, he received timely notice of the disgraceful convention which had been concluded; he peremptorily refused to accede to its terms, and led his forces to Surat, after having marched three hundred miles in nineteen days, and baffled the efforts of twenty thousand Mahratta horse, sent to interrupt his advance. Here he was joined by Ragoba, who had contrived to make his escape from Poonah.

The supreme council disavowed the convention which the committee had concluded, and appointed Goddard to the command of the army. It required all that officer's firmness and prudence to overcome the paltry jealousy of the Bombay authorities; but he finally succeeded, and took the field in the beginning of January, 1780. With little difficulty he obtained possession of Dubhoy, and carried Ahmedabad by storm. The Mahrattas attempted to overreach him in diplomacy, by opening protracted discussions which would have detained him until the season for operations was past; but he refused to listen to their proposals, and on the morning of April 3rd, surprised Scindiah and Holkar in their camp, routing their numerous forces with the utmost facility, and almost without loss.

Sir Eyre Coote, who had been appointed to the vacancy in the supreme council produced by the death of General Clavering, arrived in Bengal just as a treaty had been concluded with a Rajpoot prince, called the Rana, who possessed a hilly country of considerable extent, lying on the Jumna, between the territories of the Mahratta chieftain, Scindiah, and the kingdom of Oude.

Intelligence arrived that the territory of the Rana had been invaded by a body of Mahrattas, which his want of resources made it impossible for him to resist. A small body of troops which had been prepared, under Captain Popham, to reinforce Goddard, was sent to the assistance of the Rana. Though he had only a single battalion under his command, Popham greatly distinguished himself by his enterprise and talents. He expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, pursued them into their own territories, where he took the fortress of Lahar. But a much more memorable exploit was the capture of Gwalior, which had always been regarded as impregnable by the princes of Hindustan. This fortress is built on the summit of a stupendous rock, scarped round to the height of about twenty feet, having a precipitous ascent of about one hundred feet from the scarp to the wall; the rampart wall itself being thirty feet high. It was garrisoned by a thousand picked men; yet Popham attacked it by escalade on the 3rd of August, and carried it by sheer valour. This brilliant exploit struck so much terror into the Mahrattas, that they abandoned the surrounding country, and conveyed the alarm to Scindiah in his capital.

CHAPTER
IX.

A.D. 1780.

Aid to the

Rana.

Popham

disting-

guishes

himself.

Takes

Gwalior.

3rd August.

Out of this war arose a new series of disputes in the supreme council. Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis mutually accused each other of profligate fraud and falsehood: their disputes at last led to a duel, in which Mr. Francis was wounded, upon which he quitted the council, and returned to Europe.

Duel

between

Hastings

and

Francis.

Mr. Francis is considered to have been the secret promoter of the celebrated impeachment of Hastings. He is also said to have been the amanuensis, whose pen Burke and others used, to copy for the printer the celebrated letters of Junius. Hence his intimacy with Burke, etc. He was born in Dublin, October 22, 1740, and died on the 22nd of December, 1818, in St. James's Square, London, of extreme debility, caused by an excruciating disease to which he had long been subject.

CHAPTER X.

NABOB OF THE CARNATIC ; SECOND WAR WITH HYDER. 1770—1784.

Financial and military Difficulties at Madras.—Admiral Lindsay's Interference as the King's Agent.—Hyder Ali applies for Aid against the Mahrattas.—The Madras Council withhold it.—Admiral Lindsay supports the Nabob against Hyder.—Admiral Lindsay is recalled.—Admiral Sir R. Harland advocates the Mahratta Cause.—The Nabob negotiates, and a Peace is patched up.—The Madras Council and the Nabob attack Tanjore.—The Nabob's Son makes Terms without the English.—The Nabob treats the Mahrattas with Gross Injustice.—The English abet him, and take Prisoner the Rajah of Tanjore.—Lord Pigot, a New Governor, restores the Rajah.—Benfield's extraordinary Demands.—Lord Pigot protects the Rajah.—Lord Pigot is arrested and dies.—The Madras Councillors engaged in Concussion.—Several of them are dismissed.—War with the French in India ; Pondicherry taken.—The French lose all their Indian Possessions.—Hyder, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam league together.—Their Object is to expel the English.—Hyder begins the War under the Guidance of Lally.—He attacks Arcot, and captures Baillie.—Munro retreats, Hyder follows, and is defeated.—Coote pursues him, and drives him into the Passes.—Battle of Porto Novo, 1st of July, 1781.—Battle at Perambacum, 27th of July, 1781.—The Dutch expelled from the Indian Seas.—Discussions between Lord Macartney and Sir Eyre Coote.—The Bombay Troops take several Places on the Malabar Coast.—The French Admiral Suffrein brings Reinforcements.—Tippoo Saib forces the Bombay Troops to retreat.—Admiral Hughes fights well but manages badly.—Fearful Hurricane on the Carnatic Coast.—General Goddard in the Concan ; takes Bassein.—Battle of Doogaur, 11th and 12th of December, 1780.—General Goddard moves on Poonah.—Camac storms Scindiah's Camp, 24th March, 1781.—Colonel Muir treats with Scindiah, 1782.—Death of the gallant Humberstone.—The

Bombay Troops retreat at Paulganutcherry.—They are nearly cut to Pieces, but saved by the Death of Hyder.—Tippoo succeeds Hyder.—General Matthews commands the Bombay Troops, but behaves badly.—He is taken Prisoner at Bednore, and subjected to horrible Treatment.—General Stuart arrested at Madras and sent to England.—Colonel Fullarton sustains the English Reputation.—Tippoo refuses Peace.—He takes Mangalore.—Humiliating Treaty concluded with him.—Sir Eyre Coote dies of Fatigue.—Lord Macartney resigns and returns to England.

THE position of the Company's affairs in the Carnatic, was very different from their relations to the country in Bengal. By the avowed possession of the Dewannee in the latter province, they obtained for themselves and their officers, the direct discharge of the principal offices of internal government; but in the Carnatic, they had recognized the Nabob, Mohammed Ali, as the undoubted sovereign of the country, and the rightful possessor both of military and financial power. On account of the Nabob's notorious imbecility, the presidency of Madras found it necessary to employ a British force for the protection of the country, and to insist that Mohammed Ali should defray the expenses of its maintenance out of his revenues. It was soon found that his income was inadequate to his expenditure; he was forced to have recourse to loans; money was advanced to him at exorbitant interest by the servants of the Company, secured by mortgages on the revenues of particular districts, which they were entitled to draw direct from the collectors. By this course, the Nabob's embarrassments were greatly increased, while the exactions of the English merchants, his creditors, became more proportionately severe. It was the obvious interest of the Company to check the Nabob in his pernicious career, and particularly to prevent his alienating his revenues to rapacious usurers; but these money-lenders were able to represent such interference as an unwarrantable restriction on the freedom of an independent prince, and to excite angry feelings against the prudent conduct of the Madras presidency, both in the parliament and cabinet of England.

CHAPTER
X.

A.D. 1769.
The Nabob
called on to
defray
expenses.

At this crisis, Admiral Sir John Lindsay arrived at Madras, July 26th, 1770, invested with the power of a king's minister plenipotentiary, to maintain the arrangements which had been made in India, by the eleventh article of the treaty of Paris. He at once adopted a course of policy directly contrary to that which had been pursued by the presidency of Madras, and sanctioned

A.D. 1770.
Sir John
Lindsay at
Madras.

CHAPTER
X.A. D. 1770.
Causes
embarrass-
ments.

by the court of directors ; and he formally recognized the Nabob as a fellow-sovereign with the king of Great Britain, declaring that he had come to afford him the protection of the British monarch against all his enemies. The Nabob at once described the president and council of Madras as his worst enemies, averring that they had deprived him of the greatest part of his revenues.

Hyder asks
for English
aid.

At this moment the presidency was on the brink of a dangerous war, arising out of the following circumstance. At the conclusion of the treaty with Hyder Ali in 1769, it was agreed "That in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out from their respective countries." Hyder soon applied to the English to unite with him in supporting the insurrection of a Mahratta chief against the Peishwa ; but this proposal was prudently declined. Early, however, in 1770, the Mahrattas invaded Mysore, and Hyder again applied for aid, pursuant to the conditions of the treaty, proffering to pay three lacs of rupees, if he could obtain effectual assistance. It was not easy for the English to find any pretext for a refusal ; but they evaded, procrastinated and withheld, resolving not to take arms until the last extremity. The Nabob, on the other hand, was anxious to enter into an alliance with the Mahrattas : he had a personal dislike to Hyder ; the Mahrattas stimulated his ambition by the promise of splendid gifts of territory ; and finally, he believed that his alliance with them would render his government independent of the English. Sir John Lindsay warmly adopted the Nabob's views, with respect to the Mahratta alliance, and spared neither reproach, exhortation, nor threat, to compel the presidency to embrace the same course of policy. Intelligence of these disputes reached England ; Sir John Lindsay was recalled, and Sir Robert Harland, with an additional naval force, was sent to exercise the same powers in his stead.

Evasions
used.Lindsay
recalled.A. D. 1771.
Peace with
the Mah-
rattas by
Hyder.

Sir Robert Harland warmly advocated the expediency of a Mahratta confederacy ; but the presidency of Madras firmly refused to form such an alliance. The Nabob was thus obliged to content himself with mediating between the belligerents ; a peace was concluded with the Mahrattas, on terms extremely unfavourable to Hyder, who thenceforth began to detest the English, for not only abandoning him in the hour of his need, but also for listening to projects which menaced his very existence.

But though the president and council refused to gratify the Nabob's desire for the Mahratta alliance, they tendered him

ready aid to subdue the Rajah of Tanjore. This petty sovereign had furnished a smaller contingent, both of money and troops, during the late war with Hyder, than he had been expected to supply, and had even opened secret communications with the enemy. Both the Nabob and the English were eager to punish him whenever an opportunity offered; a pretence for war was afforded by the Rajah's attack on the Polygars or chieftains of the districts called the Marawars, whom the Nabob claimed as his subjects, and he demanded that the Tanjore prince should not attack his vassals. This remonstrance was disregarded; an appeal was made to the English, and an army was assembled at Trichinopoly, under the command of General Smith, to combine with the forces of the Carnatic, headed by the Nabob's son, Omrat-al-Omrah. Having captured several strong intervening places, the allies advanced to the capital of Tanjore, which they immediately invested. A practicable breach was effected and preparations for an assault were made, when on the very eve of the attack, General Smith was informed that Omrat-al-Omrah had concluded a treaty with the Rajah, and that the war was at an end. Great was the indignation of the English authorities at this unexpected termination of the expedition, but rightly foreseeing that this accommodation was not likely to be lasting, they retained possession of the frontier town of Tanjore, and left their forces in the service of the Nabob.

CHAPTER
X.A. D. 1771.
The Madras government gives aid against Tanjore.

A.D. 1771.

27th Oct.

The Nabob immediately requested the service of the English to aid him in subduing those very Polygars of the Marawars, for whose protection he had ostensibly declared war against Tanjore. Notwithstanding the obvious inconsistency in the pretexts of the Nabob, the presidency, without hesitation, consented to undertake the expedition. The Marawars were conquered, and the innocent inhabitants of the district treated with the most signal barbarity and injustice; and when this was accomplished, the Nabob resolved to renew his attack on the kingdom of Tanjore, under the false pretence that the conditions of the late treaty had not been fulfilled. The council of Madras having solemnly recognized the injustice of the war, resolved, nevertheless, to assist the Nabob on the ground of policy and expediency. On the 20th of August, 1773, the siege of Tanjore was renewed; on the 16th of September a practicable breach was made, and entered by storm in the heat of the day, when the garrison did not expect an assault, and was unprepared for resistance. The assailants scarcely encountered any resistance; the Rajah of Tanjore and

A.D. 1773.
The Tanjore Rajah deposed.

- CHAPTER X.**
A.D. 1773. his family remained prisoners. Immediately after this victory, the Dutch were summoned to evacuate Nagore, which they had purchased from the Rajah ; and as they were unable to maintain themselves, they were forced to comply.
- Lord Pigot.** The deposition of the Rajah of Tanjore was disapproved by the court of directors ; and Lord Pigot, who was appointed Governor of Madras, where he had formerly ruled previous to his elevation to an Irish peerage, brought out orders for the restoration of the deposed sovereign. He was also directed to effect some desirable changes in the financial administration of the Northern Circars. Lord Pigot proceeded at once to the restoration of the Rajah, in spite of the remonstrances of the Nabob and the opposition of Sir Robert Fletcher, who, after having been cashiered for mutiny in Bengal, had been appointed to the chief command of the army of Madras. When this restoration was effected, a claim was made by Mr. Paul Benfield to a large share of the revenues of Tanjore, which, he asserted, had been assigned to him by the Nabob of the Carnatic, in payment of a debt amounting to a quarter of a million of money. Two circumstances of suspicion naturally presented themselves—Benfield was a junior servant of the Company ; his salary was small, and the extravagance of his habits great : it was, therefore, in the highest degree improbable that this enormous debt really existed ; and, supposing that it did exist, there was a great doubt of the Nabob's right to pay his own debts out of the property of the restored Rajah of Tanjore. In fact, there was every reason to suspect that the whole was a collusion between Benfield and the Nabob, to defraud the Company and the Rajah. Benfield's claims were discussed in the council and rejected, but, after the lapse of a few days, it was voted that they should be reconsidered, and this was followed by a decision in favour of their validity. Lord Pigot, finding himself opposed by the majority, resolved to exert his powers as president, to protect the Rajah of Tanjore from the demands which he declared to be iniquitous. The disputes between the hostile parties increased in bitterness, until at length the majority of the council took the extraordinary step of arresting Lord Pigot and placing him in close confinement. Sir R. Fletcher being ill, the arrest was effected at night by Colonel Stuart, who had breakfasted and dined with his Lordship. This insult so preyed upon his high spirit, that his health, which was never very strong, sunk under the shock ; he died after a confinement of eight months, and a coroner's jury recorded a verdict which indirectly accused
- Restores the Rajah.**
- A.D. 1776.**
- Paul Benfield's demands.**
- Lord Pigot refuses to admit them**
- Is arrested. 22nd Aug.**
- Dies.**

his persecutors of murder. A compromise was effected with the Rajah of Tanjore, but Benfield's exorbitant claims were never realized.

CHAPTER
X.

When the intelligence of these events reached England, great indignation was excited, not only in the body of East India proprietors, but in the nation at large. The court of proprietors voted by a large majority, that Lord Pigot should be restored, and that a rigid enquiry should be made into the conduct of the principal actors in the imprisonment. The court of directors sanctioned these resolutions by the casting vote of the chairman. But the influence of the ministry was exerted to neutralize these votes, and it was finally resolved that both parties should be recalled for the purpose of an enquiry into the whole affair. The death of Lord Pigot, and the important public events which soon followed, diverted attention from this unexampled proceeding; four of the most active members of the council were, indeed, prosecuted by the attorney-general, at the instigation of the House of Commons, after their return to England; they were convicted of a misdemeanour, and sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds each, which, in their case, was but a nominal punishment.

A.D. 1776.
Great discussions.

Four of the parties prosecuted.
A.D. 1777.

On the death of Lord Pigot, the government of the presidency of Madras devolved on Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Whitehill, and General Sir Hector Munro. A committee of circuit had been formed to regulate the collection of the revenues in the Northern Circars. Rumbold's first measure was to suspend the proceedings of the committee, and to command the Zemindars, or chiefs who farmed the Revenues, to appear personally at Madras and enter into new arrangements. It was asserted that this measure was adopted for the purpose of giving Rumbold and his supporters an opportunity of making a corrupt personal bargain with each of the chiefs; and, in one instance at least, there was abundant evidence to justify such suspicions. Vizeram Raz, the Rajah of Vizanagaram, was compelled to assign over the management of his affairs to his brother, Sitteram Raz, and at the same time agreed to receive from this favoured individual, not more than one half the amount of tribute which ought to have been obtained for the Company. It subsequently appeared that Sitteram Raz had paid very large sums in Madras which never found their way into the Company's treasury, and that Sir Thomas Rumbold and his secretary, Mr. Redhead, had forwarded to Europe more than six times the amount of their respective salaries.

Peculation at Madras.

CHAPTER
X.A.D. 1776.
Disputes
with the
Nizam.

When the arrangements had been made with the Nizam, in 1776, it had been agreed that his brother, Basalat Jing, should hold the Circar of Guntoor in jaghire during life, or so long as the Subahdar should remain in friendship with the Company. Some alarm was excited at Madras, by intelligence that Basalat Jing, had taken a French force into his service; a negotiation was commenced with this prince, which ended in his agreeing to cede Guntoor to the Company for a certain annual payment, and his engaging to dismiss his French auxiliaries on condition of his receiving an English force for the protection of his country. His offers were accepted, and a body of troops, under General Harper, was sent to garrison his dominions. The French, however, were only dismissed to pass into the service of the Nizam, who was not a little jealous of the alliance which had been formed with his brother.

His remon-
strances
disregarded

The Nizam's indignation was still more justly excited, by the refusal of the presidency of Madras to pay any portion of the tribute which had been stipulated for the possession of the Northern Circars. His claims were recognized by the supreme council at Calcutta, and this body sent a temperate letter to the council of Madras, remonstrating against the impolicy and iniquity of its proceedings. Sir Thomas Rumbold made an angry and most intemperate reply. In order to evince further his disdain of control, he granted a lease of Guntoor for ten years to the Nabob of Arcot, though he was well aware that the court of directors had every reason to be displeased with his exactions in their jaghire and in his own dominions. The patience of the directors was at length exhausted; in their letter of the 10th of January, 1781, after severely censuring the transactions just described, they dismissed Sir Thomas Rumbold and two of his council from their service, deprived two more of their seat in the council, and expressed the strongest displeasure against the commander of their forces, Sir Hector Munro.

Hyder
aided by
the French.

But before Sir Thomas Rumbold and his associates were deprived of power, they had been guilty of greater political crimes than those already recorded, the consequences of which were long and severely felt throughout the whole of British India. Hyder Ali had not been unjustly displeased with the treatment which he had received from the government of Madras. He resolved to form a connection with the French, who were on the brink of a new war with the English; and his advances were eagerly met by the governor of Pondicherry, who furnished him with arms, ammunition, and other warlike supplies, through the

French settlement of Mahe, on the coast of Malabar. Information of these transactions was conveyed to Rumbold, but he did not pay them any attention; on the contrary, he continued to treat Hyder with studied disrespect, while he permitted the military and pecuniary resources of Madras to fall into a state of the greatest confusion.

CHAPTER
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A.D. 1778.

In the beginning of July, 1778, intelligence was received in Bengal which, though somewhat premature, was acted upon as certain, that war had commenced between England and France. A resolution was immediately formed to take possession of all the French settlements in India. Chandernagore, Masulipatam, and Carical surrendered without resistance; and it was resolved to lose no time in the reduction of Pondicherry. Sir Hector Munro, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted, proceeded with a culpable negligence and slowness, for which it is not easy to account, as he was certainly a man of unquestionable courage. Sir Edward Vernon, who commanded the British naval force, displayed great energies; he defeated a French squadron so severely that its commander at once abandoned the Indian Seas. The marines and a body of sailors were then landed to aid in the assault. The governor of Pondicherry, after a gallant defence, proposed terms of capitulation, which were cheerfully granted; the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and one regiment was permitted to retain its colours. The defences of Pondicherry were then dismantled, and the fortifications destroyed.

French settlements taken.

Admiral Vernon defeats the French. 10th Aug.

Pondicherry taken. October.

The only place now left to the French in India was the small fort and settlement of Mahe, on the coast of Malabar. Hyder had formerly intimated to the Madras government, that he would oppose any attack on Mahe, and retaliate by an invasion of the Carnatic; but, notwithstanding this threat, and the disheartening intelligence of the reverses which the Bombay army, as already mentioned, had suffered in the Mahratta country, the presidency of Madras pursued its designs. Mahe was captured, without firing a shot, by Colonel Braithwaite, on the 19th of March, 1779, and retained until the 29th of the following November, when Braithwaite, being ordered to join General Goddard at Surat, levelled the fort with the ground.

Mahe taken.

A.D. 1779. 19th March

Before Braithwaite's arrangements for going to Surat could be completed, he received a requisition from the chief and factory at Tellicherry, which was exposed to considerable danger. Hyder enraged at the protection granted to a Nair chief, who had incurred his displeasure, stimulated the neighbouring chieftains to

League formed against the English.

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1780.

attack the settlement, which would have been exposed to the most imminent danger, had not Braithwaite moved with his whole detachment to its support. These elements of dissension daily assumed a more threatening aspect, until at length, in November, 1779, the Nabob of the Carnatic sent certain information to Madras, that a league, for the total expulsion of the English from India, had been formed by Hyder, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam. Notwithstanding this warning, no measures were taken which had a reference to the war until the following June, when orders were given that the detachment which had been sent to protect Basalat Jing, the command of which had been transferred from Colonel Harper to Colonel Baillie, should cross the Kistna, to be more in readiness "in case of any disturbance in the Carnatic."

Hyder's
army.

On the 21st of July, intelligence was received that Hyder had crossed the frontier with an army of one hundred thousand men, including twenty thousand trained infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and four hundred Europeans who had been in the service of the Nizam. He had more than one hundred pieces of cannon, managed by Europeans and natives trained to the practice of artillery, and he was assisted by the councils of M. Lally, the leader of the French force, who was an officer of high reputation. To oppose this force, the English could only muster six thousand infantry, one hundred trained cavalry, in addition to the Nabob's irregular horse, and a few pieces of cannon, for which there were scarcely any means of equipment. To this must be added, the total alienation of the people of the country, who were justly weary of the joint government of the Company and the Nabob.

The people
tired of
their
oppression.

Munro
wishes to
resign the
command.

At this crisis Sir Hector Munro exhibited the greatest reluctance to assume the command of the troops; he wished to entrust the management of the campaign to Lord Macleod, who had just arrived in India at the head of a Highland regiment; but Lord Macleod did not approve of Munro's plans, and he therefore refused to stake his reputation in executing military movements of which he more than doubted the wisdom. So fierce were the debates on the subject in the council, that Munro actually challenged one of the members. Much precious time was thus lost; but, at length, Munro marched from St. Thomas's Mount, after having sent Baillie orders to join him at Conjeeveram. Although cattle could with difficulty be procured for the transport of provisions, Munro persisted in encumbering his march with heavy artillery, the use of which, as he had no fortifications to attack, it is not easy to conjecture.

Hyder had now laid siege to Arcot, and Munro was eager to

be joined by Baillie, in order to attempt the relief of the place ; but, on the 31st of August, he learned that Baillie, who was remarkably deficient in promptitude and decision, had been stopped by the swelling of a small river, about five miles north of Trepassore. On the same day he learned that Hyder had left Arcot, and was moving on Conjeveram. Baillie had reached Perambaucum, within fifteen miles of the main army, when he was attacked by Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, with a prodigious superiority of force. After a desperate conflict of several hours, the English repulsed their assailants ; but Baillie was so weakened, that he declared any onward movement was beyond the strength of his detachment, and urgently requested Munro to push forward to his relief with the main body of the army. Instead of doing so, Munro sent a detachment to his aid, under the command of Colonel Fletcher. This brave body effected a junction with Baillie, who quitted his ground on the 9th of September, in the full belief that his progress would be facilitated by some movement on the part of the main body. Such also was the persuasion of the Europeans in Hyder's service ; they urged that chieftain to retreat, and when his spies brought word that there were no preparations for a movement in the camp at Conjeveram, they insisted that the spies must have been bribed, for that such folly and blindness on the part of the English general were utterly incredible.

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1780.

Baillie and
Munro lose
ground.

In spite of the opposition made by Tippoo's forces, Baillie continued his march during the night of the 9th, but early on the morning of the 10th he was informed that the entire host of Hyder was approaching to overwhelm him. Nothing ever exceeded the steadiness and determination with which Baillie's handful of men sustained the attack of their enemies. Had Munro made the slightest exertion to create a diversion in their favour, by attacking the enemy in the rear, Hyder's hosts would have been irretrievably defeated ; but he did not move until late in the day, and he then returned after a short march, under the mistaken notion that Baillie was victorious. Strange to say, the gallant band would probably have achieved a triumph had not two of their tumbrils blown up in the midst of the action, by which accident they were at once deprived of ammunition, and their lines were thrown into confusion. Though exposed to a heavy fire of rockets and cannon, charged home by masses of cavalry, and pressed by close volleys of musketry from bodies of infantry on their flanks and in their front, the Europeans maintained the fight after the sepoy had been annihilated, and still

Baillie
defeated
and taken
prisoner,
9th Sept.

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X.

A.D. 1780.

demanding to be led on, and to cut their way through the enemy. But Baillie, perceiving that his forces were reduced to about four hundred men, and despairing of receiving any assistance from Munro, held up a flag of truce. Quarter was promised on condition of an immediate surrender; but no sooner had they laid down their arms than the savages rushed upon them with unbridled fury, and they would all have been massacred, but for the prompt and generous interference of Lally and the French officers. About two hundred Europeans were spared, but they were reserved for the horrors of a captivity which was worse than death.

Munro, who had advanced within two miles of Baillie, was now forced to make a speedy retreat; he reached St. Thomas's Mount on the evening of the 13th of September, with an army thoroughly dispirited and exhausted. The presidency began to tremble for Madras itself; the place was destitute, not only of provisions, but of supplies of every kind; and had Hyder followed the English with his usual impetuosity, he would probably have overthrown their sovereignty in the Carnatic. At this calamitous period, the Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, acted with a promptitude and wisdom which might well atone for many delinquencies. He at once proposed that fifteen lacs of rupees, and a large detachment of European infantry and artillery should be sent to Madras; that Sir Eyre Coote should have the command of the army, and the sole management of the money transmitted; and that the governor of Fort St. George should be suspended until further orders. To these mandates the presidency of Madras very reluctantly submitted. On the 7th of November Sir Eyre Coote took his seat in the council at Madras, produced the decree deposing the governor, and had the satisfaction of finding it sanctioned by the majority of the members.

Warren
Hastings
sends aid
to Madras.

Sir Eyre
Coote takes
the com-
mand.

A.D. 1781.

Arcot had by this time fallen; the first efforts of Sir Eyre Coote were therefore directed to protect Vellore and Wandewash, which were closely besieged but gallantly defended by feeble garrisons. The siege of Wandewash was abandoned on the approach of the English; but, instead of pursuing their advantages, they were obliged to direct their course to Pondicherry, in consequence of the arrival of a French fleet on the coast. The flattering prospect of retrieving the influence of their country in India, induced the Frenchmen of Pondicherry to forget the clemency with which they had been treated by their conquerors; they applied coercion to the English resident, enlisted sepoyas,

and began to collect provisions at Carangoly. Sir Eyre Coote hasted to disarm the inhabitants, to remove the provisions from Carangoly, and to destroy the boats. He then marched to protect Cuddalore, which was menaced by Hyder, making the most strenuous exertions to bring that leader to an action. Having failed in forcing a battle, the army next moved to protect Trichinopoly, which was threatened; and on its road attacked without success the fortified Pagoda of Chillingbram. The failure was fortunate; it gave Hyder courage to hazard a battle, at a time when want of provisions and means of transport threatened to force the English to coop themselves up in Madras. The fight was furious; it lasted six hours, and ended in the complete defeat of the enemy. Had the English possessed cavalry and other means of active pursuit, they might have deprived Hyder of his artillery and stores, and, possibly, reduced him to the necessity of evacuating the province.

CHAPTER
X.

A. D. 1781.
His proceedings.

Battle of
Porto Novo,
July 1st.

Hyder
defeated.

In consequence of this victory, Tippoo, who had renewed the siege of Wandewash on the 22nd of June, was forced to raise it, and Coote, being joined by a body of sepoys which had come overland from Bengal, resolved to attempt the recovery of Arcot. Hyder prepared to resist them on the ground where he had defeated Baillie. "His position," says Munro, "was such that a stronger could not have been imagined. Besides three villages which the enemies had occupied, the ground along their front, and on their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and water-courses; their artillery fired from embrasures cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of the army lay behind them. The cannonade became general about ten o'clock, and continued, with little intermission, until sunset, for we found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the cannon could not be brought up without much time and labour over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches and behind the banks. They were forced from all before sunset, and, after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram." From this account it appears that Hyder's army was only saved from a total rout by the difficulty of getting at it, and that Hyder concealed his defeat by pretending that it was only a drawn battle. Soon afterwards Hyder marched to prevent the relief of Vellore. Coote followed, surprised him in his camp, and inflicted upon him a severe defeat; Hyder could only save his guns by the sacrifice of his

July 27th.
Battle of
Perambacum.

Aug. 27th.

CHAPTER

X.

A.D. 1781.

June 22nd.

Lord
Macartney
governor at
Madras.

cavalry, which was almost annihilated in covering his retreat. After this exploit the army returned to St. Thomas's Mount, having lost nearly one-third of its numbers in this perilous campaign.

Lord Macartney had now come out as governor of Madras; and Sir Eyre Coote, aware that his lordship was not likely to allow him so much independence of command as he had previously possessed, began to exhibit a sensitive jealousy which rendered the position of all parties peculiarly painful. Lord Macartney brought out intelligence of the commencement of war between England and Holland; in consequence of which he resolved to take possession of the Dutch settlements in India. He commenced by attacking Sadras and Pulicat, both of which surrendered with little opposition. The President next resolved on the attack of Negapatam; but was much annoyed by the strenuous opposition of Sir Eyre Coote, who would neither march to the attack himself nor spare any of his troops for the purpose. Lord Macartney collected the remaining forces of the presidency, and entrusted the command of the expedition to Sir Hector Munro. That officer displayed, on this occasion, more activity, zeal, and enterprise than he had manifested on former expeditions. In less than three weeks from the landing of the soldiers and marines, the Governor of Negapatam was forced to surrender, though his garrison was more numerous than the besieging force. A large quantity of warlike stores, together with a double investment of goods, no ships having arrived from Holland for the investment of the preceding year, was found in the place. Nor was this all; a detachment was embarked and sent against the Dutch settlement of Trincomalee in Ceylon, which was added to the English conquests, so that the Dutch were expelled from every one of their stations in the Indian Seas.

Munro
recovers his
character.
Nov. 12.

Jan. 11.
A.D. 1782.

Negoti-
ations with
the Nabob.

The fall of Negapatam, in spite of his opposition, and contrary to his predictions, did not tend to soothe the irritated feelings of Sir Eyre Coote. Lord Macartney had great difficulty in preserving even the appearance of harmony, while he conducted a difficult negotiation with the Nabob, which ended in the surrender to the English of the financial administration of the Carnatic, on condition of paying the Nabob one-sixth of the revenue. Intelligence of the fall of Chittore, and of the danger to which Vellore was exposed, produced a more beneficial effect on the general than entreaties and remonstrances; he immediately took the field, though he was so ill as to be able to travel only in a

palanquin, and he did not turn back though he was attacked by an apoplectic fit on the road. In spite of Hyder's opposition, which was, however, confined to a distant cannonade, supplies for three months were conveyed to Vellore, and the general then led back his army in safety to the Mount.

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1782.

After the capture of Mahe, the Madras detachment remained at Tellicherry, besieged by the Nairs, until it was relieved by Major Abingdon with a force from Bombay. The fortress was again invested by one of Hyder's generals, and the Major applied to the presidency of Bombay for reinforcements. In reply, he received orders to evacuate the place; but he concealed the letter from his soldiers, and sent such strong representations to his superiors that they supplied him with a considerable force. Thus strengthened, Abingdon resolved to confine himself no longer to defensive measures; he sallied forth on the night of the 7th of January, 1782, suddenly attacked the enemy's camp, threw the besiegers into such confusion, that they dispersed without making any resistance, wounded their leader and made him prisoner. Having demolished the enemy's works, and improved the fortifications of Tellicherry, Abingdon marched against Calicut, which surrendered after a short siege, and was occupied by an English garrison.

The
Bombay
troops aid.

They take
several
forts on the
Malabar
coast.

In the mean time, a secret expedition was prepared in England, which occupied much of the public attention. It was generally believed that the armament was designed to act against some part of Spanish America, but its real destination was the Cape of Good Hope, and subsequently the Indian Seas. M. de Suffrein, who commanded a French squadron, which had been prepared to support the cause of France in the East, discovered the secret of the English designs. He followed in close pursuit, and found the English squadron anchored in Praya Bay, in the Cape de Verd Islands, utterly unsuspecting of the approach of an enemy. Though thus attacked at a disadvantage, the English beat off their foes, but so much time was wasted in refitting, that Suffrein reached the Cape long before them, and so strengthened its fortifications as to render an attack hopeless. Commodore Johnstone, however, made prize of the greater part of a fleet of Dutch East Indiamen, which were at anchor in Saldanha Bay; he then returned to Europe with his prizes and most of his squadron, leaving the rest to proceed with troops to India. Why he should thus have abandoned the Indian Seas, when he knew that Suffrein had sailed thither, we are unable to explain; but at this unhappy period of the American war, the English

An expe-
dition from
England.

Fails to
attack the
Cape.

Takes some
Dutch
ships.

Returns to
Europe.

CHAPTER

X.

A.D. 1782.

arms were destined to suffer disgrace in every quarter of the globe, from the obstinacy and incapacity of those entrusted with the direction of affairs. While the principal ships of war, having on board General Meadows and Colonel Fullarton, with the chief part of the army, went in search of Admiral Hughes, on the Coast of Coromandel, the remainder sailed for Bombay with a detachment entrusted to Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie. After his arrival, Humberstone hearing of the dangers to which Madras was exposed, resolved to make a diversion on the coast of Malabar, and for this purpose joined Abingdon at Calicut, whence he made incursions into Hyder's dominions, and gained several advantages.

Admiral Hughes's conflict with the French squadron.

In the mean time, Suffrein having obtained reinforcements at the Isle of France, sailed for the coast of Coromandel, and narrowly missed intercepting the English squadron, before it could effect a junction with Admiral Hughes. Twenty-four hours after this junction was effected, Suffrein appeared in Madras roads, and Hughes immediately prepared for action. The engagement was indecisive; after a distant cannonade, Suffrein proceeded to Porto Novo, where he landed an army of three thousand men, including a regiment of Caffres, under the command of M. Bussy. Hughes sailed for Trincomalee, to refit his ships.

Braithwaite's defence.

18th Feb.

He is a prisoner.

The French aid Tippoo.

Hyder's son, Tippoo, hastened to join his French auxiliaries. He had just inflicted upon the English one of the heaviest losses which they had endured in the entire course of the war, by the destruction of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment in Tanjore. Braithwaite, whose force consisted of one hundred Europeans, one thousand five hundred sepoys and three hundred cavalry, had encamped on an open plain, near the banks of the river Coleroon, believing that he was exposed to no danger from a distant enemy. In this position he was surrounded and attacked by Tippoo, at the head of ten thousand cavalry, an equal number of infantry, four hundred European troops, and twenty pieces of cannon. During twenty-six hours of incessant conflict, Braithwaite's gallant little troop repulsed the hordes brought against them by Tippoo; at length, Lally with his Europeans advanced against them, the courage of the sepoys failed, and they fell into confusion. Lally had the utmost difficulty in obtaining quarter for these brave men; but it must be added, that Tippoo subsequently treated his prisoners with great humanity.

The arrival of such large reinforcements from France, gave alarming strength to Tippoo; he laid siege to Cuddalore, which surrendered on the 3rd of April, and became a convenient

station, both naval and military, for the French. This loss might have been prevented by the English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes ; but the king's officers, both on sea and land, disdained to receive orders from the Company's servants ; and we shall subsequently see, that several opportunities of performing essential service, which the sagacity of Lord Macartney pointed out, were wantonly thrown away by the naval and military commanders.

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1782.
Admiral
Hughes's
conduct.

Sir Eyre Coote took the field on the 17th of April, having delayed the army in cantonments, partly for want of proper supplies, but principally in consequence of his disputes with the civil authorities. His object was to protect Permacoil, but on arriving at Carangoly, he found that the place had already surrendered. He then made an attempt to surprise Arnee, where Hyder's treasures were deposited ; but Hyder engaged the attention of the English with a distant cannonade, while Tippoo with a strong detachment removed the treasure, after which he retired, affording the English no opportunity of coming to a decisive engagement. On his return to Madras, after this indecisive campaign, Coote had the misfortune to lose a regiment of European cavalry, which was drawn into an ambuscade and cut to pieces.

Coote's
disputes.

Hyder contrived to amuse Sir Eyre Coote with pretended negotiations, while he prepared to combine with the French fleet, in recovering Negapatam. Fortunately, Sir Edward Hughes met Suffrein as he was steering towards the place, and brought him to action. The engagement was close, warm and general ; the French were beginning to fall into disorder, when a sudden change of wind enabled Suffrein to withdraw his shattered ships, with which he sailed to Cuddalore. Here he made the most vigorous and successful efforts to repair his vessels, and in a short time was again at sea in as good a condition as ever. Intelligence of this event was conveyed to Madras ; Lord Macartney sent the most pressing instances to Sir Edward Hughes, to put to sea and protect Negapatam and Trincomalee, which were both menaced, but the jealousy of the admiral rendered him obstinate ; he refused to put to sea until it pleased himself, and he delayed until the 20th of August, nearly three weeks after the departure of Suffrein from Cuddalore. The consequences of this lamentable folly may easily be anticipated ; when Hughes arrived off Trincomalee, he found that the fortress had surrendered to the French three days before. Hughes, burning to revenge this loss, engaged the French fleet on the 3rd of September, and notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, gained a victory, of which

Naval
action.
3rd July.

Hughes
loses much
time.

Another
naval
action.
3rd Sept.

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X.

A.D. 1782.

he did not know how to take advantage. One French ship was disabled, and two others so severely injured, that it was ten days before they could be got into harbour. Suffrein justly described these vessels as presents received from the English admiral, who made no attempt to take advantage of their defenceless condition, but returned to Madras.

Coote re-
signs.

The dissensions between the English authorities were soon renewed ; Sir Edward Hughes announced his intention of abandoning the coast of Coromandel, and seeking shelter in Bombay during the season of the monsoon. He persevered in this design though information was received that Negapatam was already attacked, and that Sir Richard Bickerton was on his way to join him with five sail of the line. Bickerton arrived in Madras roads on the fourth day after the departure of Hughes, but, on learning the proceedings of the admiral, he followed him to Bombay. At the same time Sir Eyre Coote, whose health had been long declining, surrendered the command of the army to General Stuart, who inherited all the obstinacy, but few of the better qualities of his predecessor.

Famine at
Madras.
15th Oct.

No military operations of any consequence were undertaken during the winter months, but Madras suffered all the horrors of a dreadful famine. A fearful hurricane, which came on soon after the departure of the fleet, wrecked the store-vessels, which were laden with rice, no supply could be obtained from Bengal, and war had exhausted all the resources of the Carnatic. The multitude of the dead and dying superadded the horrors of pestilence ; fifteen hundred bodies were burned weekly in large trenches outside the town ; and not less than half a million of persons perished in the Carnatic.

Bombay.

We must now turn our attention to the war waged against the Mahrattas by the presidencies of Bombay and Bengal. General Goddard, having received information that Holkar and Scindiah would be attacked from the upper provinces of Bengal, and thus prevented from interfering with his operations, resolved to lay siege to Bassein, while, at the same time, Colonel Hartley was sent into the Concan to secure the revenues of that country for the Bombay authorities, and also to cover the besieging army. Hartley expelled the Mahrattas from the Concan, and took up a position near the Bhore Ghaut, whence he retreated to Doogaur on the approach of an enormous hostile force. Here he was attacked on the 10th and 11th of December, 1780, by twenty thousand Mahrattas, whom he completely defeated, with the loss of their general. Bassein surrendered at discretion to General

Colonel
Hartley in
the Concan.Dec., 1780.
Defeats the
Mahrattas.

Goddard, who then made an advance upon Poona, but soon returned, and suffered severely from the pursuit of the Mahrattas as he descended the Bhore Ghaut. On the Bengal side, Colonel Camac, who had superseded Captain Popham, was on the very brink of ruin, when he adopted the bold resolution of surprising Scindiah's camp by night. The enterprise was completely successful: the enemy dispersed and fled in disorder, leaving several guns and elephants, with a quantity of ammunition, in prize to the victors. Colonel Muir soon afterwards joined Camac, and, as senior officer, assumed the command. He opened negotiations with Scindiah, whose resources were now exhausted. A treaty was subsequently concluded with the Mahrattas at Salbye, on the 17th of May, 1782.

CHAPTER
XA.D. 1782.
Camac's
exploit,
24th March
A.D. 1781.Treaty with
Scindiah,
1782.

Colonel Humberstone, who commanded at Calicut, having received reinforcements, took the field early in September, and captured several forts, though he was obliged to leave his heavy artillery behind, for want of draught cattle. The capture of Palgautcherry was necessary to the complete success of his operations; but finding that it would be impossible to take the place without artillery, Colonel Macleod, who had been sent by Sir Eyre Coote to take the command, resolved to occupy a camp at several miles distance, until his battering cannon should arrive. The officer entrusted with the conduct of the retreat gave wrong orders, so that the baggage and stores were thrown into the rear, an error which did not escape the notice of the watchful enemies. When the army had passed a narrow defile, with the exception of the rear-guard and baggage, the enemies suddenly made an attack, by which they obtained possession of all the provisions, and nearly all the ammunition. It now only remained for the English to make their retreat to the sea-coast with the utmost expedition, and on their road, they received information that Tippoo was hastening after them with twenty thousand men, which Hyder had detached from the army of the Carnatic. Tippoo soon appeared; the English continued their retreat, fighting at every step, and at length succeeded in occupying Paniani. Here they were assailed with desperate fury, and had great difficulty in repelling the attack. They were preparing to meet a second assault, with some misgivings as to the result, when, to their utter astonishment, they saw Tippoo's army in full retreat, and in a few hours not one man of the Mysore forces could be seen.

Unfortu-
nate retreat
from Pal-
gautcherry.
22nd Oct.Tippoo
pursues
them.He retires
suddenly.

This unexpected movement was caused by the death of Hyder, intelligence of which had been secretly communicated to Tippoo. Hyder.

CHAPTER
X.

A.D. 1782.

Stuart
delays.

Though great pains were taken to conceal the event, the news was conveyed to Lord Macartney, who urged General Stuart to take advantage of the crisis, and attack the Mysorean army. Stuart peremptorily refused obedience, first pretending to disbelieve the intelligence, and then asserting that the army was deficient in equipments for marching at that season of the year. Hyder died on the 7th of December, 1782, General Stuart did not commence active operations until the 5th of the following February, when the opportunity of striking a decisive blow was irrecoverably lost. Stuart withdrew the garrisons from Wandewash and Carangoly, which it was held impossible to maintain, and blew up the fortifications of both. He then marched towards Vellore, where he received information that Tippoo was retreating from the Carnatic, and had given orders for the evacuation of Arcot.

A.D. 1783.
General
Matthews
takes
several
forts.

Tippoo was recalled to the western side of India, not only by the necessity of establishing his authority in his hereditary dominions, but also for the purpose of repelling a very formidable invasion. After his departure from Panian, the English army divided, the sepoys proceeding by land to Tellicherry, and the Europeans by sea to Merjee. Here they were joined by General Matthews, from Bombay, with a considerable army, which he increased by collecting all the troops along the coast. Thus strengthened, he forced the passes of the Ghauts, took possession of Bednore, carried Ananpore by storm, and compelled Mangalore to capitulate. It was proposed that the treasure found in these places should be applied to pay the large arrears due to the army; but Matthews refused to listen to any such proposition. Suspicions of his rapacity were spread, but he severely punished all refractory proceedings. Three of the principal officers, Colonel Macleod, Colonel Humberstone, and Major Shaw quitted the army to lay their complaints before the governor and council of Bombay. So flagrant did the conduct of the general appear to these authorities, that they ordered him to be superseded, transferring the command of the army to Colonel Macleod, who was next in rank. Unfortunately, Macleod, on his return to the army by sea, fell in with a Mahratta squadron, ignorant of the recent peace; Shaw was killed, the gallant Humberstone was mortally wounded, and Macleod, who was also wounded, remained a prisoner.

His mis-
conduct.

7th April.

Three Bom-
bay officers
taken.

30th April.

While the army of Matthews was dispersed in detachments, Tippoo suddenly concentrated his forces and invested Bednore, which was unprepared for resistance. The English made a brave

defence, but were finally forced to capitulate. In this extremity, Matthews distributed the public treasure among his soldiers, and Tippoo availed himself of this breach of faith to violate the terms of the capitulation. Matthews, after having suffered the most cruel tortures, was assassinated in prison; his unfortunate companions were subjected to the horrors of a most rigorous captivity. Tippoo, immediately after this success, proceeded to invest Mangalore, a seaport town, to the possession of which both he and his father attributed inordinate importance.

CHAPTER
X.

A.D. 1783.
Matthews
a prisoner.
Assassi-
nated.

While the army of Madras remained inactive, Suffrein, whom the English admiral had not yet returned to oppose, landed Bussy with a reinforcement of French troops at Cuddalore. Urgent requests were made to General Stuart by Lord Macartney, to prevent the French from establishing themselves in this important post, but neither reproaches nor remonstrances could induce him to move for several weeks, and then he marched at less than the rate of three miles per day. In the mean time, the fleet, greatly augmented, returned to Madras, whence it was sent to aid in the operations designed for the recovery of Cuddalore.

Stuart's
delays.

When General Stuart arrived before Cuddalore, he found that the French had already thrown up several fortifications. He hazarded an attack upon their lines, which was partially successful, but the English suffered so severely, that they made no attempt to improve their victory. The hostile fleets arrived nearly at the same time off Cuddalore; an engagement ensued with the usual result. Suffrein was defeated, but remained near the scene of action to repair his losses, while the victorious English admiral returned to Madras, with as much precipitation as if he had been beaten. Suffrein landed as many men as could be spared from the fleet, and Bussy, thus reinforced, made an attack upon the English lines, which was repulsed with great difficulty. It deserves to be remarked that Charles John Bernadotte, the late king of Sweden, then only an humble sergeant in the French service, was wounded and taken prisoner in this engagement. Bussy was preparing for a renewed attack, which in all human probability would have been successful, had not intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between France and England. A cessation of arms was instantly agreed upon; and Bussy sent an invitation to Tippoo to join in the treaty, at the same time recalling the French battalions engaged in his service. The same messenger who brought intelligence of the peace to the camp, conveyed to General Stuart a peremptory summons to appear

Attacks
Cuddalore,
but gains
nothing.

Naval
action.
20th June

Bussy
attacks the
English
lines.

Peace in
Europe
saves India.

CHAPTER
X

A.D. 1788.

Stuart
arrested
and sent to
England.

before the Governor and Council of Madras. After some delay he obeyed ; a new series of disputes followed, and, at length, the Governor and Council resolved that Stuart should be dismissed the Company's service. He refused to obey, and was supported in his refusal by Sir John Burgoyne, the second in command. Lord Macartney adopted the decisive measure of arresting Stuart and bringing him a prisoner to the Fort, whence, in a few days, he sailed for England.

Tippoo
threatens
Mangalore.

A.D. 1784.

Renews the
war.Macleod's
convention.Campbell
capitulates,
28rd Jan.Peace with
Tippoo,
11th March

Amid all these errors and disgraces, the honour of the English army was nobly maintained by Colonel Fullarton, who had the command of the force in the southern provinces. In the midst of a career of conquest he was stopped by orders from General Stuart, requiring him to join the troops at Cuddalore, and when he resumed his march he received information that an armistice had been concluded. Learning, however, that Tippoo had renewed hostilities against Mangalore, he pushed forward to make a dash upon Seringapatam without waiting for further orders. He reduced the strong fortresses of Palgautcherry and Coimbatore, and had made every arrangement for moving on Seringapatam, when he received orders, on the 28th of November, to suspend all operations, and restore the places he had taken. Fullarton, aware of the treacherous character of Tippoo, retarded the execution of these commands, and had reason to be proud of his foresight when, on the 26th of the following January, he received directions to re-assemble his army and renew the war. Tippoo was resolved not to listen to any terms of peace until he had completed the reduction of Mangalore, which he had besieged at great loss for more than a year. General Macleod, who had been sent with a squadron to relieve the place, instead of landing, entered into a negociation with Tippoo, and agreed to return to Bombay, on condition of being allowed to throw a month's provision into the garrison. The supply was drawn from damaged stores purchased of a navy agent, and was so bad that not one in twenty of the pieces of beef and pork could be eaten even by dogs. At length the gallant Campbell, by whom and his garrison the place had been so nobly defended, proposed to capitulate. Tippoo granted them the most favourable terms, and they marched to Tellicherry with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war.

In the negotiations for peace with Tippoo, the English commissioners submitted to many humiliations, which showed that their spirit was broken by the numerous disasters of the war. A treaty was at length concluded, March 11th, 1784, on the basis

of a mutual restitution of conquests ; it was ratified by the supreme council at Calcutta, in the absence of Mr. Hastings, and an additional clause, which, contrary to every rule of equity, that gentleman, at a subsequent period, wished to introduce, was rejected by the honourable firmness of Lord Macartney.*

CHAPTER
X.
A.D. 1784.

During the entire of this period there was an incessant struggle between the presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Hastings lost no opportunity of mortifying Lord Macartney, whom he viewed with jealousy on account of his rank as a peer, and still more for being the first person chosen from the king's service to fill one of those high offices which had been previously restricted to the Company's servants. After Sir Eyre Coote had returned to Bengal, Hastings sent him back with powers to resume the military command, exempt from dependence on the Madras government. It is probable that Lord Macartney would have resisted such a subversion of his authority, and thus the presidency might have been involved in a civil war ; but the danger was averted by the death of Coote, who expired from fatigue three days after his landing in Madras, April 26th, 1784.

Hastings
jealous of
Lord
Macartney.

Coote sent
from Cal-
cutta to
Madras.

Dies,
April.

* Lord Macartney resigned the governorship of Madras in May, 1785, and proceeded to Bengal, where he declined becoming Governor-General. He reached England 9th January, 1786, when he was thanked by the court of directors, and honoured with a pension. General Stuart demanded satisfaction, and a duel was fought on the 8th of June. Lord Macartney was wounded. The court of directors passed an unanimous resolution, reprobating the practice of duelling, and ordering the dismissal of any of their servants who should make a personal demand for satisfaction, on account of matters arising out of the discharge of official duties. He was afterwards raised to the rank of Viscount, and sent as ambassador to the Court of Pekin, where he met with but little success. Subsequently he was created an Earl, and went to govern the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope—whence ill health compelled him to return to England in Nov. 1798. He died on the 31st of March, 1806.

CHAPTER XI.

WARREN HASTINGS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, A.D. 1781—1785.

The Supreme Court at Calcutta shows its powers.—Hastings establishes the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut.—Hastings acts Despotically.—Proceeds on a Tour.—Treats the Rajah of Benares as a Zemindar.—Is in great Danger.—Oppresses the Native Princes. Plunders the Begums.—Writes to justify his Conduct.—Resigns and returns to England.

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1781.
Bengal.
Contest
between
the council
and the
judges at
Calcutta.

DURING the Mysorean and Mahratta wars the Governor-General and council were involved in other affairs of no ordinary importance. A contest arose between the council and the supreme court of judicature, which virtually involved the Company's right to sovereignty over the provinces which it had acquired, though it apparently was a mere struggle between the judicial and executive authorities. The supreme court, created by Act of Parliament in 1773, consisted of one chief and three puisne judges. Its civil jurisdiction extended to all claims against the Company and against British subjects, and to all such claims of British subjects against the natives, as the party in the contract under dispute had agreed, in case of dispute, to submit to its decision. In criminal cases its powers extended to all British subjects, and to all persons directly or indirectly in the service of the Company, or of any British subject at the time of the offence. Parliament, however, did not define what it was that constituted a British subject, and the judges adopted a wide interpretation of the phrase, which not only included all the subjects of the Company, but even the subjects of the native powers over whom the Company exercised an immediate control. The judges had not been long in the exercise of their functions, when the effects of their pretensions began to appear. Writs were issued at the suit of individuals against the Zemindars, in ordinary actions of debt; the Zemindars were ordered to Calcutta, to enter an appearance; if they neglected the writ, they were taken into custody; or if, on their arrival in Calcutta, they were unable to find bail, which, if they were strangers, and the sum more than

The *to*
involves in
diffusion.

trifling, it was nearly impossible that they should do, they were consigned to prison for all the time which the delays of English judicature might interpose between this calamitous stage and the final termination of the suit.

CHAPTER
XI.
A.D. 1781.

It had been the immemorial practice in India, for that branch of the administration connected with the collection of the revenue to exercise a power of summary jurisdiction in all disputed matters connected with taxation. This power was vested in the provincial councils and the courts, called Dewannee Adawlut, established under their authority. The supreme court soon began to interfere with the Dewannee Adawlut; when any coercive process was issued by the latter, the defaulters were taught to sue out a writ of habeas corpus in the supreme court, where it was held competent, and was in practice customary, for the judges to set them at liberty upon bail. As the inhabitants of India are even more reluctant to pay taxes than those of England, the members of the government justly dreaded that it would become impossible to realise any revenue in India, if the payment could only be enforced by the tedious and expensive forms of English law. The Company had reserved to the Nabob of Bengal, Mobarek-ud-Dowlat, the Nizamut or administration of justice in civil cases; to this government of the Nabob the judges of the supreme, or, as they loved to call it, the King's Court, declared that they would pay no regard. "The act of parliament," said Mr. Justice Hyde, "does not consider Mobarek-ud-Dowlat as a sovereign prince; the jurisdiction of this court extends over all his dominions." Mr. Justice Le Maistre went farther: "With regard to this phantom," he said, "this man of straw, Mobarek-ud-Dowlat, it is an insult to the understanding of the court to have made the question of his sovereignty; but it comes from the Governor-General and council. I have too much respect for that body to treat it ludicrously, and I confess I cannot consider it seriously." The Chief Justice added, that "the Nabob was a mere empty name, without any real right, or the exercise of any power whatever." That the recognition of such pretensions would have transferred the entire of the government to the hands of the judges of the supreme court, is too obvious to require any illustration.

Powers
of the
Dewannee
court.

The judges
claim
jurisdiction.

Mr. Hastings, in order to remedy this condition of affairs, instituted a new court of appeal from the provincial courts, which he named the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, at the head of which he placed the king's chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, with a salary

Hastings
establishes
a new
court.

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1781.
Sir Elijah
Impey
recalled.

of about 7000*l.* annually. As both the place and the pay were held during the pleasure of the governor and council, it appears to have been presumed that Impey would no longer set the jurisdiction of the king's courts in opposition to the Dewannee Adaw-luts, and that he would become an instrument of conciliation between the council and the court." The English House of Commons strenuously condemned these proceedings, and finally, Sir Elijah Impey was recalled to answer criminal charges founded on his conduct. Some important changes were at the same time made in financial affairs ; a board of revenue was formed at the presidency, to superintend the collection of taxes, and to lease the revenues of the Zemindars, without the aid of any intermediate agency.

A.D. 1782.
Hastings
takes a
tour.

Having completed these arrangements, Mr. Hastings set out on his celebrated tour to the Upper Provinces ; the government was distressed for money, and he resolved to obtain it from the Rajah of Benares and the Nabob of Oude. Cheyte Sing, Rajah of Benares, had been received into the protection of the Company on condition of paying a certain amount of tribute ; a large subsidy was now demanded in addition ; the Rajah paid it for one year, with a stipulation that it should not be again required. It was demanded the following year ; he remonstrated ; an army was sent to enforce compliance, and he was compelled to pay, not only the original demand, but 2000*l.* as a fine for delay, under the title of expenses for the troops employed to coerce him. In the third year the same remonstrances were repeated ; the Rajah's agent paid the Governor-general two lacs of rupees as a present, but the contribution was nevertheless enforced, and a new fine of 10,000*l.* imposed. Mr. Hastings resolved to treat the Rajah as a refractory Zemindar ; he proceeded to Benares, refused to admit Cheyte Sing into his presence, and finally gave orders that he should be arrested as a delinquent. The people of Benares rose in defence of their ruler, forced a way into the palace, and destroyed the greater part of the sepoys and officers who had him in charge. During the confusion, Cheyte Sing escaped by a wicket which opened upon the river, and with some difficulty made his way to the opposite side. An attempt to recover the palace was defeated with great loss. Mr. Hastings, destitute of men and money, was exposed to great personal danger, but he effected his escape from Benares to Chunar. The war that ensued was of brief duration ; the forces which Cheyte Sing collected, when all his offers of submission were rejected, made but a feeble

The people
of Benares
revolt
against
him.

The rajah
escapes.

Hastings
in great
danger.

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1782.

The Rajah
deposed.

resistance ; after a severe defeat, they disbanded themselves, and the Rajah fled to Bundelcund, leaving his wife and treasure in the fort of Bijygur. This place was soon captured, but the treasures were divided among the soldiers, who refused to yield any part of it up to the government, even as a loan. Cheyte Sing's deposition was formally announced, a grandson of the late Rajah Bulwant Sing, by a daughter, was selected as the new Rajah ; the amount of tribute was raised to forty lacs of rupees, and the administration of justice in Benares was subjected to the control of the Company's officers.

The attention of the Governor-general was next directed to the case of the Vizir-nabob of Oude, whose stipulated payments to the Company had fallen greatly into arrear, in consequence of the heavy expenses he incurred in supporting the English brigades which he had been compelled to maintain. "It is notorious," says Mr. Francis, "that the English army had devoured his revenues and his country, under the pretence of defending it." The debt with which the Nabob stood charged, amounted to 1,400,000*l*. Previous to adopting the measures on which he had resolved in order to obtain payment, Mr. Hastings superseded Bristow, the resident at Lucknow, and appointed his creature, Middleton, to the vacancy, in defiance of the express orders of the court of directors. There were two princesses, known by the name of Begums, the mother of the late Nabob, and his widow, who was also the mother of the present Nabob ; they had been left in possession of large jaghires, to provide, not only for their own support, but for the maintenance of the numerous families of preceding nabobs, and Suraj-ud-Dowlat had bequeathed them at his death the greater part of the treasure which happened to be in his hands. The riches of the Begums appeared to Mr. Hastings an admirable resource ; he agreed to relieve the Nabob of the expense of maintaining the English troops and gentlemen which he was unable to bear, provided that he would strip the princesses of their treasures and jaghires, delivering the proceeds to the Governor-general. The reasons which Mr. Hastings adduced for this extraordinary proceeding were, that the Begums had endeavoured to excite insurrections in Oude in favour of Cheyte Sing, and that they had employed their power and influence to embarrass and disturb the Nabob's administration.

Hastings
goes to
Oude.The
Begums
plundered.The pre-
tence is a
bad one.

The resumption of the jaghires was effected with little difficulty ; after which the Nabob, accompanied by Middleton, the English

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1782.

The treatment of the Begums was infamous in the East.

resident, with a body of English troops, proceeded towards the abode of the princesses at Fyzabad. After a short time had been spent in demands and negociations, the English were ordered to storm the town and castle; but as no opposition was made, little blood was shed; the troops took possession of all the outer enclosure of the palace of one of the princesses, and blocked up the other.

A.D. 1782,

12th Jan.

They are imprisoned till they give their money.

It was deemed imprudent to shock oriental prejudices by violating the sanctity of the female apartments; Middleton, however, seized upon the principal agents and favourites of the Begums, placed them in irons, and ordered that they should be kept without food until the princesses had surrendered their treasures. By these means more than half a million of money was extorted from the Begums by the resident, for the use of the Company. More, however, was required; the prisoners were detained several months in close confinement; and, at least, menaced with torture, if corporeal punishment was not actually inflicted. At length, when it was evident that no more money could be had, the prisoners were set at liberty; and the joy which they naturally evinced at their deliverance, was actually quoted as a proof of their having had no reason to complain of the treatment which they had received.

A.D. 1784.

Hastings receives a large douceur.

One more circumstance connected with these transactions remains to be mentioned; Mr. Hastings accepted a present of one hundred thousand pounds from the Nabob, of which he informed the directors, and in very plain terms requested their permission, as a reward for his services, to make the money his own. But his proceedings began now to excite much dissatisfaction in England; several of his measures were reprobated by the court of directors; and, at length, on the 8th of February, 1785, he resigned his office, and embarked for England. Few rulers of any country have had to encounter more difficulties, and meet so many extraordinary temptations as Mr. Hastings during his administration in Bengal. His government was, on the whole, popular both with the English residents and natives; nor must it be forgotten, whatever may have been his defects, that he was the first, or among the first servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire the language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal enquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindus, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day.

A.D. 1785.

Hastings resigns, 8th Feb.

Hastings' government popular.

Mr. Hastings, after his arrival in England, received the thanks of the court of directors. They granted him an annuity of 4,000*l.* per annum, after the termination of his celebrated impeachment. He was born on the 5th of December, 1732, at Daylesford, where he died on the 22nd of August, 1818.

CHAPTER
XI.

A.D. 1785.

His impeachment produced a great benefit to India, as it obliged the Europeans to observe stricter rules of conduct than they had in general previously maintained. Hastings was a good servant to the Honourable Company, for when asked for money he obtained it, *per fas aut nefas*. His character is thus drawn by Macaulay:—"Hastings had passed many years in retirement, when, in 1813 the charter was renewed; and much discussion took place in parliament, and witnesses were examined. Hastings was ordered to attend at the bar where he had twenty-seven years previously read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Public feeling had undergone a change; his faults were forgotten, and his services remembered. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered; but there were a few of those who had managed the impeachment, and who did not sympathize. The Lords also received the old man with respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and, in the Sheldonian Theatre, the undergraduates cheered him. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who afterwards presented him to the Emperor Alexander, and to King Frederic William, and declared that honours far higher were due to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings confidently expected a peerage; but was disappointed. Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence, will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune and never disturbed by either."

CHAPTER XII.

GOVERNMENT OF MR. MACPHERSON AND LORD CORNWALLIS,
A.D. 1785—1792.

New Charter.—Inspection of the Despatches.—Board of Control established.—Mr. Macpherson's Government.—Lord Cornwallis appointed Governor-General.—Impeachment of Warren Hastings.—His long Trial and Acquittal.—War commenced by Tippoo.—Attack on Tellicherry.—Tippoo ravages Travancore.—Lord Cornwallis takes the Collection of the Arcot Revenue.—He assumes the Command of the Madras Army.—Storms Bangalore.—Savendroog taken.—Siege of Seringapatam.—Furious Battle.—Tippoo submits.—He gives his Sons as Hostages.—All the French Settlements taken.—Lord Cornwallis the full Governor-General.—He holds the Military and Civil Power.

CHAPTER
XII.

A.D. 1780.
New
charter.

As the exclusive privileges of the East India Company were to expire on three years' notice after the 25th of March, 1780, great anxiety was created in the beginning of that year respecting the terms on which the charter should be renewed. The contests between the supreme council and the supreme court in Calcutta—the loud complaints which Mr. Francis made of the conduct of Mr. Hastings, and the intelligence of the dangers to which the Carnatic had been exposed by the irruption of Hyder Ali, created a great excitement throughout the nation, and led many to fear that the English interests in Asia were brought to the verge of ruin by the misconduct of the persons entrusted with their management. Lord North, who was then prime minister, deemed it a fixed principle of constitutional law that the crown had an absolute and indefeasible right to all territories acquired by subjects, while the Company boldly asserted that the Indian provinces they had gained belonged of right to themselves. With this abstract question another of more practical importance was joined, namely, what proportion of the proceeds from their Indian territories the Company should be compelled to pay over to the nation.

The
minister
claims the
sovereignty
of India.

Lord North's administration was, at this period, tottering to its fall; the American war, unwisely provoked and miserably conducted, had ended in the establishment of the independence of the United States, and the consequent loss to the nation of

the most valuable colonies which had ever belonged to any empire. Ireland had taken advantage of the minister's weakness to demand freedom of trade and legislative independence ; a growing party in England began to agitate for parliamentary reform, and many who had been zealous supporters of the minister in the House of Commons went over to the ranks of opposition. These circumstances induced the Company to resist the minister's proposals for a new arrangement, and an extension of the charter was finally obtained, with only one additional condition, the recognition of the minister's right to inspect all despatches relating to financial, civil, and military affairs, received by the directors from their servants in India. Select committees of the House of Commons were appointed to investigate various matters connected with the state of Indian affairs, and the valuable reports which they published put the legislature and the country in possession of a vast fund of information, illustrating the true condition of the British empire in the East.

CHAPTER
XII.

A.D.1780-84

The
East India
Company
resist.

Committees
appointed.

Lord North was driven from office in 1782 ; his successor was the Marquis of Rockingham, who was the leader of a party notoriously hostile to those who at this period managed the affairs of India. A bill of pains and penalties against Sir Thomas Rumbold was introduced ; but it was conducted very slowly through the several stages of legislation, and was finally abandoned. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, became premier. This gave great offence to Mr. Fox, who not only seceded from the cabinet, but formed a coalition with his old political opponent, Lord North. To their united parliamentary strength, the Shelburne cabinet was forced to yield, and the coalition ministry was formed, to the great vexation of the king, and the secret discontent of the nation. In due time Mr. Fox introduced his plan for the better government of India. He proposed to entrust the power and patronage, possessed by the court of directors and proprietors, to seven commissioners chosen by the legislature ; and, at the same time, regulations were proposed for preventing the evils which had arisen in the local government of India. This plan was the signal for the fiercest strife of parties ever witnessed in England ; it was said that the minister aimed at engrossing all the power and patronage of India, through the means of commissioners, who would only be his nominees, and that he thus designed to make himself independent both of the king and the people. The ministerial measure, notwithstanding this clamour, passed the Lower House by large majorities ; but,

New plans
proposed.

Fox's
scheme.

CHAPTER
XII.

A.D. 1784.
The king
adverse.

The board
of control
created,
18th Aug.

when it reached the Lords, the king empowered Earl Temple to declare that he would consider every one who supported the measure as personally his enemy ; the bill was, consequently, lost on the second reading by a majority of eighty-seven against seventy-nine. The coalition-ministry was soon after dismissed, and a new ministry formed under the auspices of William Pitt.

Parliament having been dissolved, the result of the consequent election gave Mr. Pitt's cabinet a decisive majority, and enabled him to carry, triumphantly, his bills for the government of India. The most important innovation he introduced, was the creation of a board of control, composed of six members of the privy council, chosen by the king, with power "to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns, which in anywise relate to the civil or military government, or revenues of the territories and possessions of the said united Company in the East Indies." This vague and indefinite phraseology left the relations between the board of control and the court of directors in a very unsettled state, and soon led to angry collision between these bodies. The power of the court of directors was increased, and that of the court of proprietors greatly decreased ; the directors were at the same time empowered to elect a committee of secrecy, which could transact business with the board of control, without making any inconvenient communications in open court. It was enacted that all servants of the Company should give an exact inventory of the amount of property which they brought from India ; and a new tribunal was constituted "for the prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment, British subjects guilty of extortion and other misdemeanours while holding offices in the service of the king or Company of India." As this tribunal has never since been called upon to act, it is not necessary to enquire into its constitution or efficacy.

Macpherson succeeds
Hastings.
Feb. 5,
1785.

Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of council, assumed the government of India immediately after the departure of Mr. Hastings ; he made no change in the policy of his predecessor, to whom he imputed the blame of the large and dangerous accession made to the Mahratta power when Scindiah took possession of Delhi, and of the person of the unfortunate emperor. This, however, attracted less attention than the affairs of the Carnatic ; the Board of Control decided that all the debts which the Nabob of the Carnatic had contracted, or was said to have contracted with private individuals, should be recognized as legitimate claims, without any investigation or enquiry, and that means should be taken for their payment with interest. There was little doubt

that many of these debts were collusive and forged, for when similar claims were investigated in 1805, out of claims amounting to twenty millions, little more than one million of the sum was found by the commissioners to be true and lawful debt ; but the persons who now urged their claims, had acquired considerable parliamentary interest, by purchasing the representation of corrupt boroughs ; and they formed a phalanx of supporters with whose services the ministers were unwilling to dispense. Through their influence, also, it was directed that the Nabob should resume the management and collection of his revenues, which he had been induced to resign to the presidency of Madras. *

CHAPTER
XII.A.D. 1785.
Pecuniary
difficulties.

Lord Macartney strenuously resisted these proposed changes, and went to Calcutta to impress their pernicious tendency upon the minds of the supreme council. While thus engaged, he received information of his appointment to the office of Governor-general ; but, previous to his acceptance of it, he resolved to return to England for the purpose of consulting with the ministers and the Court of Directors. On coming home, he found that he was likely to encounter a very bitter opposition from the friends of Hastings and Macpherson ; he therefore asked to be raised to the British peerage, in order that his opponents might be daunted by such a signal mark of ministerial favour. No answer was vouchsafed to this request, and, three days after it was made, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-general of India. This was soon after followed by the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings by the House of Commons, at the bar of the House of Lords. The trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1788, and ended, on the 23rd of April, 1795, in the acquittal of the accused. The circumstances connected with it belong to the history of England rather than of India ; we need only say that Mr. Hastings was mainly indebted for his escape to the eloquence of his accusers ; they over-stated their case so monstrously that they excited public sympathy for the accused, and the applause bestowed on their flights of oratory, placed them before the public in the light of very graceful actors, not as persons engaged in a grave and serious transaction.

Lord Ma-
cartney in
Calcutta.Hastings
impeachedAcquitted
because
over-ac-
cused.

Lord Cornwallis assumed the administration of Indian affairs in the month of September, 1786 ; his first attention was directed to the affairs of Oude, in consequence of the complaints made by the Nabob-vizir, of the heavy expenses imposed upon him for

A.D. 1786.

Lord Corn-
wallis goes
to India,

* The Prince of Wales' Island in the straits of Malacca, was taken possession of at this time.

CHAPTER
XII.

D. 1788.
September.

Tippoo be-
gins war.

Invades
Travancore
1789.
Attacks the
town. 24th
December.

Tippoo
disavows
his act.
D. 1790.
Lord
Cornwallis
makes
treaties and
repairs
the war.

the maintenance of the Company's brigades. The Governor-general, however, firmly refused to remove any portion of the troops, though he granted the Nabob some alleviation of his pecuniary burthens. The Gunttoor Circar was obtained from his highness the Nizam, on very favourable terms; but the close alliance which was formed in consequence between the Nizam and the Company, gave great offence to Tippoo Sultan, and he showed his resentment by espousing the cause of the Rajah of Cherika, who had quarrelled with the English respecting the payment of his debts, for which they held the customs of the port of Tellicherry as a security. Some negotiations ensued, which shewed distinctly the hostile designs of the sultan of Mysore, but all doubts were removed when Tippoo blockaded Tellicherry, and led an army to invade the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, a faithful ally of the English. The territories of Travancore were defended by a line of works about thirty miles in length; they consisted of a ditch about sixteen feet broad and twenty deep, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, which almost flanked each other. On the 24th of December, 1789, Tippoo appeared before the lines of Travancore, and the 29th, he turned the right flank of the works and introduced a portion of his army within the wall; before, however, he could open the gates, his troops were thrown into confusion by an unexpected resistance, and driven, with great slaughter, across the ditch, Tippoo himself effecting his escape with considerable difficulty.

After his defeat, Tippoo as sultan of Mysore disavowed the outrage, and described it as the unauthorized act of his troops; but Lord Cornwallis was not easily deceived, and he immediately entered into treaties with the Nizam and the Mahratta authorities, at Poonah, to restrain the ambition of Tippoo. In the meantime, the sultan again assailed the lines of Travancore, and forced an entrance on the 7th of May, 1790; he then razed the lines, and spread desolation over the surrounding country. On the other hand, General Meadows, with the Madras army, advanced to invade Coimbatore, and thence penetrate into the heart of the Mysore country, while General Abercrombie, with the army of Bombay, attacked Tippoo's territories on the Malabar Coast. The first operations of the English were very successful; a line of communication was established; an enemy's country was obtained for the supply of the troops; and nothing remained but to ascend the Gujelhutty Pass, and make Tippoo contend for his throne in the centre of his dominions. Before

the attempt could be made, Tippoo descended with his army by this very pass, and nearly succeeded in surprising Colonel Floyd, who commanded a large division of the English army. By a very rapid and fatiguing march, Colonel Floyd effected a junction with the main army, while Tippoo made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise another English detachment commanded by Colonel Maxwell. But though disappointed in these enterprizes, the sultan captured several of the English depots, and obtained considerable booty, both in provisions and stores. The remainder of the campaign was spent in indecisive operations; Meadows was unable to bring Tippoo to fight a pitched battle, and from deficient intelligence, was unable to take advantage of the sultan's desultory movements.

Lord Cornwallis had not been long in India, before he became convinced of the necessity of once more taking the management of the revenues of the Carnatic out of the hands of the Nabob of Arcot. The court of directors sanctioned this course of policy, which Lord Macartney had been so severely condemned for pursuing; but it was, at the same time, declared that the arrangement was only temporary, and that the Nabob should be restored to perfect independence at the conclusion of the war. Having completed these financial arrangements, Lord Cornwallis prepared to open the second campaign in person, and successfully masking his movements, arrived at the Pass of Mooglee, before it was in the power of the enemy to offer any obstruction to his march. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1791, the English arrived before Bangalore. The following morning Colonel Floyd, with a strong detachment, unexpectedly encountered Tippoo's entire army, and rashly gave orders for an immediate attack. His hardihood would, in all probability, have been crowned with success, had he not been severely wounded by a musket ball, when the soldiers, being left without orders, fell into some confusion. Fortunately, Major Gowdie covered the retreat with a body of infantry and a few guns, which effectually checked the pursuit. On the night of the 21st of March, Lord Cornwallis hazarded the assault of Bangalore, though the breaches were yet incomplete, and the sultan with his whole army lay in sight of the town. The valour of the assailants bore down all opposition; the enemies, attempting to escape, crowded and choked the gate. A deplorable carnage ensued, and the bodies of more than one thousand of the garrison were buried after the assault. The capture of Bangalore did not bring the English all the advantages they had expected; provisions were

CHAPTER
XII.

A.D. 1791.

Tippoo
defends his
dominions.Takes
several
depots.The collec-
tion taken
from the
Nabob of
Arcot.Lord Corn-
wallis com-
mander-in-
chief.

A.D. 1791.

Floyd
attacks
Tippoo.

Repulsed.

Bangalore
captured.
21st March.

CHAPTER
XII.

A.D. 1791.

The Eng-
lish obliged
to retreat.

scarce; the draught cattle were reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move their own weight, and the auxiliary force sent by the Nizam was utterly worthless. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the Governor-general advanced to besiege Seringapatam, having previously sent orders to the Bombay army to invade Mysore on the Malabar side. But though a victory was gained over Tippoo, the want of necessary supplies, and the increasing sickness in the English camp, compelled Lord Cornwallis to retreat, after having sacrificed his battering train and all his heavy stores. A few days after this loss had been incurred, his lordship was joined by the Mahrattas, with a supply of provisions and draught cattle, but the season was now too late for resuming military operations, and the army continued its retreat to Bangalore.

Hill forts
captured.Savendroog
stormed.
21st Dec.

Immense preparations were made for the ensuing campaign, and before it opened, detachments from the English army captured several of the hill-forts which protected the passes into Mysore. The most important of these strong fortresses was Savendroog, a name which signifies "the rock of death"; it was built on a rock computed to rise above half a mile in perpendicular height, and was surrounded by a close forest, or jungle, several miles in depth, having its natural impenetrability heightened by thickets of planted bamboos. The strength of the mountain had been increased by enormous walls and barriers, which defended every accessible point; and to these advantages was added the division of the mountain, by a great chasm, into two parts at the top, on each of which was erected a citadel; the one affording a secure retreat, though the other were taken, and, by that means, doubling the labour of reduction. Yet this formidable fortress was taken by storm on the 21st of December, with no other casualty to the assailants than one private soldier slightly wounded. Ootadroog, a fortress scarcely less important than the preceding, shared its fate a few days afterwards.

Little's
gallantry.
27th Dec.

The detachment sent to aid the Mahrattas, under the command of Captain Little, performed many eminent services without obtaining any effective assistance from the allies, who were, indeed, rather an impediment. With only seven hundred men, Captain Little attacked ten thousand Mysoreans, strongly posted in a fortified camp, put them to the rout, and captured the whole of their guns. This brilliant exploit was followed by the reduction of the fortress of Simoga, which opened to the allies a portion of Tippoo's territories which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. Instead of advancing to aid General Abercromby,

who had reached the top of the Ghauts on the Malabar side, the Mahrattas made a fruitless attempt on Bednore, tempted by the hope of its rich plunder; and they thus materially deranged the governor's plan for the campaign, and led to the loss of Coimbatore, which was forced to capitulate to a Mysore army. The terms of the capitulation were atrociously violated, and this outrage prevented Lord Cornwallis from listening to Tippoo's overtures for peace.

Having been joined by reinforcements from Hyderabad, the Governor-general advanced to undertake the siege of Seringapatam, and, on the 5th of February, 1792, arrived within sight of that capital. Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the river Caverry, which, after separating to a distance of about a mile and a half, again unite about four miles below the place of their separation. The fortress is erected in the western angle of the island, and the eastern part was fortified with redoubts and batteries connected by a strong entrenchment with deep ditch; the fort and the out-works were provided with three hundred pieces of cannon, and formed a second line, on which Tippoo could retire if driven from his fortified camp. This camp was placed in an enclosure between the bound hedge and the river—it was protected in front by a large tank or canal, and was further secured by six redoubts, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of heavy artillery. The Sultan's army consisted of about six thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry, commanded by Tippoo in person.

On the evening of the 6th of February, the British troops, after having been dismissed from parade, were ordered to fall in again with their arms and ammunition. By eight o'clock the arrangements were completed for surprising Tippoo's fortified camp, and the army marched forward to the assault in three columns. The series of operations which followed was then most brilliant in the annals of Indian warfare. Two of the strongest redoubts were taken; Tippoo's routed army was driven in confusion across the river into the island; pursued thither by their assailants; several of their batteries stormed, and a defensible position secured in the island before the morning dawned. Vast numbers of Tippoo's troops took advantage of the confusion to desert their standard, and one body, ten thousand strong, which consisted of persons forcibly enlisted in Coorg, wholly disappeared, the men having sought shelter in their native woods.

The conflict was renewed at break of day; the guns of the fort opened a tremendous fire on the redoubts, of which the

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1791.

Bednore

assailed.

Lord

Cornwallis

rejects

Tippoo's

overtures.

A.D. 1792.

He besieges

Seringa-

patam.

5th Feb.

CHAPTER
XII.
A. D. 1792.

English had gained possession, and desperate attacks were made on every part of their position. Tippoo's soldiers were, however, defeated on every point, and, on the evening of the 7th, the battle was at an end. The English loss amounted to five hundred and thirty-five in killed and wounded, but more than four thousand of the Mysoreans are calculated to have fallen. Nine days afterwards Lord Cornwallis, who had, in the meantime, narrowly escaped from a sudden attack made by the enemy's cavalry, was joined by General Abercromby with two thousand Europeans, and about double that number of native troops.

On the evening of the 18th, while a small detachment beat up the enemy's camp, and threw the entire army into confusion, ground was broken on the northern side of the fort, and the first parallel completed before daylight without the loss of a man. Everything promised a favourable termination of the siege; but on the morning of the 24th, to the great grief of the army, it was announced that Tippoo had signed the preliminaries of peace. The conditions of the treaty were, that he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies, pay three crores and two lacs of rupees to defray the expenses of the war, and give up two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of these stipulations. Such was the ascendancy gained by Lord Cornwallis over his Indian allies, that they confided the entire negotiation to his discretion, declaring their willingness either to go on with the war or conclude a peace, and to agree to any terms which should meet with his approbation.

Tippoo
submits,
Feb. 24.

Gives his
sons as
hostages.

Though Tippoo had sent his sons to the English camp, where they were most honourably received, he exhibited great reluctance to complete the negotiations, particularly objecting to the article which secured the independence of the Rajah of Coorg. Some preparations were made for renewing the siege, but the Sultan finally submitted on the 19th of March, and the hostage princes performed the ceremony of delivering the definitive treaty to Lord Cornwallis and the allies. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, the Governor-General took possession of all the French settlements in India, the revolution in France having precipitated that country into war with England.*

* Lord Cornwallis was the first Governor-General of India under the Board of Control, who possessed fully the command not only of the Bengal, but of the Madras and Bengal armies, as well as of all the civil servants. He was raised to the rank of Marquis on his return to England.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN SHORE AND LORD MORNINGTON, 1793-9.

Renewal of the Charter—Discussions with Scindiah and the Nizam. —Death of Scindiah.—The Nizam begs Peace from the Mah-rattas.—Death of the Peishwa.—Tippoo's Sons restored.—Disputes in Oude settled.—Sadat Ali proclaimed Vizir.—Lord Hobart seizes the Dutch Settlements.—Lord Mornington appointed Governor-general.—Discovers the Intrigues of Tippoo.—Tippoo's Treaty with the French.—Bad State of the Madras Finances.—The French Corps dismissed by the Nizam.—Replaced by British Troops.—Preparations for attacking Tippoo.—General Harris enters the Mysore Territory.—First Appearance of the Duke of Wellington.—Tippoo attacks the Bombay Army.—Rattles of Sedaseer and Mallavelly.—Tippoo at bay.—Siege of his Capital.—It is assaulted and taken.—He is slain.—His Territories partitioned.—Troubles caused by the Banditti.—Expedition against the Mauritius frustrated.—Expedition sent from Bombay to Egypt.—Alexandria capitulates.—Negociations.—Difficulties about the Difference of Pay.—The Expedition returns to India, June, 1802.—General Baird takes the Cape of Good Hope, 9th of January, 1806.—The Nizam yields several Districts.

LORD CORNWALLIS introduced many important changes in the administration of the financial and judicial affairs of India, which were not so successful as his military operations. He resolved to erect the Zemindars or collectors of the land-revenue into a body of landed proprietors, renting their Zemindaries as estates from the Company, and paying the land-tax as a species of rent. This unfortunate project, which showed utter ignorance of the peculiar tenure of land in India, brought ruin on the Zemindars, and inflicted severe injury on the ryots or cultivators of the soil. Many of the judicial reforms were inapplicable to the social condition of India, and, therefore, failed to produce the beneficial results which had been too eagerly anticipated. In 1793, the charter of the East India Company was renewed with very little opposition ; and, about the same time, Lord Cornwallis renewed

CHAPTER
XIII.A.D. 1793.
Bengal.
The Ze-
mindaries.

CHAPTER
XIII.A.D. 1795-7.
Sir J. Shore
governor-
general.Mahrattas
jealous.Death of
Scindiah.
The Nizam
makes war
and is
beaten.His army
trained
by Ray-
mond, a
French
officer.

was succeeded by Sir John Shore, a civil servant of the Company, whose knowledge of the revenue system of India was held in particular esteem.*

The alliance, offensive and defensive, which had been concluded between the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, included a mutual guarantee against their common enemy, the king of Mysore, but had no stipulations for the possible case of hostilities arising between two of the allies. This, however, was a contingency against which it was necessary to make some provision, for the Mahrattas were jealous of the enlarged and growing power of the English; and they were impatient to reap the spoils of the feeble Nizam—an acquisition to which they regarded the connection of that prince with the English as the only obstruction. Scindiah, the most powerful of the Mahratta chiefs, was the foremost in proclaiming his dissatisfaction; and he did not disguise his anxiety to see the power of Tippoo strengthened, as a counterpoise to the still more formidable power of the English. The death of Scindiah induced the Nizam to precipitate a war; he advanced into the Mahratta territories, hoping to profit by the confusion which he believed to exist in the court of Poonah; but the Mahrattas were on the alert, and sent a powerful army to intercept his march. The armies met near Kurdla, and a sharp engagement took place. In the very heat of the fight, the Nizam and his officers were seized with a sudden panic; they fled from the field, and their army was totally routed. The Nizam sought shelter in the little fort of Kurdla, where he was closely besieged by the Mahrattas, and, in two days, compelled to beg a peace on whatever terms his enemies pleased to dictate. It is not wonderful that this prince should have been much displeased by the refusal of the Company to allow the British battalions which he had in his service, to accompany him in this campaign; he dismissed them immediately after his return, and directed his attention to strengthen his own regular infantry, which had been disciplined by a French officer named Raymond, who had acquired great experience in Indian warfare. The existence of this force was viewed with great jealousy by the English, especially as some French officers, who were prisoners at Madras, were detected in a project of escape, and as some of the Madras sepoys had actually gone over to the French. The death of the Peishwa, and the intrigues in Poonah, which ended in the eleva-

* Sir J. Shore was the friend and biographer of Sir William Jones, whose studies of Oriental literature were then highly prized.

tion of Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, to the supreme power, enabled the Nizam to obtain more favourable terms from the Mahrattas than he had previously expected, and particularly a relaxation of the severe conditions which had been imposed upon him by the convention of Kurdla.

CHAPTER
XIII.

A.D. 1797.

When the treaty of Seringapatam had been fully executed, Sir John Shore sent back the sons of Tippoo, and took the opportunity on restoring these hostages, to make some effort for establishing friendly communications with the Sultan. But Tippoo's pride had been too severely hurt to allow of friendship, and he disdained to act the hypocrite; he received the officer who brought back his sons with cold civility, and declined entering into any conference.

Tippoo's
sons re-
stored.

The affairs of Oude had fallen into great disorder from the extravagance and incapacity of the Nabob-vizir: his death threatened to superadd the horrors of a disputed succession, for his brother asserted that the reputed children of the late Nabob were not really his offspring. At first the Governor-General decided in favour of the young Vizir Ali, but, having subsequently visited Lucknow, he became convinced that this prince's claims were unfounded, and he therefore transferred the throne to Sadat Ali, the brother of the late Nabob. As the military force of Oude was entirely English, Vizir Ali was forced to submit and, on the 21st of January, 1798, Sadat Ali was proclaimed without any opposition.

A.D. 1797.

Change of
vizir in
Oude.
21st. Jan.
A.D. 1798.

The administration of the affairs of the Carnatic was even worse than that of Oude. Following the example of Lord Macartney, Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, endeavoured to obtain from the Nabob a renunciation of his powers; but, being prevented by the Governor-General from having recourse to any effective measures of intimidation, he was unable to succeed. Some fame accrued to Lord Hobart, from his promptitude in seizing on the Dutch settlements so soon as he received intelligence of the commencement of war between England and Holland; their establishments at the Cape of Good Hope, in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna were reduced; at Cochin a firm resistance was made. Soon afterwards Lord Clive superseded Lord Hobart as Governor of Madras; and Sir John Shore, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the government of India and sailed for England.

Lord
Hobart at
Madras.

Lord Clive
there.
Sir J. Shore
created
Lord
Teign-
mouth.
Lord

Lord Mornington arrived in Calcutta, to assume the office of Governor-General on the 17th of May, 1798. He had been for some time previously one of the commissioners for the affairs of

Mornington
Governor-
General,
17th May.

CHAPTER
XIII.

A.D. 1799.

made; he instantly ordered the Scotch brigade to make ready, but not to fire until the enemy came close. The troops had scarcely formed, when the three hundred horsemen, who had been infuriated by stimulating liquors, burst from the jungle. General Harris gave the word so opportunely, that about forty men and horses rolled on the ground within twenty yards of the line; one horseman was bayoneted by the grenadier company, and another cut his way through. The right wing then advanced but Tippoo's soldiers were so disheartened by the failure of the first charge, that they instantly retreated, and the English were too deficient in means of transport for their artillery and stores to attempt a pursuit. Colonel Wellesley was still more successful on the left wing; the close fire of his infantry threw the opposing column into confusion; the cavalry charged at the critical moment, destroyed great numbers of the enemy, and took their six standards. This battle cost the British army only a loss of sixty-six men killed, wounded, and missing, whilst that of Tippoo was nearly two thousand, amongst whom were many of his bravest men and best officers.

Movement
on Tippoo's
capital.

General Harris now prepared to execute the intention he had formed of crossing the Cavery, near Soosilly, if it should appear practicable, and of attacking Seringapatam on the western side, in order to facilitate the junction of the Bombay army, and of the supplies of grain which were expected to come through the western passes. This movement was wholly unexpected by Tippoo, and when he heard that it had been successfully accomplished he was filled with despair. Having assembled the whole of his principal officers, he said to them, "We have arrived at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the unanimous reply.

5th April

On the 5th of April, the English army appeared before Seringapatam, and the same evening, Colonels Shaw and Wellesley were ordered to attack a watercourse, and a tope or clump of trees, in which the enemy had formed an outpost. Some confusion arose from the darkness of the night, and Colonel Wellesley was repulsed. Through some neglect of the proper officer he was nearly too late to take the command when the attack was renewed next morning, but General Harris delayed for his arrival; the tope was again assailed, and taken in less than twenty minutes.

Siege.

The labours of the siege proceeded steadily until the 4th of May, which was chosen for the assault. The time fixed was one o'clock, when the Orientals usually take some repose during the

heat of the day. Syed Goffhar, Tippoo's ablest officer, sent word to the sultan that the English were about to make an attack; but Tippoo, misled by astrological predictions, refused to credit the report, and while the Syed was deliberating on forcing the sultan to the breach, he was killed by a cannon-shot. Nearly at the same moment, Tippoo received information that his bravest general had fallen, and that the assault was commenced. At half-past one o'clock, General Baird stepped out of the trenches, drew his sword, and gave the signal to advance. In less than seven minutes after, the English colours were planted on the summit of the breach. The companies of the two storming divisions wheeled to the right and left as they ascended, fighting their way along the northern and southern ramparts, where every inch of ground was fiercely contested. Thousands fell before the victorious soldiers; and the carnage did not cease until the two divisions met on the eastern rampart. Nothing now remained to be taken but Tippoo's palace, the surrender of which was only delayed by the uncertainty that prevailed respecting the fate of the sultan. Tippoo had fallen in the heat of the fight, severely wounded by three musket-balls. Whilst he lay on the ground, an English soldier attempted to tear off his embroidered sword-belt, but the sultan, who still retained his sabre, made a cut at the man, and wounded him in the knee. The soldier immediately shot him through the head, and his death must have been instantaneous. It was late in the evening before the sultan's body was found and recognized; but in the mean time his family had been taken under the protection of the British officers. The body was buried the next day, with military honours, in the mausoleum of Hyder Ali; and a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which destroyed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to these last solemn rites.

CHAPTER
XIII.A.D. 1799.
Attack.
4th May.Tippoo
killed.

The months of July and August were spent by General Harris in obtaining and securing possession of the various districts and forts belonging to Mysore, and in checking the ravages of Dhoondiah Waugh, a plundering chieftain whom Tippoo had confined, but who was incautiously released by the soldiers. With some difficulty, the banditti collected by this adventurer were dispersed, and he with a number of marauders were slain. Some discussion was excited in the army by the appointment of Colonel Wellesley to the government of Seringapatam in preference to General Baird, who had commanded the assault, and

Colonel
Wellesley
governor
of Seringa-
patam.

CHAPTER
XIII.

A.D. 1799.
He prevents
plundering.

Tippoo's
dominions
partitioned.

was besides the senior officer ; but for this preference, a very sufficient and honourable reason may be assigned ; Colonel Wellesley relieved General Baird the morning after the capture of the place, and won the confidence of the inhabitants by his exertions to put a stop to plunder, and other military outrages.

The Governor-general had now to dispose of a kingdom ; he resolved that no part of it should be given to the family of the late sovereign ; but he assigned them a residence in the fort of Vellore, and made a very liberal allowance for their subsistence. Part of the kingdom of Mysore, in the immediate vicinity of its ancient capital, was erected into a principality for the family of the original Hindu Rajahs, whom Tippoo had deposed ; some rich districts were assigned to the Nizam, others of equal value were retained by the English, and finally, a small portion of the conquered territory was given to the Mahrattas, although they had taken no part in the war.

Mauritius
privateers
do great
mischief.

After the conclusion of the Mysore war, the Governor-general planned an expedition against the Isle of France ; this island had been for some years the resort of a number of armed vessels, which, with singular activity and boldness, carried on a predatory warfare against British commerce in the Eastern seas. The losses sustained by the merchants and Company from the depredations of those daring privateers, were estimated at two millions sterling ; and the existence of such a rallying point for any armament which might be equipped in France against the British possessions in India, was deemed, not unjustly, as disreputable to the national reputation as it was injurious to the national commerce. Lord Mornington took prompt measures to put an end to this evil. A military armament was prepared to be placed

A.D. 1800.

Admiral
Rainier
refuses an
expedition.

under the command of Colonel Wellesley, and a communication was made to Admiral Rainier, who commanded the British squadron in the Indian seas, requesting that he would proceed to Trincomalee to meet the forces and transports assembled there, and co-operate in the attack upon the Isle of France. To the surprise of everybody, the admiral peremptorily refused to take any share in such an expedition, without express orders from home. As no imputation has ever been made against Admiral Rainier's courage, we are left to conclude that he was influenced by that jealous tenacity of authority, which frequently led naval officers in the Indian seas to refuse obeying orders from the Governor-general of India ; but whatever may have been his motives, the results of his decision were most disastrous ; for the

privateers of the Isle of France continued, during several subsequent years of the war, to harass and plunder with impunity the commercial navigation of the Indian seas.

The Governor-general next resolved to send the troops which he had collected in Ceylon against the Dutch settlements in Batavia; but from this project he was diverted by instructions from England, directing him to send a force from India to Egypt in order to assist in the expulsion of the French from that country. The forces assembled at Ceylon were therefore despatched to Bombay, to be joined by a body of native infantry which had been held in readiness there for foreign service. The united force, 7000 men, was placed under the command of General Baird, and was sent, on the 6th of April, 1801, by the Red Sea to Egypt.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1800.
Privateers encouraged
Bombay expedition sent to Egypt.
A.D. 1801.

General Baird.

The troops, after some delays, were landed at Cosseir, in June, June 1801. and having surmounted every difficulty in crossing the desert, proceeded by the Nile to the little island of Rhonda, opposite old Cairo, where the Nilometer is kept. On the 27th of August, they moved down the river to Rosetta, to be near General Hutchinson, who was engaged in besieging Alexandria. That city capitulated early in September. The negotiations with the Turks and Egyptians occupied much time, and no junction was effected of Baird's army with that of the commander-in-chief in Egypt. Apprehensions were then entertained of the results of such a proceeding, in consequence of the high pay and batta of the Indian force. Sickness began amongst the sepoys—even the plague broke out. General Baird moved his troops to Cairo, and marched by five easy stages across the desert to Suez, where they embarked for India, on the 5th of June, 1802. General Baird went to Calcutta, and was most honourably received by the Marquis of Wellesley. He soon returned to Europe, and afterwards commanded the expedition which took the Cape of Good Hope, on the 9th of January, 1806.

The Cape taken.
9th Jan.
A.D. 1806.

While the expedition to Egypt was absent, the Governor-general, anticipating hostilities from the Mahrattas, and aware that the Nizam was unable to defend his territories against them without an English auxiliary force, while the vacillating politics of his court might induce him to dismiss that force as he had done before, entered into arrangements by which the Nizam ceded to the English some rich districts, the revenues of which were to be applied to the payment of the auxiliary brigade. This arrangement was, of course, inconsistent with the act of

The Nizam cedes territory.

CHAPTER XIII.
A.D. 1801. parliament, which forbade the acquisition of a new territory, but its obvious policy prevented any objection being raised. Indeed, many would have rejoiced if the Nizam had been induced to surrender all his power for an adequate pension, in order that an end might be put to the corruption and profligacy of the court of Hyderabad. Dangers, however, menaced the Company from another quarter, and withdrew attention from the Nizam.

CHAPTER XIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

The Nabob of Oude governs badly.—The Afghans threaten to invade India.—Shah Zeman makes various attempts.—The Sikhs are persecuted by the Mohammedans.—Embassy under Captain Malcolm sent to Persia.—Shah Zeman dethroned.—Vizir Ali murders Mr. Cherry at Benares.—He rebels and is taken Prisoner.—The Nabob of Oude wishes to resign.—He is forced to accept a British Contingent.—Mr. H. Wellesley appointed to be Head of a Board.—This Appointment produces Dissatisfaction.—Mr. H. Wellesley resigns.—Surat taken by the English.—The Nabob deposed.—The Rajah of Tanjore is mediatised.—The Nabob of Arcot grows troublesome.—He is deposed and his Cousin appointed.—Negociations with the Mahrattas.—The Peishwa Bajee Rao controlled by Scindiah.—Scindiah interferes with Holkar.—They fight with varied Success. The Peishwa escapes from Poonah.—Holkar has an Interview with the Resident.—The Death of the Guicowar causes Confusion. Baroda taken.—Kanhojee escapes, 1803.—Treaty with the Peishwa at Bassein, 31st of December.—He intrigues against it with the Mahratta Leaders.—General Wellesley insists on their Decision.—War begins.—An Army in the Upper Provinces under Lake.—Another in the Deccan under Wellesley.—Ahmednuggur taken, 12th of August.—The Battle of Assaye, 23rd of September.—Alighur stormed, 4th of September.—Perron resigns Scindiah's Service.—Battle of Delhi, 11th of September.—The City occupied. Agra taken, 17th of October.—Battle of Laswarree, 1st of November.—Battle of Argaum, 29th of November.—Storm of Gawilghur, 15th of December.—The Rajah of Berar makes Peace.—Holkar's extravagant Demands.—He is attacked.—Colonel Monson loses his Army.—Holkar assails Delhi.—General Lake takes the Field.—The Rajah of Bhurtpore breaks Faith. Battle of Deig, 13th of November.—Holkar routed.—Deig

taken, 23rd of December.—Holkar reduced.—Bhurtpore besieged.—Four Attacks made.—Terms granted to the Rajah.—Peace made with Holkar.

CHAPTER XIV.

Oude badly
governed.

Shah
Zeman,
the Afghan,
threatens
India.
A.D. 1795.

A.D. 1797.

The Sikhs
persecuted
by the
Moslems.

The
Afghans
reach
Lahore.
A.D. 1797.

THE Governor-general had long been dissatisfied, not unreasonably, with the arrangements which Lord Teignmouth had made for administering the affairs of Oude. The Nabob-Vizir was irregular in the payment of his subsidies. The armed rabble, which constituted his military force, was calculated to invite rather than deter enemies, and his civil administration was little better than a system of legal profligacy. During the Mysore war, and for some time previously, India was menaced with an invasion of the Afghans, whose enterprising sovereign, Shah Zeman, was tempted to such an enterprize by the solicitations of Tippoo Sultan, and by a fugitive prince of the imperial family, who persuaded him that his efforts would be supported by all the Mohammedans throughout India. His first invasion of the Punjab was commenced at the close of the year 1795, but he had not been more than a fortnight beyond the Indus when he was obliged to return home to quell a dangerous rebellion. In the January of 1797, he renewed his attempt, and advanced to Lahore, where he made some attempts not wholly unsuccessful, to reconcile the Sikh chieftains to his dominion. The Sikhs were originally a peaceful religious sect, not unlike the society of Quakers; their creed was a strange compound of Hindu and Mohammedan doctrines; it spread rapidly through the Punjab and the countries bordering on the tributaries of the Indus, and, at first, attracted little notice. The bigoted advisers of the emperors of Delhi persuaded these princes to commence a cruel persecution of this harmless sect. They were hunted down by a licentious soldiery, and at length took up arms in self-defence. A few years sufficed to change this patient race into hardy and independent warriors, able to defy the declining power of the empire of Delhi.

Shah Zeman's efforts to conciliate the Sikhs, were resisted by the bigoted train of Mohammedan priests, which followed with his army, by the rapacity of his vizir, and by the licentiousness of his soldiers, which he was unable to restrain. Still, he was so far successful as to have a reasonable prospect of retaining the Punjab, and thence attacking the ancient empire of Delhi. The advance of the Afghans and the occupation of Lahore, did not fail in creating a strong sensation throughout India. The weakness of the Mahrattas, the whole of whose forces were drawn to

the southward by their own dissensions ; the feebleness of the government of the Nabob-Vizir, and the disposition of the greater part of his subjects to insurrection and revolt, together with the anxiety of all the Mohammedans for the establishment of their ancient religious supremacy, prepared scenes of disorder and anarchy which would, doubtless, have opened so soon as the Shah had advanced to Delhi. Many of the Rohilla chieftains, remembering the cruel injustice with which their race had been treated by Warren Hastings, were already in arms. Fortunately, the rebellion of his brother, Prince Mohammed, compelled Zeman to return home in the summer of 1797, but not until he had announced his intention of renewing the invasion on the earliest opportunity. He came back to Lahore the next year, but was soon compelled to abandon India in order to protect his own dominions from the Persians. This induced the Governor-general to send, on the 29th of December, 1799, rather an expensive embassy, under Captain Malcolm, from Bombay, to the king of Persia, for the purpose of negotiating an offensive and defensive alliance with that monarch ; a treaty was concluded, but it never came into operation, for, early in 1801, Shah Zeman was dethroned by his brother Mohammed, who made him a prisoner, and deprived him of sight.

CHAPTER
XIV.

A.D. 1797.

The Indians
resist.

Embassy
to Persia.
A.D. 1799.

Shah
Zeman
dethroned.

Another circumstance besides the dread of Shah Zeman, rendered Lord Wellesley anxious to accelerate his meditated reforms in Oude. Vizir Ali, after having been deposed by Sir John Shore, was permitted to reside in Benares, but as this place was too near his former dominions, it was resolved that he should be removed to Calcutta. He viewed this change with the utmost aversion, and remonstrated against it most strenuously. On the 14th of January, 1799, he visited the resident, Mr. Cherry, and complained of the hardship of his removal in very intemperate language. Mr. Cherry remonstrated with him on his imprudence, when the young man started from his seat and struck at the resident with his sword. This was the signal to his attendants ; they rushed upon the unfortunate gentleman, and murdered him on the floor. Four other Englishmen fell victims to these assassins ; but a fifth made so vigorous a defence, that time was given for the arrival of a body of horse, upon which Vizir Ali and his attendants took to flight. Though Saadat Ali believed that his old rival was about to make an attempt upon his throne, his timidity was too great to allow of his making any vigorous exertion to overtake the criminals ; he pleaded an excuse, that he could rely neither on the discipline nor the fidelity

Vizir Ali
murders
Mr. Cherry.
14th Jan.
A.D. 1799.

CHAPTER
XIV.

A.D. 1800.
Vizir Ali
raises
troops but
is taken.

of his troops. Vizir Ali's career was, however, brief; he at first assembled a numerous body of adventurers, but, meeting with some reverses, he was abandoned by his followers, and forced to seek refuge with a Rajput chief, by whom he was soon surrendered to the British government.

The Nabob
of Oude
wishes to
resign.

He is forced
to accept
English aid.

At length
consents.

A board
appointed
in Oude.

The Governor-general now insisted that the Nabob Vizir of Oude should disband, as speedily as possible, the whole of his military force, and replace it by an army exclusively British. He was, however, to retain that kind of troops which had been employed to collect taxes. Colonel Scott was entrusted with the conduct of this negotiation, which the Nabob Vizir protracted with all the delays which Oriental diplomacy could suggest. At length the Nabob intimated a wish to resign the throne of Oude, a proposition which the Governor-general hesitated to accept, unless the abdication was made in favour of the Company. It soon appeared that Saadat Ali's object was merely delay; he had great and natural objections to dismiss his own army, and entrust the defence of his dominions to the British troops, believing that his power would be thus reduced to a mere shadow, and that he would sink into an empty pageant of royalty. The vigorous measures of the Governor-general soon forced the Nabob into compliance, and on his representation that he was unable to meet the expenses of the British brigade, he was required to transfer the exclusive management of the civil as well as the military government of his country to the company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of his court and his family; and, at the same time, he was informed that he must surrender, in absolute sovereignty to the English, so much territory as would afford a revenue adequate to pay the subsidy stipulated with Lord Teignmouth, and defray the expenses of the military establishment besides.

Saadat Ali had again recourse to all the delays which his ingenuity could suggest; but the Governor-General inflexibly adhered to his demands, and threatened to employ force unless they were accepted. The Nabob waited until he heard that troops were actually on the march, and then, being incapable of resistance, he yielded a reluctant consent. Lord Wellesley proceeded to execute his plans with the same promptitude which he had displayed from the beginning; on the very day that the treaty was signed, he issued a commission for the provisional government and settlement of the ceded districts, placing his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, at the head of the board. During the negotiations Lord Wellesley made a tour to the Upper Pro-

vinces, and visited Saadat Ali at Lucknow, where he seems to have in some degree soothed the irritation of the Nabob for the sacrifices he had been compelled to make.

The Court of Directors was far from being satisfied with these arrangements. It was whispered that the great object of the Marquis of Wellesley's policy was to provide lucrative places for his brothers and friends; and the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley was particularly condemned, as he did not belong to the class of Company's servants, to whom, by Act of Parliament, the filling up of vacancies in the Civil service was limited. The Board of Control refused to sanction the order of the Court of Directors for the immediate removal of Mr. Henry Wellesley, declaring that the appointment was only temporary, and, therefore, not within the restricting rules. In the meantime, a new necessity was created for continuing Mr. Henry Wellesley's services by the conclusion of an arrangement with the subordinate Nabob of Furruckabad, similar to that which had been already made with his superior, the Nabob of Oude. A Rajah named Bugwan Sing refused to submit to the alterations which were made; it became necessary to employ force, and his two forts, Sasnee and Bidgeghur were besieged and taken. Some other refractory Zemindars, who had profited by the anarchy which formerly prevailed in the Doab, were compelled to submit to the British government; and, when the tranquillity of the ceded districts was established, Mr. Henry Wellesley resigned his office.

On the other side of India, misgovernment and neglect of payment afforded a pretext for adding the dominions of the Nabob of Surat to the Company's territories. Surat had been the most flourishing commercial mart in India, when first the trade of that country was opened to European enterprise; it was the usual port of embarkation for Mecca, and was generally called by the Mohammedans, "the Gate of the Holy City." Many of the Parsees, or Persians who adhered to the ancient religion of Zoroaster, had settled in the city, and enriched it by the active trade which they conducted with the Arabian and Persian gulphs. In the decline of the Delhi empire, the Nabob of Surat, like many other of the imperial feudatories, became virtually independent, and rendered the succession to his government hereditary. Disputes arose respecting the inheritance, which were decided by the interference of the English government, and the sovereigns of Surat gave further proofs of their weakness by consenting to pay *chout*, or tribute, to the Mahrattas. A disputed succession, in 1799, afforded an opportunity for reducing the Nabob of Surat

CHAPTER
XIV.

A.D. 1800.
The directors jealous of the Governor-General.

Subordinate Nabobs dissatisfied.

Surat taken by the English.

to the same position as the Nabob of Aroor. he was induced to surrender the civil and military administration of his dominions to the English in return of receiving a pension, and enjoying the right and title of sovereignty. The great difficulty remaining was to obtain independence in the matter of the Malacca coast. The Governor the Malacca ruler of Johore expressed the greatest readiness to relinquish the Malacca, to whom he owed his protection, with the share which belonged to him. But the business was not so easily arranged with the Perak, as the latter opposed to the English was at this period very influential in the court of Portugal.

The Royal of Tanjore was about the same time reduced to the position of a nominal prince. Some time previously there had been a dispute respecting the succession to the throne of the country. The Royal Tanjore, in his death-bed, bequeathed the crown to his adopted son Serfojee, whom he entrusted to the care of the Government, under the Government, but the validity of the act of adoption was disputed, and the English government took a favour of Tanjore's nephew, Ameer Sing. There soon occurred many fatal quarrels between the property of this nephew and they were referred to the consideration of the Government, when Serfojee was forced to seek refuge at Aroor from the tyranny of Ameer Sing. Finally, Serfojee was allowed to the throne on condition of assigning over to the English the civil and military administration of his kingdom. It were interesting this arrangement may have been to the advantage there is no doubt but that the better system of government which the English introduced was attended by the most beneficial results to the Royal of Tanjore.

Great inconveniences had arisen from the state of the relations between the Government of Malacca and the Nabob of Aroor; his independence had been preserved by the sinister influence of those who had led him to contract debts at exorbitant rates of interest, and had absorbed to themselves nearly all the revenues of his country. But the misgovernment produced by this drain of his resources soon exhausted the supply, not only were the means of parliamentary administration wanting to the peculators, but even the Nabob's subsidies to the Company fell heavily into mismanagement of the Mysore war, had very nearly produced the most fatal consequences. Soon after the capture of Seringapatam, documents were discovered among the secret records of the Sultan, containing very strong evidence of a treacherous inter-