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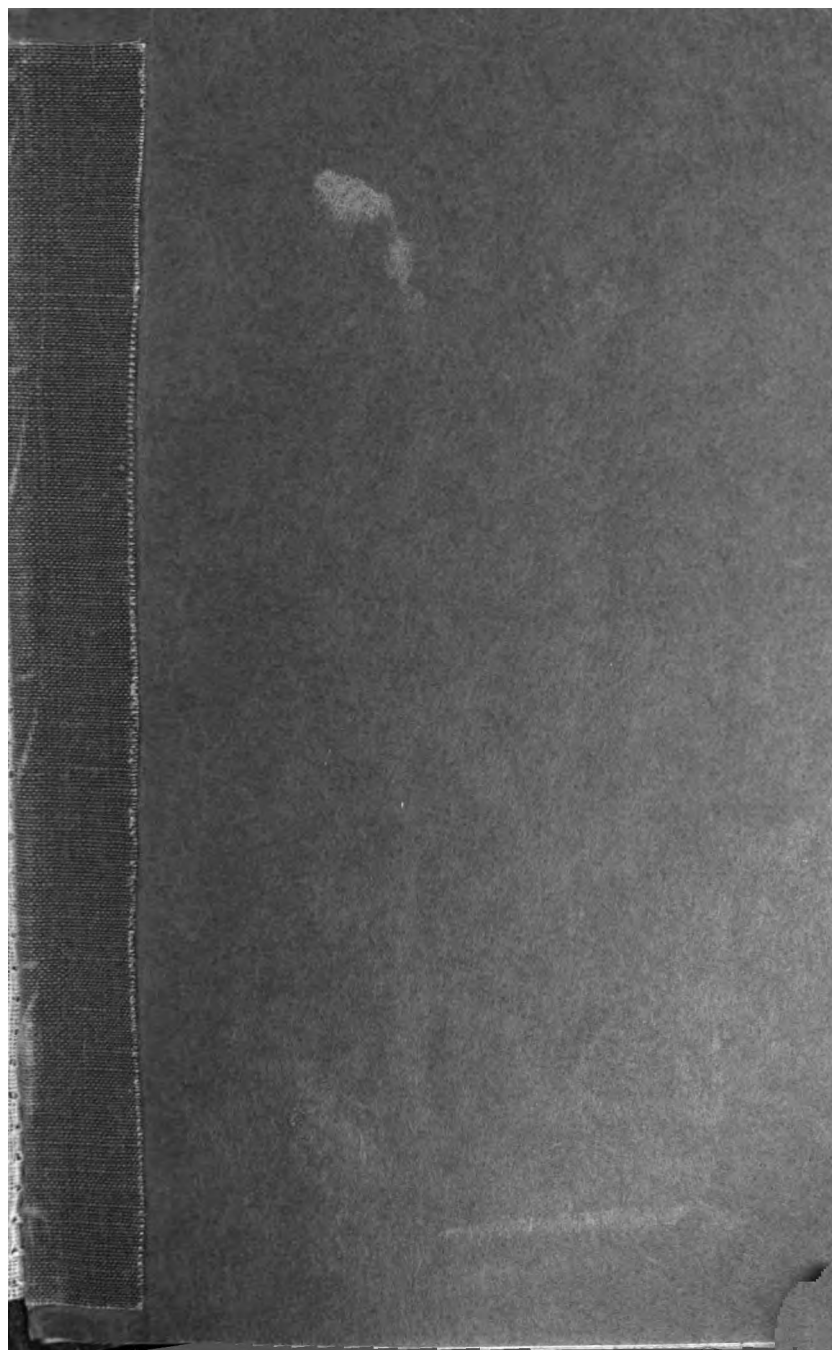
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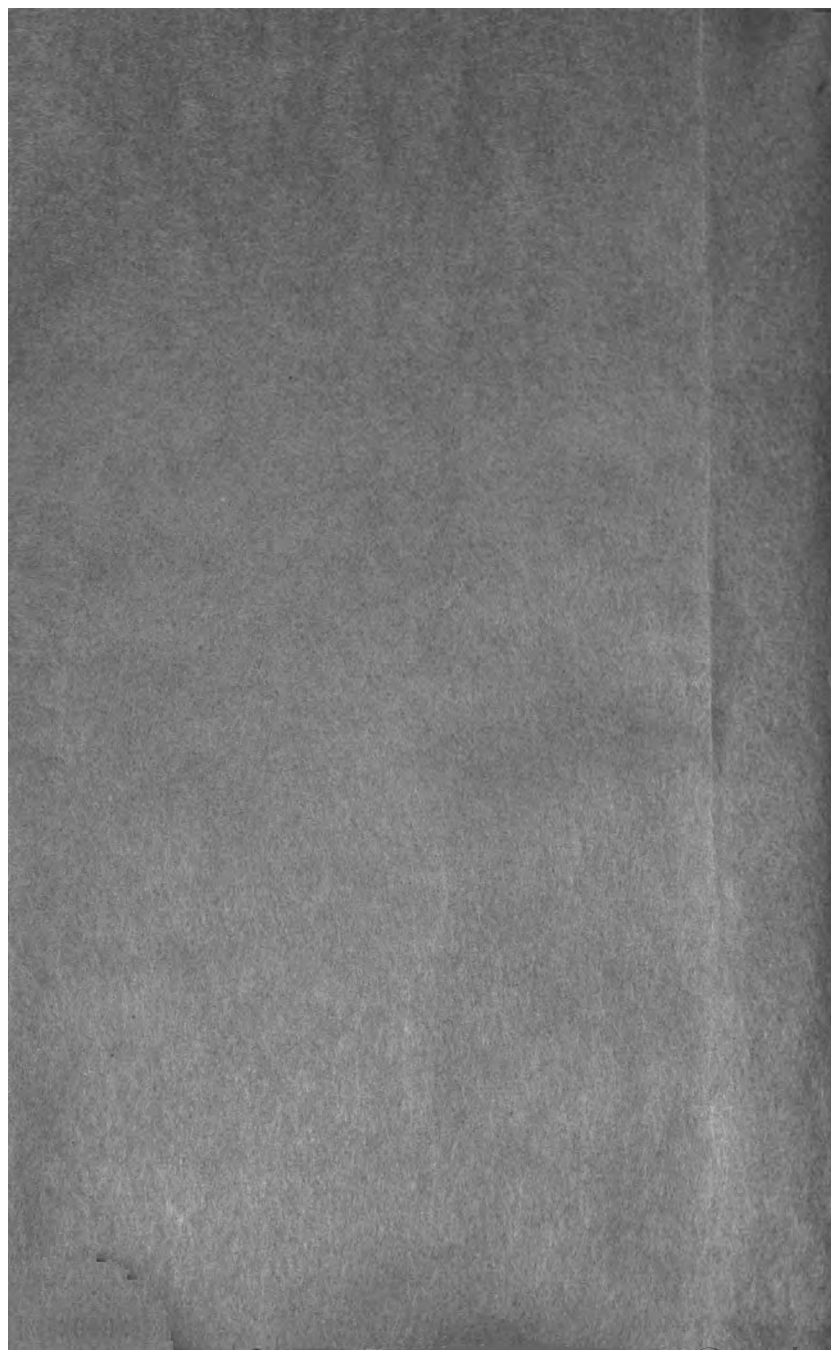
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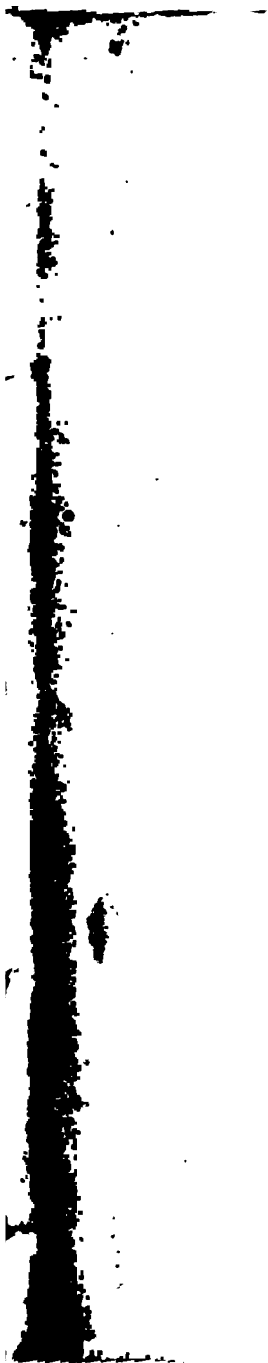


GIFT OF
HORACE W. CARPENTIER











BATTLE OF SOBRAON.

Front



LONDON :
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & CO. FARRINGTON STREET.

70. VIII
ALPHABETUS

THE
HISTORY
OF
BRITISH INDIA,

FROM THE
EARLIEST ENGLISH INTERCOURSE
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
CHARLES MACFARLANE,
AUTHOR OF
"JAPAN, ETC." "LIFE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON," ETC. ETC.

SECOND EDITION.
Illustrated with Wood-Cuts.

LONDON:
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & CO., FARRINGDON STREET.
1853.

to Mr
A. B. C.

II 1/14

Carpenter

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TO
SIR JAMES WEIR HOGG, BART.,
Deputy-Chairman of the Honourable East-India Company, &c. &c.

IN ADMIRATION OF HIS PUBLIC CONDUCT,

AND

ESPECIALLY OF THE EFFORTS BY HIM MADE TO PROMOTE
EDUCATION IN THE INDIAN SERVICE ;

AND

IN GRATITUDE FOR PRIVATE ACTS OF KINDNESS,

THIS VOLUME
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY
ITS AUTHOR.

538745

ON THE ARTS AND CRAFTS

P R E F A C E.

IN this volume it has been my endeavour to give a clear and concise sketch of the great events of our Indian history, without embarrassing the reader with episodes or minor facts, and without entering into political discussion or any other species of controversy. I am assured that such a book, if properly executed, is much wanted, not only by the students at Haileybury and Addiscombe, and by young officers and civil servants of the Company in India, but also by the generality of readers, who may not find time for the perusal of voluminous works.

Those who wish to pursue the subject, or any part of it, into more detail, will find an index to the best books in my numerous foot-notes, and in the notes at the ends of the chapters. Our Anglo-Indian literature is so very extensive that I could not attempt anything like a complete index; but the *young* student will find the notes useful in this way, and to the more experienced reader they will show my sources of information, and serve to test the accuracy or general fidelity with which I have followed my authorities.

In order that the volume might be compact, and fit for the portmanteau of the traveller, or the bullock-trunk of the young Indian officer (who always finds it difficult to carry large books about with him), I have tried to avoid the use of a single superfluous word. It is for others to decide whether I have succeeded in this endeavour.

In treating of recent events and certain very recent battles, which have been made the subjects of controversy and

violent excitement, I have studiously avoided going into any details. The time is not yet come for such discussions, nor are all the facts cleared up.

India still offers—and long may it offer!—the best, the widest, the noblest field for British exertion; and in no other service than in that of the Honourable Company has a youth or young man so fair a chance of promotion. “In India,” said Sir James Hogg, “every possible encouragement is held out to public servants to render themselves fully competent to the discharge of their duties. There the fittest man is always selected for the performance of any duty, irrespective of all other considerations. In India, no interest is required for advancement; no political feeling can interfere with the progress of merit; and thence the high character of our civil and military servants, which I refer to with the highest pride.”*

As a necessary part of his education, and as one of the means of making himself competent to this full discharge of his duties, every young civilian or cadet, before going to the East, ought to make himself thoroughly acquainted with at least the main facts of Anglo-Indian History. He ought to know what has been done before him by men like Clive, Warren Hastings, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Hardinge, and the long array of distinguished men who have gained, or have added to, their illustration and glory in India.

If this little book contribute to that desirable end, if it excite a glow of admiration and enthusiasm by the recital of past deeds and heroic actions, and encourage young men to go and aspire to do likewise, its chief purpose will have been gained.

C. M. F.

LONDON, *October*, 1851.

* Address to the Gentlemen Cadets at Addiscombe, 1846.

HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INDIA is bounded by the lofty Hémalaya, the river Indus, and the sea. Its length from Cashmir to Cape Comorin is about 1,900 English miles ; and its breadth from the mouth of the Indus to the mountains eastward of the Baramputra river is considerably more than 1,500 English miles. It is traversed from east to west by a chain of mountains—the Vindya—which extends from the 23rd to the 25th parallel of latitude, or nearly from the desert N.W. of Guzerat to the river Ganges. The country to the north of the Vindya chain is now called Hindustan, and that to the south of it, the Deckan. Guzerat and Bengal are regarded by the natives as being included neither in Hindustan nor the Deckan ; they differ greatly from each other, but each resembles the part of Hindustan which is nearest to it. The superficial extent of all India is estimated at 1,287,483 square miles. Its population may be taken in round numbers at 140,500,000, but it is believed to have been at one period of the old unconquered Hindū empire much greater. If we leave Russia, Sweden and Norway, out of the account, India is in square miles nearly a third greater than Europe.*

Although some of its rich productions had found their way into the regions of the west, and some vague and half-fabulous reports of the vast extent, great wealth and populousness of the country had reached Europe at much earlier periods, very little was known about India, until Alexander the Great led his conquering army across the Punjaub to

* ‘ The History of India, the Hindū and Mahometan Periods.’ By the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Major Rennell, Memoir of Map of Hindostan.

the banks of the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis. No country the Macedonians had hitherto visited was so populous and well cultivated, or so abounding in valuable productions of nature and art, as that edge of India through which they marched.* When compelled by the impatient clamour of his troops to commence his return towards Persia, Alexander built or collected a numerous fleet, with which he descended the rivers to the mouth of the Indus and the ocean, seeing in this progress far more of the country than he had seen on his preceding line of march. He had with him a few Greek scholars admirably qualified to observe and describe the country. At the mouth of the Indus the army and the fleet parted company: Alexander proceeded with the troops by land, and Nearchus took charge of the ships, which made for the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates. After these brilliant expeditions a flood of light was thrown on the great countries of the East. It is true that the accounts of the Macedonians are occasionally contradictory and inaccurate; but full credit may be given to the Greek writers when they describe manners and institutions which are still found to exist in India, or which are recorded in ancient Hindū books. "If," says Mr. Elphinstone, "we discard the fables derived from the Grecian mythology, and those which are contrary to the course of nature, we shall find more reason to admire the accuracy of these early authors, than to wonder at the mistakes into which they fell, in a country so new and so different from their own, and where they had everything to learn by means of interpreters, generally through the medium of more languages than one. Their accounts, as far as they go, of the manners and habits of the people, do in fact agree with our own accurate knowledge almost as well as those of most modern travellers prior to the institution of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta."†

These early authors noticed the strict and remarkable division of the people into castes, the peculiar life led by the Bramins, the almost incredible feats of those religious ascetics now called fakirs, the voluntary self-immolation of widows by fire with the bodies of their husbands, the magnificence of the Indian festivals, together with many other particulars, which have not been changed by numerous foreign conquests, or infusion of alien blood, or the wearing

* Dr. Robertson, 'Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India.'

† History of India.

effects of twenty-two centuries. Most of the arts of life are at present as they were at the time of those Greeks. The two annual harvests, and the kinds of grain reaped at each of them, are now as they then were: sugar, cotton, spices, and perfumes, were abundantly produced as they now are; and the mode of forming the fields into small beds to retain the irrigation has undergone no change. The brilliancy of the Indian dyes, as well as the skill of the people in manufactures and in imitation of foreign objects, struck the ancients even as they have done the moderns. The use of copper vessels for all purposes was as general as it is now. The dress of the Indians as described by the Greeks is precisely that composed of two sheets of cotton cloth, which is still worn by the people of Bengal, and, by strict Bramins, all over India. Ear-rings and ornamented slippers were also used, according to the fashion of our own day. Their clothes were usually white cotton, though often mixed with bright colours and flowered patterns. Frugal in most other things, they were very expensive in their personal attire, the higher classes wearing gold and jewels in profusion. The great, when they went abroad, had umbrellas carried over them, as now. They dyed their beards with henna and indigo, a fashion as prevalent as ever. They took their meals separately, according to their present unsociable practice; they drank little fermented liquor. The method of catching and training elephants, with all its ingenious contrivances, was related by the Greeks, almost as exactly as it is in the account of the modern practice in the 'Asiatic Researches.'

During the splendid periods of the Commonwealth, and until the last decline of the Empire, Rome, and her more prosperous and civilized provinces, were very familiar with the silks, brocades, fine muslins, gems, spices, and many more of the manufactures and natural productions of the remote East; but, judging from the works that remain to us, it cannot be said that the Romans added very much to our knowledge of India. During the dark ages which followed the subversion of their empire of the West, the India trade was greatly diminished, but it was never entirely stopped all over Europe. People are tenacious of articles and luxuries to which they have once been accustomed, and some of the productions of India had been consecrated to the services of religion, and continued in request with Christian churches. Even in our remote island of Great Britain, and in the poor semi-barba-

rous Saxon period, the venerable Bede had collected in his bleak northern monastery at Jarrow, some of the spices and scented woods of the East. At the dawn of our civilization, under Alfred the Great, English missionaries are said to have found their way to the coast of Malabar.

But the great emporium of Eastern trade was Constantinople, until the eleventh century, when Amalfi, Venice, and other enterprising Italian republics, struck in for their share, and commenced a system, which, in the course of a century or two, gave them nearly the whole of that commerce in Europe. Some of the goods were conveyed overland by caravans from India to Persia and Asia Minor; others were brought by Arab navigators across the Indian Ocean, and up the Persian Gulf, or the Red Sea. The adventurous Italians purchased them mostly in the seaports of Egypt or Syria, and conveying them thence, in their ships, across the Mediterranean, they distributed them over the continent of Europe. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a few Italian traders found their way to India. It is to a Venetian trader—the great traveller Marco Polo—that the nations of the West were indebted for much additional information concerning the regions which lie between the Hémalaya mountains, the Indus, and the Indian Ocean, and for the first information, of any substance, that we ever obtained about China, and many regions and islands neighbouring on the Celestial empire, or on India.*

The discovery by Vasco de Gama, in the year 1498, of the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, was almost immediately the cause of a great commercial revolution. It turned the trade of Hindustan and the Deckan into a new channel, depriving the Venetians, the Genoese, and other states or peoples, of the advantages they had derived from it, so long as it had been carried on by the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, across Persia and Asia Minor, or across Egypt and the Isthmus of Suez, and thence by the Mediterranean to the European shores. It placed all the valuable part of that great commerce in the hands of the Portuguese discoverers

* It is not consistent with the limits and plan of this work to do more than glance at India in her ancient or remote times. Those who would pursue this part of the subject (and it is very interesting) may be referred to Arrian and the other Greek writers, to Mr. Elphinstone's *History of India*, Major Rennell's learned works, Dr. Robertson's ingenious *Dissquisition*, Dean Vincent's *Periplus*, and to the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*, and the journals of the Royal Asiatic Society.

and conquerors, who, by their possession of Malacca, secured the trade of the Indian Archipelago, and by their settlements at Goa, Diu, and other ports of Malabar, monopolized the commerce with Europe during the sixteenth century.* From the day the Portuguese established this monopoly, the Italians began to decline rapidly in wealth and prosperity; and as it was with the Portuguese and Italians, so will it be with every people that gains or loses the control over the trade of the golden East.

At the close of the sixteenth and in the early part of the seventeenth century, the English, Dutch, and French, going round by the Cape of Good Hope, began to appear upon the Indian field, and the Portuguese lost their influence almost as rapidly as they had acquired it.

Thomas Cavendish—one of the boldest circumnavigators of Queen Elizabeth's days—returned, in 1588, from a two years' voyage, during which he had explored and visited the isles of Molucca. He had been well treated by the people, and affirmed that they would trade as freely with the English as with the Portuguese. Cavendish and "divers merchants" applied for permission to send a small squadron to India, but it appears that government did not attend to the application.

The first English expedition destined for India was rather warlike and buccaneering, than commercial, for it was destined to cruise against the Portuguese: it was fitted out in 1591, under the command of a Captain Raymond; but sickness, shipwreck, and other disasters, attended the three ships. Raymond was lost without seeing India, and Lancaster, his second in command, returned home a ruined man.

The capture, by Sir Francis Drake, of five Portuguese carracks laden with the products of India—the enterprise of some members of the Turkey or Levant Company, who conveyed their European merchandise to Aleppo and Bagdad, and thence by the Persian Gulf to Goa, and afterwards visited Agra, Lahore, Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca—the account given by one Stevens, who had been in India with the Portuguese, and accumulating intelligence through other channels, all contributed to keep alive the excitement, and to increase the desire for a more intimate acquaintance with,

* For details, read Faria y Sousa, 'Portuguese Asia, History of the Conquest of India; translated by Captain J. Stevens.' 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1695.

and a more immediate participation in, the riches of the East. But it was not until the Dutch, in 1595, had despatched four ships to trade with India, that the jealousy and ambition of the English were effectually roused.

At length, in 1599, a company was formed in London; a fund was raised by subscriptions of individuals, amounting to £30,133. 6s. 8d., and a committee of fifteen was deputed to manage it. Such was the humble origin of our great East-India Company. To further the wishes of the committee, Sir John Mildenhall was sent by Constantinople overland, on an embassy to the Great Mogul; but this mission was rendered of no effect by the intrigues of the Portuguese. On the 31st of December, 1600, a Royal Charter of Privileges was given to the infant Company, conditionally, for fifteen years. On the 2nd of May, 1601, a squadron sailed from Torbay; it consisted of five ships, placed under the command of James Lancaster, the survivor of the unfortunate expedition of 1591. Lancaster was furnished with letters from Queen Elizabeth to various eastern sovereigns, who could scarcely have known of her majesty's existence. The first place in India that Lancaster and his crews visited was Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, where they met with a favourable reception. In the Straits of Malacca they captured a large Portuguese vessel, having on board calicoes and spices enough to lade all their ships. Thus suddenly and easily enriched, they bore away for Bantam, in the island of Java, and left some agents there—the very first rudiments of the Company's factories; and from Bantam they made for England, which they reached in safety, in September, 1603.

Between this date and 1612, the Company made eight voyages to the islands of the Indian Ocean, realizing immense profits thereby. Attempts were made in England to infringe the Company's rights, but they were not successful. On the 11th of January, 1612, a firman or decree of the Mogul emperor was received, confirming certain privileges of the English in the islands, and authorizing their first establishment on the continent of India.*

Few great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British Empire in India. It was in the course of the year 1612, in the reign of James I., that

* Mill, 'Hist. of British India.' Harris, 'Collection of Voyages.'

the agents of the Company timidly established their first little factory at Surat. By degrees, other petty settlements were formed along the western side of the peninsula, Surat continuing to have the control over them all, till the cession of Bombay to the Company, by Charles II., in 1668. At this period the nominal sovereigns and masters of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of a good part of it, were the Mahometanized Mogul Tartars, a people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion, from the Hindūs, the aboriginal or very ancient inhabitants of the country.

At the beginning of the tenth century of our æra, or about seventy years before the conquest of England by the Normans, Sultan Mahmoud of Ghuzni, who is universally regarded as the first Mahometan conqueror of Hindustan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massacres, nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The dynasty of Ghuzni was subverted, in less than two hundred years, by new Mahometan conquerors from Gaur, in Khorasan, who, though at first defeated by some of the Hindū rajahs then striving to restore the independence and ancient religion of their race, conquered the greater part of the provinces, took Delhi, and made it the seat and centre of the government. In 1206, assassination put an end to this new dynasty, and the dominions were split into fractions. Here a Hindū rajah raised his head, there an unknown adventurer established a precarious sway, and there a Gaurian or a Mussulman, of some other tribe, gave the law and collected the taxes. In 1289, the partial dominion of India passed into the hands of the fierce Afghans, who subdued the Rajpoots, a portion of the unfortunate Hindū race who had hitherto preserved their independence. But in India, no dynasty (constantly resident in the country) long preserved the qualities which had made them conquerors; the Afghan princes became weak and degenerate; many of the Hindū rajahs in the Deckan, and in Bengal recovered their independence; and then, in the last years of the fourteenth century, Timour the Mogul Tartar, commonly called by our writers Tamerlane, overturned the Afghan dynasty altogether. As Timour did not remain in the scene of his victories and dreadful devastations, the country became divided into a number of small independent states, some Mahometan and some Hindū.

But in 1526, Baber, a descendant of Timour, and a truly great prince, swept away by a new invasion these petty principalities and powers, and extended one compact dominion as far as the Ganges, and quietly re-erected the Mogul throne in Delhi. The second prince in succession from Baber, the great Akbar, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominions upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindūs, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundred-fold more numerous than their conquerors. Under this reign India enjoyed more internal tranquillity, more prosperity and civilization, than she had ever known before. The great Akbar had been dead only seven years, when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat. After his decease, his dynasty was weakened by feuds, insurrections, disputed successions, and frequent civil wars. Sons plotted against their fathers, brothers against brothers, cousins against cousins, and viziers and great khans against their sovereigns; and all these plots, insurrections, and wars, were attended by foul assassinations, wholesale massacres, and an amount of treachery and crime, revolting to the imagination.

As the Portuguese continued to intrigue against the English, and very often succeeded in thwarting them, the English seem to have made no scruple of attacking their ships wherever they could find them; and thus, even when there was peace between the two mother countries in Europe, there was seldom peace or truce between these rivals in India. As the English were generally victorious in these naval actions, their reputation was raised in the country, and native princes, who had wars or quarrels on hand, began to court their friendship and alliance. At the earnest solicitation of the infant Company, King James, in 1614, sent an embassy to Delhi, to settle their commerce and cultivate a friendly connection. Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador selected, was an observing and clever man. In September, 1615, he arrived at Surat, and landed there with no small pomp, having in his train eighty men-at-arms. Travelling across the country, he reached Ajmere, where the court was residing, on the 23rd of December. The Mogul emperor received him with unusual honours; but Sir Thomas soon found that his diplomacy was thwarted by the intrigues of Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion, or the excessive caution, of the emperor's favourite son and ministers. Some former

territorial grants, and a few new privileges, worth very little, were, however, confirmed or granted to him. Jehanghire, who then occupied the Delhi musnud, had dethroned his father in 1605; he was grandson to the great Akbar, but he had few of the eminent qualities of that prince, and although there remained an outward show of magnificence and power, the empire was much distracted, and was evidently declining under his sway. The country of the Rajpoots, the greater part of the Deckan, Bengal, and many other parts, were either independent, or in almost constant insurrection. Matters grew rapidly worse under the rule of his grandson and successor, Shah Jehan, who reigned from 1627 to 1658.

The Dutch, who were more on a par with us at sea, were quite as jealous as the Portuguese; and when the English attempted to secure a share of the lucrative trade carried on with the Spice Islands, the detestable massacre of Amboyna was the immediate consequence. In that island, the largest in the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle, garrisoned by 200 men, while the English, only eighteen in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they conceived, by agreements and treaties with the Dutch. Yet the Dutch chose to suspect that these few Englishmen intended to dispossess them of their castle; and thereupon, inviting them, in a friendly manner, to pay a visit to their governor in the castle, they there seized them, put them to rack and torture, and in the end cut off the heads of ten of the number. One Portuguese and nine natives of Japan were put to death at the same time, as accomplices with the English, solemnly protesting in dying that they knew nothing of the imputed plot.

From the date of the Amboyna tragedy (in 1622), the English abandoned the trade of the Spice Islands to their Dutch rivals, and for some time their trade on the Indian continent seemed to languish; the Company becoming embarrassed and in great distress. Yet, through the good offices of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon, in great favour with Shah Jehan, they were authorized to make a new settlement at Hooghly; and the ground on which Madras, or Fort St. George, now stands, had been obtained from a native prince. On that ground, Mr. Francis Day at once erected a fortress, which was gradually surrounded by a thriving and still in-

creasing town, to which the natives flocked as to the best place for pursuing trade, and putting in security the wealth they derived from it—wealth which had few safeguards in the territories of their own princes and chiefs.

During the great civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament, nearly all foreign trade was suspended, and the East-India Company sank into comparative insignificance; but at the close of that disastrous period, Oliver Cromwell re-confirmed the privileges of the Company, and gave encouragement to its trade. Shortly after the restoration of monarchy, Charles II. granted the Company a new charter, dated April, 1661, in which not only were all the old privileges confirmed, but new and important ones added to them.

The Company were vested with a right of exercising full civil jurisdiction and military authority, and with the power of making war and of concluding peace with the "Infidels of India." In 1668, Charles II. made over to the Company the island of Bombay, which he had received from Portugal as part dower of his queen, Catherine of Braganza; and soon after he made a similar grant of that convenient midway resting-place, the island of St. Helena. In 1687, the Company, enticed by the defensible nature of the island, and its magnificent and convenient ports, transferred from Surat to Bombay the presidency over all their settlements; and from that moment the town began to spread and increase very rapidly.*

Our trade was now carried on with a great part of the Indian empire, through establishments both on the eastern and western coasts; but it was liable to interruptions, and our forts and factories were not unfrequently menaced by native powers, urged on, in most cases, by the Portuguese, or by the Dutch. The mad wars of the natives among themselves, the daily increasing weakness of the empire—which was an empire in dissolution—encouraged the English to abandon the merely defensive and act on the offensive. In 1686, a Captain Nicholson, with ten armed vessels and six companies of soldiers, was sent to the Ganges to levy war against the Great Mogul, the descendant of Tamerlane, and the nabob of Bengal. This force, the first employed in the intent of establishing political and military power, was diminutive indeed; but the unwarlike habits and undisciplined

* Bruce, 'Annals of the East-India Company.'

condition of the natives were taken into account.* The object of the expedition was to seize upon Chittagong; but Nicholson, who ought to have taken that place by a *coup de main*, managed matters so lamely, that he was beaten off by its guns. The nabob of Bengal then fell upon and plundered the English factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar. The Company then sent out a very large ship and a frigate, under the command of a Captain Heath, who was neither more skilful nor more fortunate than Nicholson had been. Instead of taking Chittagong, the English were obliged to fly from their settlement at Hooghly, and to abandon all they had in Bengal, — losses too great to be compensated by their having reduced one or two forts, and burned forty ships and barges belonging to the Great Mogul. That irritated sovereign now vowed that he would expel them from his dominions. Our factory at Surat was seized, and the island of Bombay was surrounded by a hostile fleet. The factory at Masulipatam was taken possession of, as was also the factory at Visigapatam, where the Company's agent and several of their servants were barbarously put to death. But the Mogul treasury soon felt the want of the copious streams which flowed into it through the English factories; and that prince and his ministers, flattered by their recent failure, into the belief that the Company would never be strong enough to be very dangerous, soon made a return to their old friendly feeling, and listened to negotiations which were proposed in a most humble tone.†

In a very short time the English obtained orders for the restoration of Surat, and nearly all that had been taken from them. But during these premature contests with the natives, the most able and powerful of our European enemies had got a footing in India; the French had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, and were now employing themselves in fortifying that place, and in establishing a close connection with such of the native princes as were most unfriendly to the English. These proceedings of the French quickened the desire of obtaining an extension of territory and a real dominion, by treaty, by purchase, or by force of arms, but to be, at all events, independent of Great Mogul, rajahs, and all other powers. "The truth is," says one of the greatest authorities in Indian affairs, "that, from the day on which

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

† C. Mac Farlane, 'Our Indian Empire.' Mill, 'Hist. Brit. Ind.'

the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of these numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength, which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger." * As early as 1689, the Court of Directors in London broadly laid down the principle that independence was to be established, and dominion acquired — "that we must make us a nation in India." And just at this time Tegnapatam, a town and port a little to the south of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase. The servants of the Company forthwith erected walls and bulwarks, and changed the name of the place to Fort St. David. About nine years after the purchase of Tegnapatam, they made much more important acquisitions. Aurengzebe, the reigning Mogul, had appointed his son, Azim Ooshaun, to be viceroy of Bengal, and this Azim aspired to dethrone his father, as Aurengzebe had dethroned his. To carry out his schemes, the prince needed money; and for a large sum he sold to the Company the zemindarships of Chutanutty, Govindpore, and Calcutta. In 1707, about nine years after this purchase, when Fort William was finished, and a town had risen under its protection, the Company made Calcutta the seat of a presidency, and the place gradually began to rise to the dignity of a capital to the British empire in the East.

In the mean while, many merchants and traders at home had become jealous of the strict monopoly of the chartered Company, and various attempts were made by men, called "interlopers," to carry on a private trade with India. The Court of Directors ordered their officers in India to seize these interlopers, and, in certain cases, to try them as pirates. The House of Commons, in 1693, adopted the resolution that *Parliament* should interfere, and determine whatever regulations might be deemed necessary for the Indian trade. Nevertheless, a new charter was that year granted by Queen Mary, in the absence of her husband, William III., and the interlopers were subjected to the

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

same treatment as formerly. The House of Commons then resolved "That it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world, unless prohibited by *Act of Parliament*." William III. deferred to this decision, which had been brought about by a temporary union of opposite factions. The old Company had bribed the king's ministers and various members of the House of Commons. The interlopers now resorted to the same practices, not aiming at a free trade, but at a strict monopoly of it to their own sole advantage: and in 1698, they were enabled to bring the Company's royal charter under the cognizance of parliament, and to get it set aside for one in their own favour. The charter was in fact knocked down to the highest bidder; and, in consideration of an advance to the state of £2,000,000 sterling, at eight per cent., these interlopers obtained, not by royal charter, but by parliamentary bill, the exclusive right of trade with the East Indies, in spite of the protests of the other Company. The old or London Company, however, obtained a confirmation of their charter in the following session, and the nation had thus *two* East-India Companies instead of one—the old by charter and royal prerogative, the new by bill and authority of parliament. "Nothing," says Sir John Malcolm, "could be more violent than the contests of the Companies during the short period that they continued separate. The great efforts of both were directed to the object of gaining power in the House of Commons; and at the general election of the year 1700, each was detected in bribery and corruption. The old Company corrupted members and purchased votes; the new Company purchased seats. Thus the one bribed the representatives, the other the constituents. But, tired out at length with a struggle which threatened ruin to both, they united their stock under the charter granted to the old Company, and bearing date the 5th September, 1698, and assumed that name under which they have ever since been incorporated—"THE UNITED EAST-INDIA COMPANY."

It however required some time to remove their rooted animosities, and establish a feeling of common interest. But at length, in the year 1708, a new and more favourable bill was obtained from parliament, and their privileges were both extended and consolidated, in return for a fresh loan to government. Had the two Companies been allowed to remain separate and hostile, the most ruinous consequences

would have ensued: by their union, while commerce was improved in England, the substructures of an empire in India began to be slowly but surely laid.*

* Auber, 'Rise and Progress of British Power in India.' Bruce, 'Annals of the East-India Company.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political Hist. of India.' Mill, 'Hist. of British India.' Faria y Sousa, 'Portuguese Asia.'

Some curious information about the early European settlements will also be found in Maffei, 'Istoria Indica,' folio. Florence, A.D. 1588, and in Macpherson, 'Hist. of the European Commerce with India.'

CHAPTER II.

THE Great Mogul Aurengzebe died the year before the Consolidating Bill. His empire had been impoverished and weakened by frequent wars with the Mahrattas, in the Deckan, in Golconda, in Bijapur, and other parts of India. In attempting to reform the system of finances, he had thrown the revenues of the empire in confusion, and at the same time increased the oppression of his people. He had completely alienated the affections of the Hindūs, who had been faithful, able, and devoted servants and administrators to the great Akbar and to others of his predecessors. He was a bigoted Mussulman, treating the Hindūs as conquered *infidels*, and reviving against them the invidious Zezia, or poll-tax, which had been abolished. Besides degrading them by this special tax, he wholly excluded the Hindūs from office; he suppressed their fairs and festivals, and allowed their temples to be insulted, and at times destroyed, by the fanatics of his own creed. All this had raised up an obstinate spirit of resistance and an implacable hatred on the part of the Hindūs.* His death was followed, as usual, by fierce wars among his family for the succession. His son Prince Azim was proclaimed in Hindustan; his son Bahádúr Shah assumed the crown of Cabul. Bahádúr marched down to Agra, defeated his rival in a bloody battle, in which Azim and his two grown-up sons were killed, and his youngest son, an infant, was taken prisoner. This was scarcely done when Prince Cambakhsh raised the standard of revolt in the Deckan—but only to be defeated and slain in a battle near Hyderabad. Though thus victorious, the Mogul Bahádúr Shah was so weakened, that he was compelled to make a dishonourable truce with the marauding Mahrattas, and to enter into a compromise with the Rajpoots. While looking

* Mountstuart Elphinstone, 'Hist. of India.'

at least for tranquillity within his diminished states, the Great Mogul found himself suddenly invaded by the fierce, fanatical Seiks, who ravaged the country as far as the neighbourhood of Lahore on the one side, and of Delhi itself on the other.* Bahádúr Shah marched against these new enemies, and succeeded in driving them beyond the Sutlej; but he could not repair the damage they had done, and he died shortly after (in February, 1712). Four sons contended for his throne. Zehandar Shah, who triumphed over his brothers, was dethroned at the end of a few months (after he had put to death all the princes of the blood he could get into his power) by his nephew Farokhsir, who did not occupy the throne quite seven years, and who witnessed the renewal of the Seik devastations and the encroachments of the Mahrattas. He was violently deposed, and succeeded by a very young prince of the blood, who died in three months, and was in his turn succeeded by another youth, who died in a still shorter period. Mohammed Shah was then set up, and under him the empire of the Moguls was wasted to a shadow. Serious conflicts had taken place between the Hindūs and Mahometans, and—in the very capital—between the two rival Mussulman sects, the Shiás and Sunnis. The Deckan was entirely alienated under the rule of the Nizam-ul-Mulk; the Rohillas, a fierce, predatory people, of Afghan race, seized on the northern provinces, and (in 1739) the Persians, under the great Nadir Shah, penetrated to Delhi, defeated the Mogul, and massacred alike Mahometans and Hindūs. Nadir's sole object in invading India, was to enrich himself by its plunder. He first took possession of the imperial treasures and the jewels of the celebrated peacock-throne—one mass of inestimable gems. He then plundered the great nobles, the inferior officers, and the common inhabitants, employing every species of cruelty to extort contributions. Many died of the usage they received; many destroyed themselves to avoid the disgrace and torture. After a residence there of only fifty-eight days, he marched off from Delhi with a treasure in coined money worth eight or nine million sterling; with several million sterling in gold and silver plate, furniture, and rich stuffs of every description, and with gems and jewels too numerous to be counted.†

* See, for details, 'Hist. of the Punjab, and of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs,' 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1846.

† Elphinstone, 'Hist. of India.' Jonas Hanway's Travels.

The Mogul Mohammed Shah had escaped with life and preserved his liberty, but for a long time he was stupified by his calamities, and remained as if in a lethargy. The empire was as full of ruin and desolation as the capital; the army was destroyed, the treasury empty, the source of revenue all but annihilated; the Mahrattas still threatened on the south, and the Afghans on the north-west.

It was in this period of rapid dismemberment and dissolution that the English laid the foundations of their empire. The union of the clashing interests of the two Companies, the tranquillity and commercial prosperity which the peace of Utrecht brought to England and the greater part of Europe continued to raise the value of the British settlements in the East, and to encourage the Company in seeking an extension of dominion. The circumstances of the times in India were all in their favour. Every year some branch was lopped off the Mogul tree; some adventurer succeeded in making an independent sovereign state out of a smaller or larger portion of that empire: there was a constant destruction and a constant re-construction, or attempts at it. The mass of the population had now a much stronger aversion to the Mussulmans than to the European Christians; they showed a marked preference for our rule and protection, and at Surat, Bombay, Fort St. David, Calcutta, and every establishment where we could protect them, they flocked to trade with us and to live with us. Even many of the Mussulmans, when oppressed at home, took refuge in our settlements.

The Company were signally indebted, in various stages of their progress, to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one Mogul emperor that they had first been allowed a footing in Bengal; and in the year 1715, a medical man, named Hamilton, as a reward for curing, at Delhi, the reigning emperor, of a dangerous and painful disease, obtained for the Company a grant of three villages near Madras, a permission to purchase thirty-seven townships in Bengal, and the privilege of introducing and conveying their merchandise from Calcutta through Bengal without duty or search.

But the French East-India Company, who had made Pondicherry their stronghold, now began to excite the jealousy of the English by their increasing trade and extending influence. In 1744, the pacific English minister, Sir

Robert Walpole, was driven from the helm, and the war which broke out rapidly spread to Hindustan. A few of the best officers in the French service repaired to that country, in the hope of attacking the English settlements before they should be prepared for defence. Labourdonnais, who had risen from a low rank in the French navy to be governor of Mauritius and Bourbon, suddenly appeared off Madras with a squadron, and with 3,600 men. The English at Madras did not exceed 300 men, of whom about 200 were soldiers. After sustaining a bombardment for five days, Fort St. George capitulated, Labourdonnais pledging himself upon his honour to restore Madras to the English Company on payment of a fixed ransom. On entering the place he protected the persons, houses, and property of the inhabitants; but he took possession of the magazines and warehouses of the Company. M. Dupleix, who had previously formed in his own mind a system of universal conquest, and who had wished for the sole conduct of the war, considered Labourdonnais as an intruder and rival. Now, however, he insisted that Labourdonnais should break the conditions of the treaty of capitulation, and keep possession of Madras. The brave sailor was averse to a proceeding which would have been a breach of faith and honour. Having lost two of his ships in a storm, he repaired to Pondicherry to remonstrate with the governor. After many quarrels, he took his departure from Pondicherry to France, to answer accusations brought against him by Dupleix and his party, and to seek some patronage in the French cabinet and East-India Company that should enable him to return with credit and power to India. On his voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship of war, which brought him to England. As he had behaved like a man of honour and humanity, he was received with favour and distinction by all ranks, and a director of our East-India Company offered to become security for him with his person and property. But the British Government desired no security beyond the word of Labourdonnais, and permitted his return to France. It would have been better for him if they had kept him in England, for, upon the representations of the insidious Dupleix, he was arrested without process, and thrown into the Bastille, where he pined for three long years.*

The nabob of Arcot, our ally, sent an army to drive the French out of Madras; but his army ran away from the

* Labourdonnais died shortly after his liberation from the Bastille.

quick fire of the French guns. Dupleix annulled Labourdonnais's treaty, and ordered his officers at Madras to seize every article of property, private or public, native or English, except clothes, furniture, and the jewels and trinkets of the women. These orders were executed without compunction; and the English governor and some of the principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited there in a kind of triumph. Dupleix next turned his attention to Fort St. David, and induced the nabob of Arcot to change sides and join him; but three attempts against that place failed completely; and in March, 1747, the arrival of an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, made Dupleix tremble for Pondicherry. In the month of January, 1748, Major Laurence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David, with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India; and in the month of August following, Admiral Boscawen reached the same port with nine ships of war, and joined Admiral Griffin. Counting some ships of the Company, we had now the largest European naval force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1,400 men. Pondicherry was now besieged, but after thirty-one days of open trenches, the siege was given up.

The anarchy prevailing among the native rulers soon opened a way to easier conquests. Sahujee, a Hindū, who in the rapid revolutions of the times had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David, and bargained for the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pretaupa Sing, who had dethroned him. The price, as fixed, was the fort and country of Devi Cottah. In April, 1749, an English and sepoy force marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore, and made an unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Devi Cottah. A new expedition was soon fitted out, and, after some hard fighting in the breach, a truce was concluded, the reigning king of Tanjore, Pretaupa Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with the territory adjoining; and the English on their part agreeing not merely to renounce the alliance and support of Sahujee, for whom, and with whom, they entered on this war, but also to secure his person, in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his brother.*

* Orme, 'History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India.'

At the siege of Devi Cottah, Robert Clive, the real founder of our Indian empire, greatly distinguished himself. He had attracted some attention at the siege of Pondicherry in the preceding year. He had entered the Company's service in a civil capacity, but at the first sound of war, he had thrown down the writer's pen to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he was a lieutenant, and esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and comparatively friendless, and illiterate: his chances of patronage, advancement, fame, and fortune, all lay in his sword.*

However questionable the means by which it was obtained, the possession of Devi Cottah was of vast importance to the Company: it was advantageously situated by the bank of the Coleroon, on the Coromandel coast; the channel of the Coleroon, under the town, was capable of receiving ships of the largest burthen, and this was the more important, as all along that coast from Masulipatam to Cape Comorin there was no port that could receive a vessel of 300 tons: moreover, the neighbouring country was pleasant, rich, and fertile.†

But M. Dupleix did not give up the race for territory or dominion. He was engaging in transactions of the highest moment in the Carnatic, where other rival princes were contending with each other. Taking part (for good considerations) with Chunda Saheb, and sending 400 French and 2,000 sepoys to the field, he gained a great victory. Chunda Saheb's rival was killed by a Kafre soldier in the service of France. Mohammed Ali, son of the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, and the French conquerors marched to the capital city of Arcot, which surrendered on the first summons. Mohammed Ali threw himself on the protection of the English, and offered high prices for their military aid. But peace between France and England had been concluded, and the English were occupied at the time in taking repossession of Madras, which had been given up by France in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Dupleix sent some of his people with Chunda Saheb to plunder the rajah of

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Robert Lord Clive; collected from the family papers, communicated by the Earl of Powis.'

† There was a sand-bank or bar near the mouth of the river; but it was calculated that this could be easily removed.

Tanjore, who had given up Devi Cottah to the English, and that prince was compelled to give to the French two lacs of rupees, and eighty-one villages.*

In the Deckan, the succession, on the death of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, was disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzuffer Jung; but the senior prince prevailed over the junior, took Muzuffer Jung prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnatic frontier with an immense army, including 30,000 Mahrattas engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host, Chunda Saheb and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry. Dupleix, by extraordinary exertions, increased the French contingent to 2,000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoy, together with a well-served train of artillery. In the mean time, the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichinopoly to sustain Mohammed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the rajah of Tanjore. Major Laurence advanced from Fort St. David, with reinforcements, and collecting the companies in Tanjore, he was enabled to join the army of Nazir Jung with about 600 Englishmen. But Laurence had with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He, however, determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries, and not principals in the war. As Laurence advanced with Nazir Jung's host, the French and their allies strongly intrenched themselves, and waited the attack with full confidence of success. Their position was so excellent, that Laurence advised Nazir Jung against an attack; but the Indian said it did not become the son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk to retreat before such an enemy. A cannonade was therefore begun, and the troops were put in motion for a closer attack. At this crisis, the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commis-

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.' Col. Mark Wilks, 'Historical Sketches of the South of India,' &c. Orme, 'Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan,' and his 'Historical Fragments.'

sioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M. d'Auteuil, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Saheb, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after D'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow, or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English seemed to be fully secured. Nazir Jung, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability, and still less energy, and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras, which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Laurence to return to Fort St. David with his 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortunes: by various arts he pacified the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army, and he opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy, Nazir Jung. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries. Responding to the overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to perform various important services, and, if necessary, to murder their present employer, Nazir Jung. D'Auteuil again took the field, and one of his officers, with only 300 men, was allowed to penetrate by night into the very heart of the enemies' camp, and to kill upwards of 1,000 without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed for Masulipatam, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling loss; and another detachment seized the pagoda of Travadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill fort of Gingee, which had been deemed impregnable and inaccessible. The event struck awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans.*

Soon after the storming of Gingee, Nazir Jung opened a secret correspondence with Dupleix. The Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification; but at the same time he fully arranged

* Orme, 'History of Military Transactions,' &c.

a revolt in Nazir Jung's camp, and collected 4,000 men under the hill of Gingee, to wait for the summons of the Patan traitors. That summons was soon received; the French broke into the subahdar's camp, and when Nazir Jung mounted his war-elephant, and was hastening to the lines, two carbine-balls were fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the traitors, who forthwith cut off his head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution; Muzuffer Jung was released from his chains and installed as subahdar of the Deckan, and to reward the French, he gave them a great portion of Nazir Jung's treasures, and nominated Dupleix governor of all the Mogul dominions on the Coromandel coast from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin. At the same time he appointed Dupleix's ally Chunda Saheb, his deputy in the government of Arcot.

Early in 1751, the brave and adroit Bussy was sent to escort the new subahdar, Muzuffer Jung, to Hyderabad, his capital. Numerous insurrections had broken out, and in a mountain pass, Bussy found himself opposed by the fierce Patans, who considered that they had not been sufficiently rewarded for their treachery. The French fought their way through with artillery and grape-shot, but Muzuffer Jung was killed by a Patan Arab. Bussy instantly made a new subahdar in the person of one Salabut Jung, who happened to be in the camp, and continued his march upon Hyderabad.

Our ally, Mohammed Ali, was now so alarmed, that he contemplated joining the French, and giving up Trichinopoly. To keep him in heart, the presidency of Fort St. David twice sent him considerable succours; but our contingents were miserably commanded, and one of them sustained a disgraceful defeat at Volconda. Chunda Saheb, assisted by some French, pressed the siege of Trichinopoly. In a lucky hour, the English council promoted Clive to the rank of captain, adopted a plan, which his daring genius had formed, and intrusted him with the execution of his own project. This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon Arcot, Chunda Saheb's capital. All the force that could be spared amounted to 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoys: his whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being very young men, who had just quitted the mercantile service of the Company. The

artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field-pieces. On the 26th of August, 1751, Clive started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 31st, he halted within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort, although they nearly trebled the number that Clive was bringing against them. A few hours after their flight, the English quietly entered, and took possession of the fort, where they found eight pieces of light artillery, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder. The merchants of Arcot had for security deposited their goods in the fort: Clive scrupulously respected this property, and allowed some three or four thousand persons to remain in their houses or dwellings, which were situated within the precincts of the fortifications. This conduct procured him many friends among the natives, who cared little for Chunda Saheb, or for either of the parties contending for dominion over them; and it enabled him to obtain provisions and such materials as might be wanted for the defence of the place. On the 4th September, he marched out with the greater part of his men to scatter the ex-garrison of the fort who lingered in the neighbourhood. These fellows fled for the hills in their rear as soon as the English got within musket-shot, and Clive, who had no cavalry to pursue them, returned leisurely to the fort of Arcot. On the 6th, he made another promenade into the country, found the enemy in greater force and strongly posted, defeated them with great loss, and returned to Arcot, where he employed his people in repairing the crazy fortress. In about a month, 3,000 fighting men, collected from various parts of the Carnatic, encamped within three miles of the city. On the night of the 14th of September, when they were buried in sleep, Clive burst into their camps, committed a great slaughter, put the rest to flight, and then returned to Arcot without losing a single man. At this time, two eighteen-pounders, which he had demanded, were on their way from Madras, escorted by a few sepoys. Anxious for these guns, Clive sent out, at first, thirty of his Englishmen, and fifty of his sepoys, with a field-piece; and then, on learning that the enemy were in great force and strongly posted on

the road to cut off the eighteen-pounders, he sent out all his people except thirty English and fifty sepoy, with whom he remained in the fortress. The enemy hereupon changed their design, and quitting all their positions on the road, they returned hastily to Arcot, not doubting that they should carry the fort by assault. Two fruitless attempts convinced them of their mistake; and when Clive's main force with the two precious battering-cannons from Madras appeared on the skirts of the town, they packed up and fled.

As Clive had calculated, Chunda Saheb withdrew the greater part of his forces from the siege of Trichinopoly. That chief did not march himself, but sent his son Rajah Saheb, who entered the town of Arcot with 4,000 native horse and foot, and 150 French, from Pondicherry, and fixed his head-quarters in the palace. Being joined by the forces previously collected in the neighbourhood, and by other bands, Rajah Saheb found himself at the head of 10,000 men, and with these, he prosecuted a siege against a contemptible fort, defended by Clive's handful of troops. On the 24th, Clive made a sally with the view of driving Rajah Saheb from the palace and the town; or, if he failed in that, of striking terror into the native bands by the excess of his audacity. But, after a fight in the streets, he was compelled by the artillery of the French to fall back into the fort. Had there been none but native troops to meet him, both palace and town would have been cleared. In this day's sortie, Clive lost fifteen of his English soldiers and one of his best officers, who sacrificed his own life in protecting that of his commander. Moreover, Lieutenant Revel, his only artillery officer, was disabled. He was now cooped up within the walls of the fortress, which were, in many places, falling into ruin. Good French marksmen picked off several of the garrison. In making a night sortie, Clive was deprived of the services of another of his officers, remaining with only four officers fit for duty. To husband the provisions within the fort, he now sent away all the natives except a few artificers. For fourteen days the enemy prosecuted the siege with musketry from houses which overlooked the ramparts, and with a bombardment from four mortars. Several of the English were killed, more were wounded, and Clive himself had several hair-breadth escapes, three serjeants, who at different times singly attended him in visiting the works, being killed at his side. On the 24th of

October, the French received from Pondicherry two eighteen-pounders and some pieces of smaller calibre. A well-served battery was then opened, and at the very first shot the French dismounted one of Clive's eighteen-pounders, and at the next, entirely disabled it. In six more days the French beat down all the wall between two of the towers, and made a practicable breach fifty feet wide. But while they were making this breach, Clive was making a deep trench, and erecting palisades, and a strong parapet behind it; and he planted one of his field-pieces on one of the towers which flanked the breach, and two small pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a house within the fort, and just opposite to the wide entrance which the French guns had made. The besiegers, aware of these skilful preparations, would not venture into the breach until another could be effected on the opposite side of the fort.

Within that precinct, Clive had found one of those enormous cannons which Turks, Persians, and other Orientals, have always so much admired. According to the local tradition, this monster gun had been sent from Delhi, by the Emperor Aurengzebe, and had been drawn by 1,000 yoke of oxen. Clive raised a mound of earth to such a height as commanded the nabob's palace; he hoisted the great gun on this mound, and loaded and fired. The ponderous ball went right through the palace, to the terror of Rajah Saheb and his principal officers there assembled. But, as every charge took thirty pounds of powder, Clive fired the gun only once a day. On the fourth day, the monster burst.

The Company's agents at Madras and Fort St. David despatched 100 English soldiers and 200 sepoy to Clive's assistance; but this small force was met on the road by 2,000 native troops and some French artillery, and was driven back with loss upon Madras. Clive and his weakened garrison thus seemed left alone to their fate; but the gallant defence they made had already produced a deep impression among the Indians.

At the distance of about thirty miles from Arcot, there lay encamped a body of 6,000 Mahrattas, under the command of Morari Rao. Clive found means to send a message to this chief, who instantly replied, that he would not fail to send a detachment to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now, for the first time, convinced him that the English knew how to fight.

Yet all that these Mahrattas did when they came was to plunder and set fire to some houses in the outskirts of the town, and then ride off. In the meanwhile, the French guns had made a second breach, and Clive had counter-worked it as he had done the first. On the 14th of November, the great festival in commemoration of the murder of the holy brothers Hassan and Hussein, when the Mahometans of India quicken their fanaticism with opium and with bang, Rajah Sahib and his French allies resolved to storm the fort through its two opposite breaches. Furious with their wild devotion and the drugs they had swallowed, the troops rushed to the assault; but they were repulsed at both breaches, and lost 400 in killed and wounded. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they requested leave to carry off and bury their dead. The English granted them two hours. At four o'clock they once more opened their fire from the town, nor did they again cease until two hours after midnight, when of a sudden a dead silence ensued. When day broke, Clive learned that the whole army had abandoned Arcot in haste and confusion, leaving behind them some ordnance and much ammunition. Thus ended the siege of the fort of Arcot, which had lasted fifty days.

On the evening of the day on which the enemy fled, a detachment from Madras, under the command of Captain Kilpatrick, arrived safely at Arcot. Leaving a small garrison in the fort, Clive set out, on the 19th of November, to pursue the enemy. Being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent to him by Morari Rao, he gained a splendid victory at Arnee. Six hundred sepoys, who had been serving the French, immediately deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and joined the conqueror. Clive then drove the French from the strong pagoda of Conjeveram, strengthened the garrison he had left at Arcot, and returned to Fort St. David.*

Mohammed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trichinopoly, saw the country open to him, and a great part of the Carnatic submissive to his will.

But the enemy soon reassembled, and 4,500 natives, horse and foot, 400 French, and a train of artillery, began to ravage the Company's territory. Early in February (1752), Clive

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.' Orme, 'History of Military Transactions,' &c. Captain Williams, 'Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry,' &c. (an admirable little book). 8vo. London, 1817.

went out to meet them with 380 English, 1,800 sepoy, and six field-pieces. Such was the terror of his name, that they retreated before him, abandoning one strong position after another. He however overtook them at Covepauk, defeated them after a hard-fought battle, and took nine guns and sixty Frenchmen. Fifty Frenchmen and 300 sepoy were found dead upon the field. Chunda Saheb's troops dispersed and fled to their homes, and the French made a rush for their protecting walls of Pondicherry.

The presidency of Fort St. David determined to despatch Clive to Trichinopoly; but just at this juncture, Major Laurence arrived from England and took the command as superior officer. Laurence, however, being wholly devoid of professional jealousy, and having the warmest admiration for the daring self-taught soldier, took Clive with him when he set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 English, 1,100 sepoy, and eight field-pieces. As 20,000 men from the kingdom of Mysore and 6,000 Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with the English, the troops of Chunda Saheb and the French, who had again gathered round Trichinopoly, broke up in dismay, the French retreating to a strong pagoda in Seringham, an island formed by the rivers Coleroon and Cauvery.* M. Dupleix sent M. d'Auteuil to supply and reinforce the French on the island; but D'Auteuil was driven back into an old fort on the road, and there compelled to surrender. The French at Seringham, being nearly starved (for Clive had cut off all their supplies), capitulated and became prisoners of war. Chunda Saheb, finding himself deserted by the last of his troops, fled to the camp of his enemies and surrendered to the general of the Tanjore forces, who had promised him protection, and who put him in irons. Forthwith a violent dispute arose between Mohammed Ali and the Mahratta chiefs, the rajah of Mysore and the Tanjorines, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner. To cut the argument short, the Tanjorines cut off the head of Chunda Saheb, and

* The sieges or blockades of Trichinopoly had lasted more than twelve months, and had given rise to the most picturesque situations, and most romantic adventures. These cannot be read or written in short. They are beautifully narrated by the eloquent and accurate Orme, as are also the full details of Clive's glorious defence of Arcot. I know few things more likely to captivate a young mind than these early chapters of Orme's history. But the young reader must not be afraid of thick quarto volumes.

sent it to his now fortunate rival, Mohammed Ali, who exhibited it as a trophy to his army.

The Mysorean troops and some of the Mahrattas remained in the fort of Trichinopoly; the troops of Tanjore and other auxiliaries went away to their homes, and the English, with only their sepoy, marched against Gingee, where they were repulsed by the French with loss.

In a very short time, Major Laurence was recalled to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David, by intelligence that Dupleix had another considerable army on foot. Laurence encountered this force near Bahoor, only two miles from Fort St. David, and gained another victory. Clive was now detached to Covelong, an important fort about twenty miles south of Madras, which mounted thirty pieces of cannon, and was garrisoned by fifty French and 300 sepoy. The force which Clive took with him consisted of four 24-pounders, 500 newly-raised sepoy, and 200 recruits, who had just been landed at Madras, and who are represented as being the very refuse of the gaols of London. But as Clive had become a general as if by inspiration, so had he the faculty of making soldiers in a week out of vagabonds and cut-purses. At first, the gaol-birds showed some trepidation, but Clive shamed them out of their fears by exposing himself to the hottest of the fire, and by the time the fort surrendered, they were heroes. Cutting up or taking prisoners some detachments that were marching from Chingliput (a day too late) to relieve Covelong, the conqueror, rapidly marching forty miles, compelled the French commandant of Chingliput to surrender that strong place.

Clive now returned to Madras, and, finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, he proceeded to England by the first ship. His departure was deplored by the army, and his absence was soon felt in every part of the Coromandel coast.*

The reader will have observed, how important a part the disciplined native troops performed in these campaigns. The French had raised corps of sepoy some time before we began the practice. It appears that our first sepoy were trained in 1746, during Labourdonnais's siege of Madras. Some English officers were then attached to some irregular

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.' Orme, 'Historical Fragments, and Military Transactions.' Major Laurence, 'Narrative.'

native infantry, which they began to drill and discipline. The system was first introduced into the Madras service by Mr. Haliburton, who, like Clive, had quitted the civil for the military service. In the ensuing year, this gentleman was employed in training another small corps of natives in the European manner. In 1748, Lieutenant Haliburton was shot by a sulky or frantic recruit, who was instantly cut to pieces by his comrades. The name of Haliburton was long cherished by the Madras sepoys. One of the first services on which these sepoys were employed was with Clive at the defence at Arcot. At first they appear to have been either Mahometans, or Hindūs of very high caste—chiefly Rajpoots. They soon became remarkable for their attachment to their leaders, their entire devotion to the English flag, their good orderly conduct on marches, and their steadiness in action.

In 1748, a little before the death of Haliburton, sepoys were first disciplined at Fort St. George. At that period, they were chiefly under the command of native officers. One of these subahdars—Mahomed Esof—was a hero whose name constantly occurs in the animated pages of Orme. The Bengal Native Infantry was not properly formed until the year 1757.*

* Captain Williams, 'Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry,' &c. London, 1817. Quarterly Review, vol. xviii.

CHAPTER III.

M. DUPLEIX'S wonderful talent for diplomacy and intrigue soon obtained signal triumphs. His emissaries were everywhere; and the native princes were all as fickle as faithless. In his intrigues with them, he is said to have derived wonderful assistance from his wife, who was born in India, and perfectly understood not only the languages, but also the character of the natives. In his union with this lady, who is described as being even more ambitious than himself, we may probably trace the cause of the essentially Oriental spirit of many of his proceedings.*

The ruler of Mysore abruptly broke his alliance with us, and joined the French, and his example was followed by Morari Rao, the Mahratta, and by the Mahometan governor of Vellore. Joined by the troops of these recent allies of the English, the French once more laid siege to Trichinopoly. Major Laurence threw himself into that place on the 6th of May, 1753, and by long-persevering and heroic efforts he cut up the French and utterly dispersed the besiegers.

But in the mean time, M. Bussy, who took his departure for Hyderabad in 1752, to establish Salabut Jung in the sovereignty of the Deckan, had gone through a series of romantic adventures. He had penetrated farther into the country than any European army had hitherto gone, and had, to all appearance, consolidated the authority of his ally. Ud-Dien a prince of the Mogul's choice, advanced against Salabut Jung with 100,000 horse, but was carried off by poison, or by his own excesses, as he was entering the province of Golconda. Upon his decease, many of his great host returned to their homes; but the Mahrattas, eager for the spoil of a rich province, continued their advance.

* 'Mémoires de M. Dupleix.'

Bussy defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice with so much slaughter, that they became anxious for peace. Salabut Jung then purchased their retreat, by ceding some remote districts to them; and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery. The brave and able Frenchman had, however, soon to experience how slightly the ties of gratitude attached Indian princes. Salabut Jung would hardly pay the French troops who had saved him from ruin, and he endeavoured to send them to their own destruction by detaching them in small parties to distant quarters.

No sooner did the Mahratta tribes know this dispersion of the only force they feared, than they got ready for a new war in the Deckan. Salabut Jung thereupon implored M. Bussy to save him once more, and to name his own conditions. The Frenchman did save him, but at an enormous price. At the end of the year 1753, he obtained the cession of the five important provinces of Ellore, Rajamundry, Cicacole, Condapilly, and Guntoor, called the Northern Circars, which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles; and which not only afforded a vast revenue, but also furnished the most convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men, and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius.

But neither the court of Versailles, nor the French India Company at home, had embraced the grand projects of Bussy and Dupleix. Against the latter, intrigues were set on foot, and his recall to France was procured. A. M. Godheu was sent out to supersede him, and to negotiate an immediate peace with the English and their allies in India.

With the departure of Dupleix, the grand schemes of French empire and dominion in the East seemed to vanish into thin air. On his arrival in Europe, this ambitious and able man found himself obliged to dispute the miserable remains of his once splendid fortune with the French East-India Company, to dance humble attendance on ministers and their satellites, and to solicit audiences in the ante-chambers of his judges. He suffered as much as Labourdonnais had suffered through his means; and he was soon dead, and soon forgotten in France—though not in India.

On the 11th of October, 1754, a suspension of arms was agreed to, and on the 26th of December, a provisional treaty

was signed by Mr. Sanders, the president of Madras, and M. Godheu. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic, and to interfere no more in the affairs of the native princes there, thus leaving Mohammed Ali, the ally or creature of the English, undisputed nabob of the Carnatic. They also agreed that the territorial possessions of the French and English should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy.

M. Bussy, however, was left undisturbed at Golconda, where he lived with all the pomp and splendour of a vizier or a sultan, and continued his control over the Deckan.

As there was no employment for an English squadron which had arrived under the command of Admiral Watson, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy the nests of some powerful pirates who for fifty years had been committing depredations on the Malabar coast. The chiefs of these corsairs, a family of the Mahratta race, bearing the name of Angria, had established on the coast a power closely resembling that of the Algerines. They nominally acknowledged the Peishwa, or supreme head of the Mahrattas, as the Algerines nominally professed allegiance to the Ottoman Portè.* But the Angrias had recently given such offence to the Peishwa, that he was eager for their destruction, and joined his fleet to the English squadron. In 1755, the English ships drove the pirates from two of their strongholds, and took possession of them, the Peishwa's fleet never coming within reach of cannon-shot till the fighting was all over. But the chief nest of the pirates—the fort and port of Gheriah—was not attacked until the following year, when Clive had returned from England, with improved health.

Clive accompanied Admiral Watson on this expedition. The Peishwa's Mahrattas also joined, not to fight but to plunder. On the 11th of February, 1756, eight English ships, a grab, and five bomb-ketches, having on board 800 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys, arrived off Gheriah; while a Mahratta army approached on the land side. The pirates' nest stood on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and crowned by a fort of extraordinary strength. In a brief space of time, the English sailors burned the fleet, though under the guns of

* 'Our Indian Empire.'

the fort; and Clive then landed his troops and interposed them between the walls of the town and the Mahratta army, who, if they had entered, would have left little but bare walls to the English. The pirates, in whom ferocity had been mistaken for courage, made but a feeble and foolish resistance: Angria, their chief, fled for refuge to the Mahrattas' camp; and on the 13th, the fort fell. Booty to the value of about ten lacs of rupees was divided between the Royal Navy and the Company's land troops.*

The adventurous Clive had come back to India as governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional commission to succeed to the government of Madras. George II., who loved a brave soldier, had given him the grade of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, which it was hoped would obviate the quarrels about rank which so frequently had occurred between the King's and the Company's officers. Clive assumed the government of Fort St. David on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on which the nabob of Bengal took Calcutta from the English.†

The society settled at Calcutta had risen rapidly under the pacific rule of Aliverdy Khan, a wise, humane, and liberal prince. The English factors and their numerous agents travelled through every part of his dominions, finding everywhere protection for their property, and safety and respect for their persons. Aliverdy Khan died in the month of April, 1756, and his grandson and successor, Suraj-u-Dowlah, was a luxurious, effeminate, rapacious, and cruel youth. He was known to entertain very hostile feelings towards the English, so that everybody at Calcutta ought to have been prepared for his attacks. He had seen the coffers of his father filled, directly or indirectly, by the trade of the English; he had been led to believe that the wealth and treasures these foreign merchants had accumulated within the walls of Calcutta were enormous in amount, and always ready and tangible; and, like the fool in the fable, he resolved to kill the goose that laid these golden eggs. Pretexts for quarrel were easily found. After various disputes, Suraj-u-Dowlah ordered the English to destroy their fortifications at Calcutta, and upon their refusing so to do, he gave way to a paroxysm of rage, and threatened to behead or impale Mr. Watts, the resident at his court of Moorshedabad.

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Clive.'

† Id.

Collecting his whole army at Moorsshedabad, the new nabob sent a detachment of 3,000 men to invest the factory and small weak fort of Cossimbuzar, which was defended by only twenty-two Europeans and twenty Topasses. In four days the crumbling old gates of the fort were thrown open to the besiegers, who insulted and triumphed over the little garrison, as if, instead of forty-three men, they had conquered an army of thousands. Their conduct was so brutal, that, to escape from it, the English commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains.

Suraj-u-Dowlah now struck his tents and began his march upon Calcutta, which was defended by a regular garrison of 264 men, by a militia raised among the inhabitants of 250 men, and by 1,500 bucksaries, or native Indian matchlock-men, whose arms and discipline were alike contemptible. Of the regular garrison and the militia, only 170 were English, the rest being Portuguese, Topasses, and Armenians, on whose valour and faith there was little dependence: and, to make the case still more hopeless, not ten of the English had ever seen any other service than that of the parade.* The fort, afterwards called Fort St. William, was of the meanest description: it was situated near the river, and consisted of four weak bastions, mounting ten guns each, with curtains of brick, only four feet in thickness.

On the morning of the 16th of June, the nabob, with nearly his whole force, was close to Calcutta; the Indian inhabitants of the town were flying in all directions, with their rice on their heads; and the English women, the Armenians, the Portuguese, and all who claimed to be Christians, were abandoning their houses in the city to take refuge within the weak fort, which was crowded and embarrassed in every part by women and children, and men as helpless or as timid. At the hour of noon, the van of the nabob's army was on the Company's bounds, and shortly after a firing commenced. That night a young English ensign, who had served in Clive's war in the Carnatic, made a brilliant sortie, and with only a handful of men, he drove the enemy before him and spiked four pieces of cannon. On the following day, the attack from the north was abandoned, and some thousands of the besiegers were led into the town on the east side, where no defences existed. Now, with pre-

* Orme.

precipitation and confusion, the English threw up three batteries, each mounting two 18-pounders and two field-pieces. These batteries were at the distance of 300 or more yards from the gates of the fort. Moreover, some trenches were dug, and some breastworks raised to bar the progress of the enemy. On the 19th of June, these feeble outposts were assailed by a countless host. They were defended with courage, but very little skill, and they were carried in a few hours. A general consternation ensued: the Indian match-lock-men, who had been engaged by the English, all disappeared; the Lascars, who had been helping to serve our guns, all deserted; and the unwarlike Armenians and the Portuguese half-castes, who formed a considerable part of the militia, gave themselves up to grief and despair. A ship and seven smaller vessels were now lying before the fort, and shoals of native boats were in readiness to carry off persons and property. As it grew dark, the European women were conveyed out of the fort and safely embarked. About midnight the enemy approached to escalate the walls, but they were scared away by the mere roll of the English drums. On the morrow—the fatal 20th of June—the nabob's people again swarmed to the fort, bringing artillery with them. The resolution was taken to abandon that worthless place: there now arose a loud and earnest cry for boats, but the greater part of the native boatmen, tired of waiting, had gone off, and the general embarkation, which would have been easy a few hours before, became exceedingly difficult. This difficulty was made the greater by the madness of fear and the total want of order or arrangement. Men, women, and children, rushed to the water's edge; pressing every one to be first embarked; the boats were crowded with more than they could carry, and several of them were upset or swamped. Among those who thus precipitated themselves out of the fort were Mr. Drake, the governor; Mr. Minchin, the captain-commandant; and Captain Grant: overcome by their personal fears, they threw themselves into two of the last boats, and left Mr. Holwell, one English woman, and 190 men, to shift for themselves. After making every effort to bring back one vessel for their removal—after hoisting flags by day and throwing up blue lights by night, the reduced garrison saw themselves attacked on all sides by the nabob's troops. Mr. Holwell attempted to capitulate; but while the Indian general pretended to be

willing to grant terms, he sent a very large party to escalate the walls. This attacking party was hurled back and totally repulsed with great loss ; but in this conflict, twenty-five of the garrison were killed or desperately wounded, and more than twice that number received slighter wounds. In this state, when the place was filled with moans and groans and shrieks of anguish, some of the remaining English soldiery broke open the arrack magazine, swallowed that ardent spirit as if it had been water, and became mad or stupid. The unguarded ramparts were carried, an entrance was made by the Indians through the water-gate, and the fort was lost. About twenty of the garrison threw themselves headlong from the bastions, to be cut down by the enemy's horse, which scoured the open country ; a few escaped by creeping along the slime of the river ; all the rest piled their arms, and surrendered with prayers for mercy.

Suraj-u-Dowlah, who had kept at a distance so long as there was the slightest chance of personal danger, now entered the fort in triumph, and summoned Mr. Holwell before him. The nabob complained bitterly of the small sum of money which had been found in the treasury—a sum which fell short of 50,000 rupees. He dismissed Mr. Holwell ; recalled him to ask if there really was no more money, and then dismissed him again. The horrible tragedy which followed is familiar to every English reader. One hundred and forty-six individuals were thrust into the common dungeon of the garrison, called the Black Hole. This was a room twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and those obstructed and deprived of air by a projecting verandah. It was the very hottest season of the year, and the night was unusually sultry even for that season, for the Indians had set fire to the houses of the town, and the atmosphere was heated by the conflagration and the air charged with the smoke that proceeded from it. Attempts were made to burst open the door, but the door was strong, and opened inward. Mr. Holwell, who had succeeded in placing himself near one of the windows, addressed himself to an old Indian officer who commanded the guard, and promised him a thousand rupees in the morning if he would only separate his prisoners into two chambers. The old man went to try, but, returning in a few minutes, said it was impossible. Mr. Holwell then offered him a larger sum, on which he withdrew once more, but only to return with the fatal sentence,

that no relief could be expected, because the nabob was asleep, and no one dared to wake him. Then the captives went raving mad with despair and a hell-like heat and thirst; they shrieked for water! water! and they fought with each other with maniac hands, feet, and teeth for possession of the ground nearest the windows. At the prayer of Mr. Holwell, the old Hindū officer brought some skins of water to the gratings, but the sufferers were too far gone in madness to wait their several turns to drink; they battled with one another for the first draughts, and they spilt more than they drank. But not the contents of the largest and coolest water-tank in India could have quenched the inward fire that consumed them, or have cooled or sweetened the infernal air of their dungeon. At two hours after midnight not more than fifty remained alive; at eight o'clock in the morning, when the tyrant rose from his perfumed couch and called for his prisoners, the dungeon-door was found blocked up with the dead, and out of the one hundred and forty-six, only twenty-three ghastly figures were brought alive out of that truly Black Hole.

The tyrant could talk of nothing but the treasures which, he was sure, the English had buried; and he threatened further severities if the concealed money were not instantly given up. Mr. Holwell, who knew of no hidden treasures, was consigned over to some officers of the nabob, who put his emaciated frame into irons and fetters. Meanwhile the nabob's army were plundering the warehouses and dwelling-houses in the town, making no distinction as to persons, faiths, or nations, but robbing alike Hindūs, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English, and frequently resorting to torture, in the view of making their victims confess where they had concealed their treasures.

Having ordered the name of Calcutta to be changed into that of Alinagore, or the Port of God, the nabob collected his army, and, on the 2nd of July, proceeded up the river to fall upon a defenceless neighbour—a native prince. His boats were decorated with flags and streamers, and the air was filled with triumphant military music. He left behind him, in Fort St. William and in the town, about three thousand undisciplined men.*

* Orme, 'Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan.' Holwell, 'Indian Tracts,' 4to. A.D. 1754; and 'Historical Events respecting Bengal and Hindostan,' 2 vols. 8vo. 1766-1777.

CHAPTER IV.

CLIVE the avenger, Clive "the Daring in War,"* was coming.

At Madras and Fort St. David and Bombay, and at every place in India in which there was an Englishman, exertions were made in order to recover Calcutta, and take vengeance upon Suraj-u-Dowlah for the atrocities he had committed ; but the mighty monsoons, which had prevented the sending of relief, would not yield nor change to suit the impatience of man ; materials had to be collected from various parts of the coast, and ships to be waited for that were traversing the Indian Ocean from Europe. Thus it was not until the 16th of October that Clive and Admiral Watson could set sail from Madras. The force consisted of five of his Majesty's ships and five of the Company's, of nine hundred European infantry and fifteen hundred sepoys. On the 22nd of December they reached Fulta, a village on the Hooghly, twenty miles below Calcutta. Capturing on his way the fort of Budge-Budge, Clive came before Calcutta at the end of the month, and on the 2nd of January, 1757, Admiral Watson brought his ships to anchor close off the fort. Monichund, the nabob's general, had fled already, and a very few shots sufficed to send the garrison scampering off after their general. Without the loss of a single life, apparently without a wound or a scratch, the English regained possession of the fort and town.

Rapid in all his enterprises, Clive, within a week and a day, was before the important fortress and town of Hooghly, which bristled with batteries mounting heavy guns, and was garrisoned by three thousand men, who all fled after a very

* This was one of the epithets which the astonished natives had conferred upon Clive.

short cannonade, leaving the place, with everything in it, to the English.

Suraj-u-Dowlah had by this time collected an enormous army in Moorsshedabad, and, believing Clive's force to be even smaller than it was, he began to march down to Calcutta with terrible menaces. Clive took post in a camp he had hastily fortified, about a mile to the north of the town, and quietly waited for his foe. On the 3rd of February, the country to the north-east was in a blaze, and the van of the nabob's army came in full view. In the course of that night and the following morning (the 4th of February) the rest of the army came up. Having obtained from Admiral Watson a reinforcement of sailors, armed with firelocks, Clive, at three o'clock of the morning of the 5th, in the midst of a thick fog, penetrated into the nabob's camp, marched right through with part of his force, and, attacking in front and rear, gained a rapid and brilliant victory. In this conflict Clive lost altogether one hundred and twenty Europeans and one hundred sepoys—a considerable portion of his small force. But the carnage committed by the English, who were thirsting for revenge on the perpetrators of the Black-Hole murders, was terrible; the panic in the Indian army was universal, and Clive was not disappointed as to the effects likely to be produced by the battle on the feeble mind of the nabob. Suraj-u-Dowlah sent him a most humble letter, imploring for peace with the English; and, on the 9th of February, a treaty was concluded on Clive's own terms; and three days after this, an additional treaty, with an alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed.

As war had broken out in Europe between France and England, and as there could be no permanent security for Calcutta so long as the French were left in possession of Chandernagore, Clive and Admiral Watson proceeded forthwith to attack that place. Chandernagore was strong, and the French, as usual, made a brave resistance; but they were compelled to surrender on the morning of the 25th March, after a siege or bombardment of fourteen days.

Instead of assisting these operations, Suraj-u-Dowlah did all that he could to thwart them, and was already endeavouring to form new leagues against the English. Clive resolved that he should cease to reign. Many circumstances favoured the views of the conqueror. The

tyrannical and dissolute nabob had alienated the affections of his people, and given mortal offence to some of his *grandees* and courtiers. While he was again collecting an immense army to fall upon Clive, a conspiracy was formed against him in his own court, capital, and camp. The real chief of this conspiracy was Meer Jaffier Khan, a Mahometan soldier of fortune, who had been raised to the highest dignities by the late nabob, Aliverdy Khan, whose daughter he had married. Meer Jaffier was at this moment commander-in-chief of the army assembling at Plassey, and it was calculated that half of that force would implicitly obey his orders. The khan, after swearing on the *Khoran*, and by God and the prophet of God, to keep his secret engagements with the English, gave great uneasiness by his timidity and vacillation. But the man who most disquieted Clive and Admiral Watson and their agents was Omichund, a Hindū merchant or banker of great wealth, who had been admitted into all the secrets of the plot, and who threatened to divulge them to Suraj-u-Dowlah unless he were gratified with a bond, or thirty lacs of rupees. It was therefore suggested to Clive, and approved of by the members of the Council, and most, if not all, the English officers, who thought that treachery ought to be met and defeated by treachery; that Omichund ought to be deceived by a fictitious agreement to pay him the money. Accordingly, two bonds were drawn up, one real, upon white paper, and the other false, upon red. In the former there was no mention of Omichund; in the latter, there was an article stipulating that he should receive twenty lacs of rupees as soon as the revolution was completed. The red paper was shown to the grasping, gasping Hindū; the white one was kept in reserve. Omichund was universally detested in Calcutta for many former acts of treachery and rapacity, and on account of the well-grounded suspicion that he had contributed to lead the nabob to the capture and plunder of that place, and to the dismal tragedy of the Black Hole.

On the 13th of June, Clive, with his little army, moved from Chandernagore towards Plassey, dispatching before him a letter to reproach Suraj-u-Dowlah with numerous breaches of faith and of treaties, and to call upon him to choose between submission to the demands of the English and instant war. On the 16th he halted at Patlee, and sent Major Coote to take Cutwah, a mud fort. Coote, an officer worthy to serve

a Clive, took the place, and found in it rice enough to supply a native army of ten thousand men for a whole year. On the 17th Clive received a letter from Meer Jaffier, which was far from being satisfactory. Doubting whether that man would have steadiness and courage enough to keep his engagements, he determined not to cross the river of Cossimbuzar, the holiest branch of the Ganges, until he should obtain some further securities or assurances that Jaffier really intended to act with him. On the 20th, the anniversary of the Black Hole, he received an unsatisfactory letter; but on the evening after the arrival of this messenger, another secret emissary appeared with letters from Meer Jaffier, stating that he would be on the right or left wing of the nabob's army, and that he would come over as soon as the English should appear on the field at Plassey.

The mind of the English commander was still disquieted by doubts and suspicions; with the assistance of Jaffier's three thousand horse he made sure of victory, but without this accession of strength he despaired of it, as he was wholly destitute of cavalry. The greatness of the stake for which he was playing with so small an army, the heavy responsibility that lay upon him, rendered him irresolute and nervous, and he had recourse, for the first and last time in his life, to a council of war. Having on the morning of the 21st assembled his officers, to the number of fifteen,* he proposed the following questions:—"Whether the army should immediately cross into the island of Cossimbuzar, and at all risks attack the nabob? or whether, availing themselves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cutwah, they should maintain themselves there during the rainy season, and in the mean time invite the Mahrattas to enter the province and join them?" Contrary to the established practice, Clive gave his opinion first, and it was, that they should remain where they were. Majors Kilpatrick and Grant, with six other officers, agreed with Clive; but Captain Coote differed with him, and his opposite opinion was supported by six other officers. Coote's notion was—that the common soldiers were at present confident of success; that a stop so near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour; that the arrival of the French troops with

* Orme says twenty, but Sir John Malcolm gives the names of all the officers from a list found in Clive's papers, and there, the total number, including Clive, is sixteen.

M. Law would add strength to the nabob's force and vigour to his councils ; that they would surround the English army and cut off its communication with Calcutta, when distresses not yet foreseen might ruin it as effectually as the loss of a battle. He therefore advised that they should either advance and decide the contest immediately, or immediately return to Calcutta. But soon Clive himself felt dissatisfied at the decision, and his mind recovered its vigour. To collect his thoughts, he retired alone to a grove of mango-trees, a little beyond the town of Cutwah ; he remained there for an hour in deep meditation, but then he returned with the word "Forward" on his lips ; and, without consulting or caring for the council of war, he gave his orders that the army should cross the river on the following morning. At the hour appointed, at sunrise, the troops were put in motion ; they had all crossed the river by four in the afternoon, and after a rapid march they encamped, long after sunset, in a mango-grove near Plassey, and within a mile of the enemy. Clive, kept awake by his anxious thoughts, heard during the whole night the drums, trumpets, and cymbals of the nabob's host, who had been warned of his approach, and were making their barbaric music to dispel drowsiness. At last the day broke which was to decide the fate of Bengal.

The extensive ground occupied by the nabob's army had good defences, both natural and artificial ; but, relying on their numerical superiority, the Indians, instead of waiting to be attacked, marched out to attack the English. Soon after sunrise they poured through all their openings and advanced to the mango-grove where Clive lay. They were forty thousand foot and sixteen thousand horse ; they had fifty heavy cannon, each drawn by a long train of white oxen, and pushed on from behind by an elephant ; and, besides this ordnance, there were some field-pieces, managed by about forty Frenchmen. To oppose this vast host Clive had but three thousand foot (of which number one thousand were Europeans) and eight field-pieces. He expected every moment to receive an encouraging message from Meer Jaffier, but none came. The battle began with a cannonade at about eight in the morning. About noon there fell a heavy shower of rain, which damaged the ammunition of the incautious Indians. Nearly at the same time one of Clive's cannon-balls mortally wounded Meer Murdeen, one of the highest and best officers of the enemy, and the event

greatly terrified the nabob, who was remaining in his tent at a safe distance. To increase his panic, one of his grandees, who was deep in the conspiracy against him, magnified the danger, and then advised him to retreat immediately upon his capital. At about two o'clock in the afternoon the white oxen were put to the heavy guns to drag them off; in a short time all that host, horse and foot, were seen retreating through the camp. Clive then moved forward from the mango-grove. As he was advancing, a great body of the cavalry appeared on his flank. These were the three thousand or more horse of Meer Jaffier, but they were not recognized as such by the English, for a promised white flag was not held out, nor was any other signal given or message sent. Suspecting that they were manœuvring to fall upon his baggage and rear, which, no doubt, they would have done if he had been beaten or checked, Clive detached some troops of the line to stop them. On receiving the fire of this detachment, Jaffier, still making no sign, halted and fell back.

After a short retreat, the French artillery-men stood firm, some of the nabob's troops rallied, some of his heavy guns were again loaded, and a few feeble charges of cavalry were made. At last, that great body of horse, which had recently been on the flank of the English, began to move altogether off the field, without joining the rest of the nabob's army; and this convinced Clive that they were the troops of Meer Jaffier, and that that conspirator was now, in reality, doing something, in his timid way, to decide the affair. Advancing, Clive fell upon the Frenchmen, who, finding themselves again abandoned by the natives, fled and left their field-pieces behind them. There was no more fighting; the nabob's tens of thousands were flying towards Moorshedabad; the whole camp, with tents, baggage, artillery, carriages, and white oxen, was left in the undisputed possession of the victors, whose booty upon that spot alone was of immense value. Clive stated his loss at twenty-two killed and fifty wounded, and these chiefly blacks; and the loss of the enemy at about 500 killed and wounded. All of his little army had behaved admirably, but praise was more particularly given to the 39th British regiment, which still bears on its banners the name of "Plassey," and the motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The English pursued the fugitives for about six miles, and then halted for the night at Daudpore, where Clive

received a congratulatory letter from Meer Jaffier, who came and encamped in his neighbourhood that night. At midnight, the fallen nabob, Suraj-u-Dowlah, who had fled from the field on a swift dromedary (an animal now rarely used or seen in Bengal), arrived at his palace in Moorsheadabad, and assembled all the officers that had escaped with him. Bold resolutions were taken, but he had not the heart to stay and act upon them. Dismissing his council and returning to the apartments of his women, his fears overcame him, and he made up his mind to fly from his capital. He took with him, grasped in his own hand, or hid under his own vest, a rich casket of jewels; his chosen companions were his favourite concubine and his confidential eunuch; with no other attendants, and disguised in a mean dress, he descended in the darkness of the night from a window of the palace.

On the morning after the battle, Meer Jaffier waited upon Clive, who, embracing him, hailed him as nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. The nabob-maker then hurried him on with all his cavalry to Moorshedabad, in order to secure the palace and the treasury of Suraj-u-Dowlah. It is said that a new conspiracy was got up, not only to withhold all the treasure from the English, but likewise to assassinate the conqueror of Plassey. Clive, though so near, certainly deemed it expedient to postpone his entrance into Moorshedabad until the 29th of June, and when he entered, he was surrounded and closely guarded by 200 Europeans and 300 faithful sepoys. Moreover, he took up his quarters in a strong palace, and kept his 500 men with him.

Meer Jaffier now protested that there was not money enough left in Suraj-u-Dowlah's treasury to pay what the English demanded, and what had been stipulated for in the treaty between Jaffier and Clive. The conqueror proposed that they should repair together to the residence of the seits, or great Hindū bankers, who had nearly all been concerned in the conspiracy against Suraj-u-Dowlah. Meer Jaffier consenting, they went forthwith to the seits, Clive being followed by Omichund, who fancied that the moment was now at hand when he should receive some of his lacs of rupees. But on arriving at the seits, Omichund was not invited to a seat on the carpet with the other Hindū capitalists, and, somewhat disconcerted and dismayed by this slight, he sat himself down among his servants near the

outer part of the hall. The white or real treaty, containing all the stipulations, and the sums and proportions agreed upon, was now produced; and Clive, turning to Mr. Scrafton, who was in attendance with Mr. Watts, said, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." Scrafton, who spoke the language of the country well, went up to the Hindû, who rose at his approach, and said, "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing!" The old man staggered as if struck by a thunderbolt, and, fainting, would have fallen to the earth, if his attendants had not caught him in their arms. He was conveyed to his palanquin and carried to his house in the city, where he lay for several hours speechless and insensible. His intellect, once so keen, never made more than a partial return; Clive recommended, what was a common cure for grief and sickness among the Hindûs, a pilgrimage to some famed pagoda or temple; the old man went to one of the most celebrated of all these shrines, but he returned uncured; he fell into a state of idiocy, and died about a year and a half after receiving the mortal shock. His death-like swoon and departure from the hall of the seits occasioned no emotion there; and the contracting parties to the white treaty calmly settled their money affairs. The treaty, as written in Persian and English, was read, and, after much conversation, it was settled, that one-half of the sum promised the English should be paid immediately in coin, plate, and jewels taken out of the treasury; and that the other half should be discharged in three years by equal instalments.

Two days after this conference, Meer Jaffier received tidings that Suraj-u-Dowlah had been taken at Rajahmahal, through the information of a poor fakir or dervish, who had recognized him in his disguise. The holy man had good reason to remember the person of the tyrant, for Suraj-u-Dowlah had cut off his ears about thirteen months before. At the hour of midnight, the fallen nabob was brought like a felon into the presence of Meer Jaffier, in the palace which had so recently been his own. He crawled in the dust at the new nabob's feet, weeping and praying for mercy. It is said that Meer Jaffier, moved both by contempt and pity, intended to spare his life, but that Meeran, his son, as vile and ferocious a wretch as Suraj-u-Dowlah, insisted that he ought to be put to death, to render the musnud, and his own succession to it, the more secure. The victim was

carried off to a distant chamber, the vilest in the palace, and was there secretly murdered by one of Meeran's servants and some soldiers. In the course of the following day, his mangled remains were exposed on an elephant in the streets of Moorsshedabad, and then deposited in the tomb of his predecessor, Aliverdy Khan. He was only twenty years old when he died; Meeran, his murderer, was still younger, being only in his seventeenth year.

Clive and the English committee, on the 6th of July, obtained payment, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, amounting in English money to 800,000*l.*; in addition to which, Clive had taken or accepted from Meer Jaffier, as his private reward, about 200,000*l.* sterling, or, according to his own statement, about 160,000*l.** The money filled 700 chests, embarked in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of soldiers to Nuddea, whence they were escorted to Fort William by all the boats of the English squadron, with banners flying and music sounding—a scene of triumph and joy, and a remarkable contrast to the scene of the preceding year, when Suraj-u-Dowla had ascended the same stream triumphant from the conquest and plunder of Calcutta. In the course of the month of August, the Company received in gold, jewels, and cash, 3,255,095 rupees. The other advantages which the new nabob granted the English were,—a right to establish a mint of their own at Calcutta; the entire expulsion of the French for ever, and the delivery to the Company of their factories and effects; the entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch at Calcutta; also 600 yards all round beyond the said ditch; the cession of all the land in the neighbourhood of Calcutta that lay between the river, the lake, and Culpee, the Company paying the usual rent to the nabob; and full freedom of trade throughout the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, except the old prohibition against their trading in salt, betel, and a few other commodities. The Company's mint at Calcutta began to coin rupees by the 19th of August. Three days before this date, Admiral Watson, who had very materially contributed to the success of the war, died of a jungle-fever.

M. Law was in the field at the head of a small French

* One of the first uses Clive made of his wealth was to bestow an annuity of £300 on his old commander, Laurence, who had grown old in the service without growing rich.

force which had escaped from Chandernagore, and had been in correspondence with Suraj-u-Dowlah. Upon learning the capture and death of that wretched man, Law, who had been advancing to aid him, retreated with all speed into Bahar, intending to offer his services to Ramnarrain, the vice-nabob of the province. To dislodge these dangerous Frenchmen, Clive detached Coote with a flying column, consisting of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoy, 50 lascars, and two field-pieces. Coote, in spite of the excessive heat of the weather, and of numerous obstacles raised in his way, by Meer Jaffier's brother, and by other men who were bound to aid and assist him, made a wonderful and rapid march. On the 10th of July, he was at Rajahmahal, on the 21st at Monghir, on the 23rd at Burhai, on the 25th he entered Futwah, only seven miles from Patna. On the 1st of August, he reached a small town at the confluence of the Sona and Ganges, and on the 5th he halted at Chuprah, on the frontier of the powerful ruler of Oude. He could not overtake the nimble Law, but he struck terror into Ramnarrain, and other native princes, and received their oaths to be true and obedient to Meer Jaffier, the new nabob.

Returning to Moorsshedabad, Coote's detachment was quartered at Cossimbuzar; and the rest of the troops who had fought at Plassey, and conquered a country more extensive and more populous than the whole of Great Britain, were sent down the river and stationed at Chandernagore, a place then considered more healthy than Calcutta. At the latter city, Clive was received with acclamations and all possible honours; and he already witnessed the effects of his achievements in the restoration of commerce, confidence, and prosperity.*

* Orme, 'Military Transactions.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive, with Extracts from his Lordship's own Letters and Memoranda.'

CHAPTER V.

WHILE Clive was changing princes and nabobs and rooting out the French in Bengal, his countrymen on the Coromandel coast were not altogether idle. Though weakened by having sent ships and troops to co-operate on the Ganges, the presidency of Madras despatched Captain Calliaud to make an attempt upon Madura. While Calliaud was before that place, the French made a rush at Trichinopoly, which was very weakly garrisoned, and laid siege to it. Leaving tents, baggage, and artillery behind him, Calliaud flew from Madura to Trichinopoly, out-manceuvred M. d'Auteuil, got between the besiegers and the besieged, and finally entered Trichinopoly in triumph; but so exhausted by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, that he could no longer walk or stand without support. D'Auteuil raised the siege the same day, and retreated towards Pondicherry, disappointed, mortified, and humiliated. After his retreat the war languished in the Carnatic, until the French, by an unexpected movement, took the important English factory of Vizagapatam.

While the presidency of Madras were demanding money from their ally or dependant Mohammed Ali, by letters and by messengers, Bajee-Rao's Mahrattas burst into the country to exact, at the sword's point, *choult*, or tribute, or black mail, from the same poor, extravagant potentate. "The English," says Orme, "had no alternative but to pay or fight." For fighting they had not men enough, and for paying they had not money enough; but the credit of the Company was known even in the camp of the wild Mahrattas, and when the English consented to pay for the nabob, they agreed to take part of the amount in rupees, and part in bills.

In the month of September, a squadron of twelve ships appeared off Fort St. David. These French ships were commanded by M. Bouvet, an officer of high reputation;

and they had on board twenty pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls, the regiment of Lorraine, nearly 1,000 strong, fifty artillerymen, and sixty volunteers, the troops being under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. The English, from Fort St. David, saw these ships repair to Pondicherry, where they landed the troops. This was on the 9th of September; and a day or two after, the whole squadron disappeared, leaving the English much perplexed as to its next destination and object. An intercepted English letter, in which it was stated that Admiral Watson was expected with his fleet on that coast by the middle of September, had done wonders. As Bouvet apprehended that the English admiral would collect a force superior to his own, he determined to fly while there was yet time; and in so great a hurry was he, that he would not even wait to land the heavy artillery and the heavy ammunition which he had brought. Crowding all his canvas, he bore away for the Mauritius—flying from Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghly.

On the very day on which Bouvet took his precipitate departure, Captain Calliaud took Madura by making a fresh expedition from Trichinopoly, and by carrying a well-filled military chest with him. One hundred and seventy thousand rupees was the price paid to the native chief and garrison for the surrender of this place, the possession of which was of great importance to the English on the Coromandel coast.

On the 28th of April, 1758, another French squadron, consisting of twelve ships, reached that coast. It was commanded by Count d'Aché, and had on board a regiment of infantry nearly 1,100 strong, a corps of artillerymen, and a number of officers of distinction, all under the command of Count Lally, a veteran of Irish extraction, who had been all his life in the service of France, and who had fought against the English at Fontenoi. So high did Lally's reputation stand at this time, that he had been appointed governor-general, with the most extraordinary powers, over all the French possessions and establishments in India. He was to commence operations by the reduction of Fort St. David. He dropped into Pondicherry with two of the ships, and with the other two D'Aché repaired at once to Fort St.

David, where two English frigates, the only ships on the station, were run ashore and wrecked to prevent their being captured. But on the very next day, Admiral Pococke stood into the road and brought M. d'Aché to action. The English squadron was inferior in number, and some of the ships were scarcely fit for service; nevertheless Pococke inflicted a severe blow on the French, the result of a drawn battle being the loss of 500 in killed and wounded on their side; while the English counted only twenty-nine killed and eighty-nine wounded. One of D'Aché's ships was stranded after the battle in consequence of damage done by our shot to her cables. Pococke's ships, however, had suffered greatly in their spars and rigging, and, in the various manœuvres which followed the battle, they drifted to leeward, and the French were enabled to come to anchor in the night in the road of Alampara. Before the sea-fight began, some of the French troops from Pondicherry, hurried on across the country by the impetuous Lally, without baggage, and even without provisions, got to the rear of Fort St. David, and drove in some of the English outposts. The troops on board the French ships were now landed with all speed, the Marquis de Soupires came up with more troops, some heavy guns found in Pondicherry, and convoy of provisions. On the next day, the 1st of May, Lally himself came up and detached Count d'Estaing to take up a position near Cuddalore, which was no stronger now than when attacked twelve years before by M. Dupleix. It was garrisoned by four companies of sepoys and a few artillerymen, and, to add to the precariousness of its situation, it contained within its walls 150 French prisoners. In the evening, this very weak garrison was reinforced from Fort St. David by thirty Europeans and a few lascars. But Cuddalore could not have been held for any length of time by a much stronger garrison; and Major Polier, the commandant of Fort St. David, agreed to evacuate it in four days, the troops being allowed to retire with the honours of war.

M. Lally, at the very beginning of his career, spoiled the chances of success in India, by setting the feelings and prejudices of the people at defiance. He knew nothing of India, or of the strange, graduated, complex structure of Indian society, and he was too self-willed, hot-headed, and presumptuous, to be guided by those who had more knowledge: in this siege he created the greatest disgust, by

forcibly employing together different castes of the natives in labours to which they had never been accustomed, and which they considered derogatory to their condition and dishonourable to the castes to which they belonged. The more rigour he exercised, the greater became the difficulty of getting any work done. The sepoy, and all others who did not belong to the very lowest castes, would neither dig in the trenches nor drive the trains, and when Lally threatened or punished them, they deserted. Fort St. David was at this time garrisoned by 619 Europeans and about 1,600 natives : in spite of some radical defects in the works, they might certainly have been maintained for a long time against an enemy who committed so many blunders as Lally did ; but Major Polier matched him in this respect, and after he had burned nearly all his gunpowder in an absurd, ineffectual firing, the English commandant capitulated on the 2nd of June. In consequence of instructions from France, Lally immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground. He then detached M. d'Estaing with a considerable force to obtain possession of Devi Cottah. That garrison, being very weak, abandoned the place at the approach of the French, and marched away for Trichinopoly. Lally returned to Pondicherry, entered that city in a triumphant procession, and celebrated a *Te Deum* for his successes. But this was scarcely over ere he entered upon a furious quarrel with the gentlemen of the French council on account of the emptiness of the treasury. He thus early prepared a strife and a hatred which, in the end, brought him to a lamentable death. He accused powerful and resentful men of having appropriated the public money to their own use. For lack of rupees, his operations were impeded. In rummaging the exhausted treasury of Pondicherry, he discovered a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which had been given by the rajah of Tanjore to Chunda Saheb, and by Chunda Saheb to the French, in satisfaction for some of the various claims which they had upon him. Lally resolved to enforce payment of this bond, and taking the field, he advanced towards Tanjore, with one Gatiea, a native prince, in his camp, who had some pretensions to the sovereignty of the country. The march was long, and the disposition of the country people everywhere unfavourable. No bullock-men or bazaar people would follow him except by compulsion, and every act of compulsion tended to spread and increase the preva-

lent ill-will. His want of money, and almost total want of provisions, even at the beginning of the march, forced him to rob and plunder ; and the French soldiery, when once they got accustomed to these operations, considered as their own everything that they could seize or extort by violence. A regiment of hussars was constantly employed in cattle-lifting, and the unfortunate natives saw their cows and their oxen driven into the French camp, where no price was ever paid, or even promised. Still more to excite the native passions of hatred and revenge, the French committed outrages on their women and their priests. From Carical, Lally proceeded to what had recently been the rich and thriving town of Nagore, in the hope of getting a great booty and contribution in money. But the native merchants, warned in time, had carried off their money and jewels, and they offered little for the redemption of their houses. Lally therefore let loose his hussars on the defenceless town, with a regular bargain that he was to have a large share of whatever they might find. The Hiberno-Frenchman then applied, in a peremptory manner, to the Dutch at Negapatam for money, ammunition, and provisions, and the Dutch, awed by his power, sent him 20,000 pounds of gunpowder. Acting under the same fears, the Danes, who had a small settlement on the coast, sent him 10,000 pounds of gunpowder and six field-pieces. On his line of march stood the pagoda of Kivalore, which Lally believed to contain inestimable riches. He ransacked the place and the houses of the Brahmins, dug into the earth for concealed treasures, dragged the tanks and brought up a number of uncouth idols ; but, to his bitter disappointment, these graven images, instead of being of gold, were of brass ; and as no treasures could be found above ground, or under ground, or in the water, he incurred a horrible odium without any profit. On the following day he reached another pagoda, from which the priests had all fled ; but discovering in the evening that some of the Brahmins had come back, and were looking about them and asking questions, he savagely put them to death by blowing them off from the mouths of his field-pieces. At Trivatore, where he remained some days, he drove a grand trade in cattle-lifting. Part of the beeves were consumed in the camp, and part sent down to the coast, to be there sold for the benefit of the army. On the 18th of July, Lally halted near the walls of the city of Tanjore, and sent in a Jesuit

and one of his captains to demand the full amount of the bond. The terrified rajah offered 300,000 rupees, money down; Lally then asked for 1,000,000 in money, 600 bullocks (he had become a wholesale carcase-butcher), and 10,000 pounds of gunpowder; and upon finding that these terms were not accepted, he began to throw shot and shell at the temples and pagodas. He also continued the work of cattle-lifting in the open country, sending droves upon droves down to Carical and Pondicherry. At length a treaty was commenced, in which the Hindu prince endeavoured to dupe the French, and they him.

After an infinitude of manœuvres on both sides, Lally broke off the negotiation, and on the 2nd of August, having erected two batteries, he began to ply the walls of Tanjore where they were weakest. After five days' firing, a breach was made; but by this time the French had burned nearly all their powder, and, notwithstanding all their cattle-lifting, they had not provisions for more than two days. On the 8th of August, Lally's uneasiness was increased by intelligence that another engagement had taken place between the French and English squadrons, and that the English ships were menacing Carical, where the French had not been heard of since the battle. Quite crest-fallen, he summoned a council of war; ten of his officers recommended an immediate retreat, and only two an immediate assault and storm. Forthwith, the sick and wounded were sent away under a strong escort, and preparations were made for a general de-campment on the morrow. But in the course of that night, 600 English sepoy, sent by Major Calliaud from Trichinopoly, threw themselves within the walls of Tanjore. Lally had cause to wish he had gone off a little earlier. The next morning the sepoys joined the Tanjoreans in a sortie and general attack on his camp, while bodies of Tanjore horse, and swarms of country people, and wild coolies from the hills, threw themselves on the French rear. Lally himself had several hair-breadth escapes, and he was actually knocked over and trampled upon by some of the rajah's cavalry. Three of his cannon were captured, and a considerable number of his men were killed in the first surprise. But when the French recovered their presence of mind, and formed in good compact order, they were too much for the undisciplined Tanjoreans; and the English sepoys, left without proper support, were obliged to abandon the three guns they had

taken, and to retreat into the town with no other prizes than one elephant and two lean camels. But the French now spiked their heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, and destroyed a considerable part of their baggage, and then, under cover of night, they marched rapidly away from Tanjore, pestered in their retreat by the vindictive peasantry and the rajah's cavalry, and half-famished, and half-crazed with thirst. The retreat was most disastrous till they reached Trivatore. Between that place and Carical, Lally learned that the French squadron had returned to Pondicherry, but that M. d'Aché was determined to sail for the Mauritius without hazarding any further action with Pococke. Lally, in a fury, sent the Count d'Estaing to remonstrate, to persuade, to threaten, to do everything he could to make the French admiral stay where he was. On the 18th of August, the retreating French army arrived at Carical, and saw the English squadron at anchor not far from that town.

In the two naval engagements which had taken place, Admiral Pococke's force had been inferior, and D'Aché, after the experience he had had, felt no desire to wait till reinforcements, which he believed were expected, should give the English a superiority, or replace two of their very bad ships by two good ones; and he turned a deaf ear to D'Estaing. Having left Carical and crossed the Coleroon, Lally quitted the army, and with an escort rode with loose bridle to Pondicherry, where he arrived on the 28th of August. He instantly summoned a council, with the view of stopping the anxious admiral. But D'Aché declared that his ships were greatly disabled, and his crews much reduced by the combats and by sickness; and on the 2nd of September he hove anchor, and went away under a press of sail for the Mauritius.

To procure the nerves of war, Lally now resolved, before proceeding on his grand object—the siege of Madras—to make a predatory excursion to Arcot, which was defended by only a few English sepoys and some detachments of Mohammed Ali's cavalry. He made a bargain beforehand with the commander of the native troops, who agreed to deliver up the place for 13,000 rupees and employment with the French army. Lally reached Arcot on the 4th of October, and, finding that capital of the Carnatic open to him, he entered with his accustomed pomp and parade, in the midst of long salvos of artillery. But fresh disappointments awaited the gold-seeker:—all the merchants and

wealthier inhabitants had departed before his arrival, and even the poorer sort had concealed their money and most valuable effects. Distributing his troops into cantonments, Lally himself returned to Pondicherry, to blame everybody and everything, except his own folly and presumption. On his first arrival in the country, he had made up his own mind to be sole ruler in India; and as soon as he had reduced Fort St. David, he recalled M. Bussy from the Deckan, speaking contemptuously of the character and exploits of that truly remarkable man. When the colonels of several regiments—men of rank and ancient lineage—paid a high compliment to the hero of the Deckan, he grossly imputed it to the influence of M. Bussy's money, instead of his reputation. Lally was a bold and loud talker; he made no secret of his sentiments, and Bussy would have been no Frenchman if he had not resented with vivacity these various attacks on his fame. With rancorous feelings on both sides, they were to proceed together to capture Madras, and to root out the English power on the Coromandel coast. By contributing 60,000 rupees of his own, and opening a subscription at Pondicherry, Lally raised 94,000 rupees; and with this insignificant treasure, and an army of 2,700 Europeans and 4,000 natives, he made for Madras, where he arrived on the 12th of December, without money, without credit, and almost without food for the troops.

Major Laurence, Clive's old superior, and Mr. Pigot, held command within the walls of Madras, where the total of the force collected was 1,758 Europeans, 2,220 sepoy, and 200 of Mohammed Ali's cavalry,—these last being scarcely worth their rations. On the 14th of December, the French took possession of the Black Town, which was open and defenceless; and there the soldiers, breaking open some arrack stores, got drunk and mad, and committed great disorders. As their condition was reported in the fort, a sortie was resolved upon; and 600 chosen men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Draper (afterwards Sir William), and Major Brereton, with two field-pieces, rushed into the streets of the Black Town. Unluckily, the drummers, who were all little black boys, struck up the Grenadiers' March too soon, and this gave warning to the French, who, running to their arms, drew up at a point where the streets were very narrow, and crossed each other at right angles. Those who were drunk were joined by others who were sober, and soon they far exceeded in

number the English detachment. If Bussy, who was close at hand, had made one of the bold, dashing movements familiar to him, when acting on his own responsibility and for his own glory, the English, blocked up in the narrow streets, must either have surrendered, or have been destroyed. But Bussy remained motionless, and afterwards excused his conduct by saying that Lally, his superior, had sent him no orders to move. Our detachment retreated to the fort, leaving their two field-pieces behind them; they had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 200 men, and had inflicted about an equal injury on the foe. Six of their officers were killed or mortally wounded, and among these, was Major Polier, who, unable to bear the reflections which had been cast upon him for his weak defence of Fort St. David, threw away his life here to prove that he was no coward. Count d'Estaing was taken prisoner at the beginning of the affray, and conveyed into the fort of Madras.

Some money came from France, and by begging, borrowing (sword in hand), and extorting, Lally got a little more in the Black Town, and began to dig trenches and erect batteries. But all his warlike means were as deficient as those of the English garrison were perfect; and dissensions and ill-will against him increased among his officers. His condition was rendered quite desperate by the return of Admiral Pococke to the coast, and by the entrance into the harbour of two frigates and six of the Company's ships, having on board 600 king's troops, fresh from England. This was on the 16th of February (1759), when Lally had been two months and four days under the walls of Madras. His money and his provisions were alike exhausted; he had thrown away his last bomb three weeks before, and he had blazed away nearly all his gunpowder. Cursing Admiral d'Aché for not having stayed to meet Pococke, and again blaming everybody but himself, he decamped as silently and expeditiously as he could in the night of the 17th, with his army in a mutinous state, and his marauding hussars threatening to go over to the English. Nowhere could this violent man find a friend; the natives removed or concealed their provisions; and not unfrequently his troops had to feel the sharp execution of flying columns of native horse, and the deadly animosity of the coolies and colleries, and other wild people of the hills, who glided round his camp like ghosts, and stabbed in the dark.

On the 6th of March, Major Laurence, with 1,156 Europeans, 1,570 sepoy, 1,120 coolies, 1,956 horse, and ten field-pieces, commenced his march upon Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces. For twenty-two days the French and English armies lay encamped in sight of each other. Then the English struck off for Wandewash, entered that town, and began to besiege the fort. The French hurried to defend the place, and the English, giving them the slip, hastened back and took the far more important fort of Conjeveram. On the 28th of May, both Laurence and Lally put their armies into cantonments for the rainy season.*

* Orme, 'Military Transactions.' Schomberg, 'Naval Chronology.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Clive.' 'Parliamentary Reports.' French, 'Mémoires of M. Lally.'

CHAPTER VI.

ADMIRAL POCOCKE cruised between Bombay and Pondicherry to intercept a fresh squadron which Lally expected from the Mauritius. Towards the end of June, three of the Company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and intelligence that the enterprising Coote might be shortly expected on the coast with 1,000 of king's troops. The first division of these troops arrived at the end of July. On the 20th of August, looking into Trincomalee, in Ceylon, Pococke there discovered his old adversary, M. d'Aché, with eleven ships of the line and three frigates. The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, one frigate, two of the Company's ships, and a fire-ship; their entire number of guns being 174 less than that of the French. Owing to adverse currents and wind and weather, the English could not close upon the enemy till the 10th of September, when, after a sharp action of two hours' duration, the careful Frenchman once more retired before the flag of Pococke. Having all his topmasts standing, D'Aché got safe to Pondicherry, which was his object, several days before Pococke could reach Negapatam. The arrival of the squadron saved the French council from absolute despair; it brought to them only 180 soldiers, but it brought *some money*; it poured into the empty coffers specie to the amount of £16,000 sterling, and a quantity of diamonds valued at £17,000, which had been taken in an English East-Indiaman. But D'Aché had scarcely landed this treasure, when he again intimated that he must leave the coast and return to the Mauritius; his orders being peremptory to take great care of his ships. No entreaties, no vehement protests, could shake his resolution. He was, however, induced to land and leave behind him 400 Caffers, who had been serving in his fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

The English army in the field, who had surprised and captured the fort of Covrepauk in July, were encouraged by the disorganized condition of Lally's forces to make an attempt upon Wandewash, and on the 26th of September they all marched from Conjeveram for that purpose, under the command of Colonel Brereton. Their assault was, however, repelled, with a loss of 200 men. But in other directions the French lost ground almost daily. They were in rags and half-starved.

The English took advantage of the absence of that able and prevailing man, M. Bussy, to open negotiations with several native chiefs in the Deckan, and even with Salibut Jung himself, who had owed the musnud to Bussy; and Clive, from Bengal, had detached Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, those valuable provinces which had been ceded to M. Bussy. Forde, with 500 British troops, 2,100 native troops, and a respectable train of artillery, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam. There he landed and joined the native army of Anunderauze, who had engaged to co-operate against the French, in the hope that the English would eventually make him sovereign of the Deckan. This rajah agreed to supply 56,000 rupees per month for the expenses of Forde's army. They then advanced to Peddapore, and there encountered M. Conflans, who had been left by Bussy in command of the French forces. In preparing for battle, Forde's first care was to get his precious allies, the troops of the rajah, out of the way, for he knew that they would not fight, and could produce only confusion. In numbers, Conflans's French troops were equal to Forde's English ones, and the defensive position they occupied was a good one: their artillery was abundant, and to oppose to the 2,100 English sepoys they had 6,000 sepoys of their own, and 500 native horse. But Conflans rashly quitted his strong ground, the French infantry got into disorder in pursuing a portion of Forde's sepoys, and then the British troops, who had been concealed by a standing crop of Indian corn, fell upon the French, routed them with a terrible loss, and took the best of their field-pieces. Further discouraged by the resolute behaviour of some of the English sepoys under Captain Knox, Conflans retreated to his camp; but notwithstanding the advantages of the ground, and the fire of some heavy artillery which he had kept there, he was soon driven from the height by Colonel Forde. Some

of the French threw down their arms and cried for quarter ; but the greater number made a *saute-qui-peut* flight. The spoils of the field were considerable, including thirty pieces of cannon, fifty tumbrils, and other carriages, laden with ammunition, seven mortars with a large provision of shells, 1,000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French. M. Conflans galloped from the field on a good horse ; and it is said, that he never stopped until he reached, at night, the town of Rajahmundry, nearly forty miles from the field of battle.

Unfortunately, the Rajah Anunderauze would no more pay than fight. Thus Forde, who had spent all the money he had brought with him, was reduced for several weeks to a stand-still ; the French, however, continued to give ground : Rajahmundry was abandoned, and Conflans sought refuge in Masulipatam, urging Salibut Jung to send him some assistance, and representing to that ruler that the English, if left unopposed, would assuredly make themselves masters of the whole of the Deckan. Salibut Jung put an army in motion and collected other troops at Golconda and Hyderabad. Obtaining at length some money from his rajah, and marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, Forde arrived, on the 6th of March, 1759, in front of Masulipatam, the strongest place the French held on that coast. The besieged were more numerous than the besiegers ; yet Colonel Forde, by making an impetuous assault on three points at the same moment, induced Conflans to surrender ; and, after a siege of only twelve days, Masulipatam surrendered to the English.

Within a week after the surrender, two French ships, with a reinforcement of 300 men, appeared in the offing. They went back ; but the army of the subahdar, which had been marching to the relief of Conflans, halted where it was, and soon received in its camp the victorious English commander, not as a foe, but as a friend and ally. Salibut Jung readily entered into a new treaty, by which he ceded a considerable territory about Masulipatam to the English, bound himself not to permit for the future any French settlement in his dominions, and to oblige the French army of observation, collected at Rajahmundry, to evacuate the country and cross the Kistna within fifteen days ; the English, on their part, agreeing to support him against his enemies in general, and his rebellious brother, Nizam Ali, in particular. It was also

stipulated that the subahdar should never more have recourse to French assistance, or call in any troops of that nation; that Anunderauze should not be called to account for whatsoever he had collected out of the governments of the French, nor for the tributes of his own country for the present year.

In addition to Masulipatam, eight districts, as well as the jurisdiction over the territory of Nizampatam, with the districts of Codover and Wacalmannar, were granted to the English without the reserve of fine or military service. The whole territory thus ceded extended eighty miles along the coast and twenty inland; the revenue was estimated at 400,000 rupees a year.

The subahdar next offered to Colonel Forde, for his own private account and profit, another considerable district, if he would march with him against his rebellious younger brother, Nizam Ali. But Forde, at the same time, pressed the subahdar to join the English in an immediate expedition against the French, who were once more making head at Rajahmundry. Finding Forde immovable, the subahdar sullenly quitted him, and marched away into the interior. As the English prepared to march by themselves, the French broke up from Rajahmundry, crossed the Kistna, and marched to the westward, the subahdar's elder brother, Bassaulet Jung, having promised that he would take them into his pay in a short time. Colonel Forde remained on the coast and assisted in re-establishing all the English factories which had been swept away by M. Bussy.*

* Schomberg, 'Nav. Chron.' Orme, 'Mil. Trans.' Mill, 'British India.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.'

CHAPTER VII.

IN Bengal, Meer Jaffier very soon required the armed assistance of those who had made him nabob. Many native chiefs rebelled against him, and far and near he was surrounded by enemies, all eager for his throne, or for a slice out of his rich territories. Mohammed Kooly Khan, the lord of Allahabad, the rajahs Sunder Sing and Bulwunt Sing, and, most powerful of all, his neighbour Sujah Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, were united, as far as such beings could unite in one object, against Meer Jaffier, and their cause received the high sanction of the name, and afterwards the assistance, of the Mogul of Delhi's elder son, the Shah Zada, who had established himself in Rohileund, and had, at the time, a considerable army of Rohillas, half-soldiers and half-robbers by profession, but a hardier and braver race than any in the lower parts of Hindustan. In a short time the Shah Zada descended from Rohileund with an army of 40,000 men, Rohillas, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Afghans, and other forces were expected to join him on his advance. Meer Jaffier showered letters and messages upon Clive, and constantly besieged with entreaties and prayers the new English resident at Moorshedabad—MR. WARREN HASTINGS. This gentleman, who was rapidly rising in reputation, had a near view of the imbecility and confusion of the nabob's court and government, and of the intrigues, plots, and vices of the nabob's son, Meeran, and he wrote nearly every day to his patron, Clive, that all classes confided in him, and him alone; that without his intervention the whole fabric of government would fall to pieces by intestine broils, and Orissaa and Bahar be severed from Bengal even before the arrival of the invaders from Rohileund.

Weakened by the force detached under Colonel Forde, and by other troops sent to Madras, Clive, at this moment, could

only count in Bengal about 300 British infantry, 100 artillery, and 2,500 disciplined sepoys; yet with this force he not only resolved to meet the confederacy which threatened Meer Jaffier, but he also sent orders to Forde to continue his conquests, and then to proceed, not to Bengal, to join and assist him, but to Madras, there to finish the Indian adventures of Count Lally. On the 12th of February he wrote to Ramnarrain, the Hindū governor of Patna, whose fidelity to the nabob was much doubted:—"I have this day pitched my tent, and, with the blessing of God, I will come to your assistance, if it be necessary." But the strangest part of the very active correspondence carried on at this juncture was a letter addressed by the Mogul's son, the Shah Zada, in imperial and oriental style, to "The Most High and Mighty Protector of the Great," *i. e.* Clive. "In this happy time," said the epistle, "with a view of making the tour of Patna and Bengal, I have erected my standard of glory at this place. It is my pure intention to bestow favour upon you, the high and mighty, and all faithful servants, agreeable to their conduct. This world is like a garden of flowers interspersed with weeds and thorns; I shall therefore root out the bad, that the faithful and good ryots (God willing) may rest in peace and quietness. Know you, who are great, that it is proper you should pay a due obedience to this my firman, and make it your business to pay your respects to me like a faithful servant, which will be great and happy for you. It is proper you should be earnest in doing this, when, by the blessing of God, you stand high in my favour. Know this must be done." Clive wrote an answer to the prince in respectful terms, expressing a still higher reverence for his father, the Great Mogul, who had neither ordered the expedition of his son nor had had power to prevent it, being, in fact, little more than a state prisoner in the hands of his ministers and nobles. "I have had the honour," said Clive, "to receive your highness's firman. It gives me great concern to find that this country must become a scene of troubles. I beg leave to inform you that I have been favoured with a sunnud (patent) from the emperor, appointing me to a munsudbar of the rank of 6,000 foot and 5,000 horse, which constitutes me a servant of his; and as I have not received any orders, either from the emperor or vizier, acquainting me of your coming down here, I cannot pay that due regard to your highness's orders, which I should other-

wise wish to do. I must further beg leave to inform you, that I am under the strictest engagements with the present subahdar of these provinces to assist him at all times, and it is not the custom of the English nation to be guilty of insincerity." The Shah Zada's ministers sent to offer him provinces upon provinces if he would only make common cause with their master ; but Clive, unmoved, continued his preparations, and on the 25th February he began his march upon Moorshedabad. In a few days he arrived at that capital, where, to prove that there was no interruption to their friendship, he rode abroad on the same elephant with the nabob. On the 13th of March he left Moorshedabad to advance upon Patna, taking Meeran, the nabob's son, with him, and writing to the secret committee that he would soon give a good account of the Shah Zada, although his army was estimated to be 50,000 strong.

Encouraged by the rapid advance of the English, the Hindū governor of Patna, instead of opening his gates to the enemy (which he had almost determined to do), proved true and steady to the nabob ; and the next news Clive received of him was that he had repelled two assaults made upon the place. Yet, not placing much confidence in Hindū valour, Clive hurried forward a detachment of his sepoys, under the command of Ensign Mathews, to assist in the defence of the capital of Bahar. But the dread of Clive's name alone was sufficient to disperse the invading army, and on the 5th of April, the day before Mathews could reach Patna, the Shah Zada, though he had possessed himself of some of the bastions, raised the siege and retreated in the greatest disorder. M. Law, with his small party of French, joined the prince on the day when this retreat began, but could not prevail upon him to halt and make another attack.

The "Daring in War," the "Protector of the Great," entered Patna without any parade of triumph, but there were few that saw him but felt that he was in reality the lord and master of all that part of India. Meanwhile the Shah Zada had crossed the river Caramnassa into Oude. The ruler of Oude, who had prepared to join him in the event of his success, now declared himself the enemy of the fugitive prince, who, daily deserted by the troops and abandoned by his friends, knew not whom to trust or whither to fly. Knowing that Clive had more generosity as well as more power than any one else, he sent him many

letters and messages, imploring to be taken into his protection. Clive sent him about £1,000 sterling to enable him to escape to some safer country. "I have received repeated orders from the vizier, and even from your father the emperor," wrote Clive, "not only to oppose your highness, but even to lay hold of your person. Were I to assist your highness in any respect, it would be attended with the ruin of this country. It is better that one should suffer, however great, than that so many thousands should be rendered unhappy. I am now on my march to the Caramnassa, and earnestly recommend you to withdraw before I arrive." The Shah Zada took this hint, continued his flight, and was reported to be going to take refuge in the Gazipore country.

Clive then directed his arms against some Rajpoot and hill chiefs of Bahar, who had invited and assisted the Shah Zada, and, having reduced them to submission rather by policy than by fighting, having tranquillized the whole country with almost magical rapidity, he returned quietly to Calcutta.

The vizier, who ruled instead of that poor phantom the Great Mogul, as one mark of favour and gratitude, informed Clive that the English might establish a factory at Delhi, the royal city, and he assured the "Daring in War" that the Mogul would heap the highest favours upon him, and that his honours should be increased. The nabob, Meer Jaffier, who owed everything to Clive, gave more substantial personal proofs of his gratitude, conferring on him for life, as a jagheer, or estate, the quit-rent which the Company was bound to pay to the nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, which quit-rent was worth thirty lacs of rupees, or about £30,000 sterling per annum. Mr. Warren Hastings had the satisfaction of drawing up, at the nabob's request, the letter to be written to the council at Calcutta, to acquaint them with this splendid donation to his liberal patron.

But never was the gratitude of an Indian prince enduring or steady. Meer Jaffier felt, with bitterness of soul, that the power and consideration of the Englishman were far greater than his own, and that he who had put him on a throne and defended him upon it, could at any time overthrow him, or abandon him to the tender mercies of his many enemies. He looked round for some other support, and for some alliance, with strength enough to curb the potency of Clive, and impose obedience on his own discontented chiefs.

No native prince could furnish a force that would look the little English army in the face. The French power was utterly annihilated in Bengal, was broken by Forde in the Circars and the Deckan, and was fast breaking in the Carnatic, through the folly or madness of Lally. The old might of the Portuguese was now only a tradition; and the Dutch, —though strong in the islands of the Indian Ocean,—were scarcely more powerful than the Portuguese on the Indian continent. Yet, in his impatience of the English supremacy, and in his total ignorance of the decline of the Dutch government in Europe, Meer Jaffier looked to this people for assistance; and although they had been slow and reluctant in acknowledging his authority, and had frequently insulted him since the conqueror of Plassey had placed him on the musnud, he opened secret negotiations with the Dutch factory at Chinsura, which had witnessed, with jealousy and dread, the British conquest at Chandernagore. The two places were only two miles distant from each other. The near sight of the English flag was too much even for Dutch phlegm. The factory wrote the most urgent letters to the governor of Batavia, exhorting him to fit out an expedition for the Hooghly.* There was at the moment no war, in Europe, between Holland and England; but this was a consideration which seldom had much weight with the various European governors and factors settled in India. The

* Clive's own account is this:—"About the month of November, 1758, a prevailing party at the Nabob Jaffier Ali Khan's durbar [court], headed by Meeran, his son, had prejudiced him to look with an evil and jealous eye on the power and influence of the English in the provinces, and taught him to think and look upon himself as a cipher, bearing the name of Subah only. From subsequent concurring circumstances, it must have been at that period, and from this cause, that we imagine a private negotiation was set on foot between the nabob and the Dutch, that the latter should bring a military force into the provinces to join the former, and balance our power and sway. The Dutch, stimulated by envy at our very advantageous situation, and a sense of their own very small importance, readily embraced the overture, and hoped another Plassey affair to themselves."—MS., entitled, "A narrative of the Disputes with the Dutch in Bengal," found by Sir John Malcolm among Clive's papers.

The nabob had entered into these intrigues with the Dutch before the invasion of the Shah Zada; and after Clive's conduct at that crisis he would willingly have broken them off. But when he saw the Dutch arrive in the Hooghly in such great force, he fancied that they must triumph over the English, and that in assisting them he should be pursuing the wise policy of siding with the strongest.

Dutch authorities in Batavia were as eager to send an expedition, as was the factory at Chinsura to request it, and in a short time, intelligence was received in Calcutta, that a strong armament was coming.

Quick and sagacious as they were, both Clive and Warren Hastings were for a time deceived by the cunning Meer Jaffier, who pretended that the Dutch were in league with the powerful ruler of Oude, and that he and his court at Moorshedabad were in an agony of alarm. Early in the month of August, a Dutch ship arrived in the Hooghly with European troops on board. The factory at Chinsura gravely protested that this ship had been driven in by stress of weather, and that she and the troops on board would depart in peace as soon as they had obtained water and provisions. The vessel, however, continued to lie where she was, and attempts were made to send soldiers from her up to Chinsura, by concealing them in the bottom of native boats. Clive issued his mandate, that every Dutch or native boat should be stopped and searched. The gentlemen at Chinsura protested against such proceedings on the part of a friendly power; but Clive continued to stop their soldiers and send them back to their ship, telling the gentlemen of their factory, that he was in Bengal in a double capacity;—that as an English officer, while England was at war with France, he was justified by the laws of nations, in searching all vessels whatever, not knowing but that they might introduce French troops into the country; and that, as an auxiliary to the Great Mogul, he was under the necessity, by solemn treaty, to oppose the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatsoever into Bengal. The Dutch, in their own way, quoted the laws of nations on their own side, and kept pressing their warlike preparations all the time.

Early in October, Meer Jaffier arrived in person at Calcutta, as if merely intending to pay a visit of honour. A day or two after, advices came from below of the arrival of six more Dutch ships of a large size, and crammed with troops, partly Europeans, and partly Malays from Batavia and other Dutch settlements in the islands. "Now," says Clive, "the Dutch mask fell off, and the nabob (conscious of his having given his assent to their coming) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however, seemed to make light of it; told the governor he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghly, where he would chas-

tise the insolence of the Dutch, and drive them soon out of the river again. On the 19th of October, he left Calcutta; and, in place of his going to his fort at Hooghly, he took up his residence at Cojah Wazeed's garden, about half-way between that and Chinsura; a plain indication that he had no apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies than as enemies to him and his country."

In three or four days the nabob, by letter, informed Clive that he had thought proper to grant some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that the Dutch, on their part, had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops, so soon as the season would permit. This reference to the season was unfortunate, inasmuch as, at the time of his writing, the season was propitious to their departure.

From the tenor of the letter, and the whole course of the nabob's conduct, Clive was sure that the Dutch had no intention to quit the river, and that Meer Jaffier had given his permission to them to bring up their troops if they could. This the "Daring in War" was determined they should not do; and the council at Calcutta heartily seconded him. In a very few days the Dutch armament was actually moving up the river towards Calcutta, and intelligence was received that Dutch agents were enlisting troops at Chinsura, Cosimbuzar, and even as far up the country as Patna; and this evidently with the connivance of Meer Jaffier, and the more open assistance of his son Meeran. Clive's force, in Europeans, was, at the moment, inferior to that of the Dutch on board the seven ships, without counting those in garrison at Chinsura; for the force from Batavia consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays. There was no time to be lost—this was no season for indulging in subtleties, or for turning over the pages of Grotius and Puffendorf—and Clive resolved to proceed at once against the Dutch. At the moment of crisis, some of the members of the council at Calcutta demurred. Clive said that "a public man must sometimes be called upon to act with a halter round his neck." His private interest must have been in conflict with his public duty, for he had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East-India Company, who might have kept the money in the banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, both in revenge and in compensation of damages.

It was not known whether the Dutch would ascend the river and pass the English batteries with their troops on board, or whether they would land the troops below the batteries and march them thence by land; but Clive made the necessary dispositions against both these plans of operation, as far as comported with the smallness of his disposable force, which consisted only of about 320 English, 1,200 sepoys, and three of the Company's ships. Just at this juncture, brave Colonel Forde returned to Calcutta, having quitted his separate command on account of ill-health, and ill-humour against the Court of Directors; but at the invitation of his friend and patron Clive, he readily consented to take the command of part of the forces.

On the 19th of November, Forde moved from Calcutta, took the Dutch settlement at Barnagore, crossed the river Hooghly the next day with his scanty troops and four pieces of artillery, and marched upon Chandernagore, to strike terror into the factory at Chinsura, and to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops in case they should land. The rest of the troops, with many volunteers draughted from the Mauritius, and part of an independent company, mounted as cavalry, Clive sent down to the forts on the river, under the command of Captain Knox.

Mr. Holwell, who had survived the Black Hole and the subsequent barbarities of Suraj-u-Dowlah, took charge of Fort William with the militia, who counted about 250 English, and a few Portuguese. Clive remained at Calcutta, but went and came, dividing his attention between the two divisions of his army under Forde and Knox. The three English East-Indiamen, which had arrived after the Dutch, were lying in the lower part of the river, between that squadron and the sea; but as the Dutch ships began to ascend the river, these Indiamen were ordered to pass them (if they could), and station themselves above the English batteries, at Charnoc and Tanna, where Clive prepared fire-boats to assist. Our Indiamen did not pass the Dutch, who, on the 23rd of November, landed on the Chinsura side of the river their 1,500 men; and then dropped down with their ships to a place called "Melancholy Point,"—where the three English vessels lay ready for action.

The moment the Dutch troops were landed, Clive sent Captain Knox across the river to reinforce Colonel Forde, and ordered Commodore Wilson to demand immediate res-

titution of some vessels, property and subjects, that had been seized, and, on their refusal, to fight, sink, burn, and destroy the Dutch squadron. The very next day the demand was made and refused. The Dutch had seven ships, four of them being called "capital ships;" the English had but three, and these appear to have derived no assistance either from the land batteries, which were too far off, or from the fire-boats, which were manned by natives. Nevertheless, Commodore Wilson, who began the attack, ended it with the total defeat of the enemy. The Dutch commodore struck, and the rest followed the example, all except his second, who cut and ran down the river as far as Culpee, where he was stopped short, intercepted, and captured by the *Orford* and *Royal George*, which had just arrived from England, and were ascending the Hooghly.

Alarmed by the loss of their squadron, and apparently stupified, the Dutch and their Malays halted and wavered on their march to Chinsura, and on the 25th, the day after the river-fight, they blundered upon a position, from which retreat was difficult, and a further advance impracticable. Forde, with the quick eye of a soldier, saw their blunder; but there came over him a doubt and a misgiving; and hesitating to attack the troops of a European nation not in a state of declared war with England, he sent a messenger and a note to Clive, saying, "that if he had the order of council, he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive, who was playing a quiet game at cards when the note reached him, took out his pencil, and without quitting the card-table, wrote on the back of the note,—“Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow.” Accordingly, Forde fought the Dutch: and the engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. The fugitives left on the field 120 Europeans and 200 Malays in killed, and 150 in wounded; about 350 Dutch and 200 Malays were taken prisoners. From the field of his easy victory Forde marched to Chinsura, only four miles off. The Dutch factory implored for a cessation of hostilities, entirely disavowing the proceedings of their squadron, humbly acknowledging themselves to be the aggressors, and agreeing to pay costs and damages. Upon these conditions, an amicable arrangement was settled, and their captured ships were all restored to them. Three days after this land-battle of Bedarra, the nabob's son,

Meeran, whom Clive seldom names without the affix of "scoundrel," encamped within two miles of Chinsura, with 6,000 or 7,000 horse. If the Dutch had proved victorious, he would have joined them in plundering and destroying the English; but now that the English had triumphed, he hoped to be allowed to share with them in the spoils of the Dutch. The Dutch factory was again in an agony of alarm, and applied to the English governor for protection. Clive, losing no time, crossed the river and sent Meeran packing in the direction of Moorshedabad.

The few remaining months of Clive's present stay in India were devoted to various arrangements and wise precautions for securing the tranquillity of the country. Having called that most able officer Major Calliaud from the Carnatic to Bengal, Clive sailed from India on the 25th day of February, 1760.*

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Clive.' Orme.

CHAPTER VIII.

CLIVE had left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, and inspired by his own daring genius. Foremost among these was Colonel Coote.

While the French army lay in cantonments in the country round about Wandewash, and while Lally and Bussy were engaged in violent quarrels, Coote, on the 21st of November, 1759, proceeded with some British reinforcements to Conjeveram, where the rest of our army of the Carnatic was stationed. He then suddenly fell upon the fort of Wandewash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carongoly, and took that place also from the French by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of some Mahratta horse, Lally surprised and took Conjeveram, but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famished people. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandewash, where the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But while he or his engineer officers were formalizing as to the proper construction of the battery of assault, Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retire. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle at a short distance from the walls of Wandewash. He had with him 2,250 Europeans and 1,300 sepoy; but as his Mahratta allies, they kept aloof. Coote had only 1,900 for Europeans, but he had 2,100 sepoy, 1,250 black cavalry, and twenty-six field-pieces. The black cavalry, however, did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for the French, as they kept out of the reach of shot. Lally, however, had about 300 European cavalry, while Coote had none. But at the very commencement of the battle, the French horse, which Lally conducted in person, were thrown into disorder by a few cannon-balls. Lally hastened to the in-

fantry, and led them on with great gallantry, for, however deficient in cool judgment, he had courage in abundance. His regiment of Lorraine, which charged in column, broke through the battalion opposed to it; but that battalion wrapped round the flanks of the bold Lorrainers, and almost destroyed their mass by a few discharges. In a short time the French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this period. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a battalion to try a bayonet-charge, was abandoned by his men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by some of his French cavalry. He had lost in this battle of Wandewash more than 600 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, twenty-four pieces of cannon, eleven tumbrils of ammunition, with tents, stores, and baggage. He collected his shattered army at Chittapet, but he could make no stand there, and, without reinforcing the garrison in the place, he retreated to the strong hill-fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Coote resolved to strike across the country and recover Arcot; and the very day after the battle of Wandewash, which was fought on the 22nd of December, he hurried forward a detachment in that direction.

On the 1st of February, 1760, Coote himself arrived before Arcot, and on the 5th he began a cannonade. On the 6th, he commenced making approaches, and by the morning of the 9th the sap was carried to the foot of the glacis, and by the hour of noon on the same day, two small breaches were made. Not three men in the garrison had been killed, the breaches were impracticable, and yet a flag of truce was held out, and Arcot was surrendered.

Lally found it impossible to remain on the barren hill of Gingee, and he retreated with what remained of his army, to the vicinity of Pondicherry. In that city he renewed his quarrels with the council and all the French authorities, blaming them for the destitute state of his troops, and calling them embezzlers and speculators; and they, retorting, accused him of folly, imbecility, treachery, and even cowardice. During these disgraceful scenes, the French flag was struck down from nearly every place where it had yet floated; Timery surrendered, Devi Cottah was evacuated, Trinomalee surrendered, Permacoil and Alamparva were taken by storm, and the whole country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was laid waste by fire and sword. Carical,

the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was soon invested by an armament sent from Madras, and by a detachment which descended from Trichinopoly; the garrison made a miserable defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April, before a relief despatched by Lally could reach. The fall of Vellore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore followed in rapid succession. By the 1st of May, the English, who had been considerably reinforced, encamped within four miles of Pondicherry; and the French, who had received no succour from their mother-country, were cooped up in that strong town. Our fleet, now under Admirals Cornish and Stevens, had also been strengthened, and was collected on the Coromandel coast. In his extremity Lally turned his eyes towards the country of Mysore, where Hyder Ali, who was soon to fill a wider scene, had established his authority by force of arms, intrigue, and treachery. A bargain was concluded, Hyder Ali agreeing to send droves of bullocks to feed the French, and troops to fight for them. A detachment sent by Coote to stop the march of Hyder's people was too weak for the purpose, and sustained a reverse; but when the Mysoreans obtained a nearer view of the English army, and a correcter notion of the condition of the French, they broke their compact and marched back to their own country, troops and bullocks. Some companies of the royal artillery had arrived before, and about the time of the Mysorean advance, a further reinforcement of 600 men landed on the coast. Those and more forces continued to pour in to Coote, and still not a ship, not a man, not a barrel of beef or biscuit, arrived to sustain the French.

On the night of the 4th of September, Lally made a sortie, in the hope of surprising the English camp; but his troops no longer acted with concert or spirit; one of his columns of attack lagged behind, and the whole project failed. Unfortunately, the Court of Directors had sent out by the last ships from England their orders that Colonel Coote should return to Bengal, and that Major Monson, the officer next under him, should take the command on the Coromandel coast. Although on the very point of completing his brilliant campaign by the reduction of the French capital in India, Coote, without murmur, submitted to the instructions of his employers. He even consented that his own British regiment—one of the best in the country—should remain at the siege of Pondicherry to gain laurels for

another. But the chances of war overset or postponed the execution of the Directors' orders: Major Monson was dangerously wounded in making an attack, and, being for the time incapable of duty, joined the council in entreating Colonel Coote, who had not yet sailed for Bengal, to resume the command. Coote stayed where he was; and the siege of Pondicherry, after the cessation of the rains, at the end of November, was pressed with vigour. Having consumed such provisions as (by some inexplicable means) he had procured, nothing was left to the fiery, proud man, who had arrived in India, with the confident hope of extirpating the English, but to yield; and, on the 4th of January, a commissioner from Lally, and a deputation from the council of Pondicherry, repaired to the English camp, and made an unconditional surrender to Colonel Coote. By order of the council of Madras (who acted in conformity with orders received from the Court of Directors), immediate preparations were made for levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground.

The white flag of the Bourbons still floated over the hill-forts of Thiagur and Gingee; but the garrisons, isolated and without any hope of relief, surrendered; and by the beginning of April, the French had not so much as a single military post in all India.

M. Bussy, taken prisoner at the battle of Wandewash, had been instantly liberated upon parole by Coote, who respected his abilities as a soldier and his character as a man; and when this hero of the Golconda returned to France, he was received, at least by the public, with the honours due to a brave, adventurous, and able commander. He had remitted, from the Deckan and the Circars, a very considerable fortune; and shortly after his return to France, he married a niece of the minister, the Duc de Choiseul, which gained him the support of government, and raised him in favour at court. With Lally it fared otherwise: he was regarded with aversion and contempt by his conquerors, he left Pondicherry reproached and insulted by his own countrymen, and upon his arrival in France, he was hooted by the people and thrown into the Bastille by the government. From the Bastille he was afterwards removed to a common gaol. The French ministers of the day being borne down by a long succession of failures and defeats, were glad to avert the popular indignation from themselves. Therefore,

they made a scape-goat of the Hiberno-Frenchman. Their East-India Company concurred with them, as did the party or friends of the members of the Pondicherry council. The unhappy man was brought to a public trial and to a public execution. He was dragged through the streets of Paris in a dung-cart to the Place de Grève, and was there beheaded.

In the mean while, Clive had been received with all honours in England, and had been raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Clive, of Plassey. But great changes took place in the English government, owing to the death of George II., the accession of George III., and the formation of the cabinet of Lord Bute, to replace that of Clive's friend and patron, Chatham. A peace with France was determined upon; and in the preliminary negotiations, Clive had the mortification to find that he was not consulted by the new ministry as to Indian affairs. Greatly was he irritated at seeing the treaty of peace restore Pondicherry and other places to the French; and he predicted that such measures would be productive of another hard struggle in India whenever war broke out again between England and France. Unable to gain Clive, the Bute administration leagued themselves with some directors of the East-India Company, who hated the hero of Plassey, and opened legal proceedings to deprive him of his wealth.

But while "The Daring in War" was thus being involved in the mazes of the law, and the Company were battling with the man who had re-established their declining power in India, and gained for them provinces equal to kingdoms, news arrived in England that the garrison and all the English residents at Patna had been massacred; that revolutions, undertaken and made by the council at Calcutta, had proved wretched failures; and that everything in Bengal was falling into confusion and ruin. This being officially announced, it was instantly felt, even by the most violent of his enemies, that Clive alone could remedy these evils; and overtures were made to him for his instant return to India.*

* Orme, 'Military Transactions.' Major M. Wilks, 'Historical Sketches of the South of India; an Attempt to trace the History of Mysore,' &c. French Account of the Trial of M. Lally. Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.'

CHAPTER IX.

SAILING for the third and last time for India, Clive reached Calcutta on the 3rd of May, 1765, and there found all things in confusion and disorganization. He told the council that he had come out to effect a thorough reform in their selfish bad conduct, the source of most of the mischief which had happened; that it was his resolution to effect a thorough reform, and for that end, to make use of the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been intrusted to him.

During Clive's five years' absence from India, the gentlemen of the council and the governor, Mr. Vansittart, had proceeded without any fixed plan, without consistency, and without courage. They had mixed with some native revolutions without any political aim, and they had interfered with others without generosity, and without justice. They had sunk and were fast sinking the moral influence of England.

At the period when Clive had taken his departure from the country, in February, 1760, it was rumoured that the Shah Zada had collected another army, and was again advancing upon Patna and Moorshedabad. The vizier and master at Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada pretended in the first instance to have taken up arms, murdered the imbecile Great Mogul in a fit of desperation. After this event, the Shah Zada took the state and title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who had shown no great devotion to his person or fortunes the year before, when the prince was flying before Clive. Shah Alum—"King of the World," was the name which the new impotent Mogul chose for himself. With the assistance of the nabob of Oude, he collected a numerous army, advanced to Patna, and defeated the governor, Ramnarrain, who had been left by the Calcutta government with only seventy Europeans and one weak

battalion of English sepoy. But Colonel Calliaud coming up with 300 English, 1,000 sepoy, and a native force, commanded by Meeran, the son of Meer Jaffier, completely routed Shah Alum, and compelled him once more to retire from before Patna. As, however, Meeran would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Mahratta horse joined the other side, the young Mogul, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the route of Moorsshedabad, being also joined, at this time, by the erratic M. Law, and his small body of French.* But, being followed up by our sepoy, Shah Alum set fire to his camp and fled towards Oude. Yet, encouraged by the junction of the naib of Purneah, who, after many intrigues threw off the mask, and repaired to the imperial standard with a considerable force, Shah Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to Patna, which had been left almost void of troops. Mr. Fullerton, a Scotch surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were gallantly repulsed by the English factory; but at length, the weak rampart was scaled by the French, and hope was nearly abandoned by the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had rapidly marched from Moorsshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works.

A few days after, Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about 300 native horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna, and completely defeated the naib of Purneah with his 12,000 men. The naib was hotly pursued by Colonel Calliaud and Meeran. But on the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the chase, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and on that night, the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants. After this evil omen, Meeran's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna. He quartered his troops in and round that important place. But Meeran's people went to Moorsshedabad, where they threatened the life of their ruler Meer Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of arrears. Other bodies

* This will-o'-the-whisp, M. Law, is said to have been a son or nephew of the celebrated Scotch financier Law, who had driven all France mad with the famous Mississippi scheme, the parent of the *South Sea* scheme, which had produced an equal madness in England. He had previously been serving in the Carnatic against Clive and Laurence.

of discontented men took up arms against the old nabob, whose coffers were quite empty. The weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas.

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

Governor Vansittart went in person to Moorshedabad, with a strong armed force, to *persuade* Meer Jaffier to resign his power into the hands of his son-in-law. The old nabob hesitated, but his palace was surrounded by our troops, his own army declared against him, and thereupon he sent out the seals to Meer Cossim, and offered to resign if the English would only be security for his life. The old man, with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, the only place where he could be safe; and his son-in-law, Meer Cossim Ali, was proclaimed nabob. Having procured some money, the new ruler payed the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and sent six or seven lacs of rupees to the treasury at Calcutta.

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

Meer Cossim was incessantly called upon by Mr. Vansittart and the Calcutta council for more and more money;

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

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment of Ramnarrain was the cessation of all friendly correspondence between the English and the native nobility. Thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to the Company, these chiefs made offers of their money and their services; and Meer Cossim flattered himself that he might soon be strong enough to defy the English authority. Quarrels broke out about duties upon merchandise, and the nabob's right of searching English boats, and of examining English bales. The vacillation and infirmity of purpose displayed by Mr. Vansittart and his council led the nabob to despise what he and all Bengal had so long feared. He seized two of the Company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his own hands, and destroying the English detachment there stationed. Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council, against the advice of Warren Hastings and others, resolved to anticipate the nabob's design, and sent orders to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to seize upon the citadel. Ellis, a violent man, no sooner got the orders than he acted upon them, by surprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night, on the 24th of June, 1763. Meer Cossim's rage was like that of the tiger. Exclaiming against the treachery of the Company, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna; he murdered two Hindū bankers, supposed

to be attached to the English interests ; threw forward a great army to Patna, drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from their factory to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved disgracefully, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for companions in misery their countrymen from Cossimbuzar, that factory having been attacked and plundered by the nabob.

The astounded governor and council of Calcutta now saw nothing better to do than to let loose old Meer Jaffier upon his son-in-law, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. Having issued his mandates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, as rightful and indisputable nabob, the old man joined the English, who were now taking the field and advancing in force upon Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were routed; but they made head again near Geriah, whither Meer Cossim sent nearly all his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoy, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by a European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally called a German, and is known to have first gone to India as a serjeant in the French army. Sir John Malcolm, however, says that he was told by a well-informed person that he was not a German, but a Frenchman or Swiss, of the name of *Sombre*, which, perhaps, had been only his *nom de guerre* when in the French service. His deeds were sombre enough !

On the 24th of July the English dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition. On the 2nd of August Meer Cossim risked a battle in the open plain near Gheriah. Our force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy, and some squadrons of native horse. Meer Cossim's army was as ten to one ; it was supported by an immense train of artillery ; the sepoy under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered in Bengal.

Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours, with warm and close firing. Our 84th regiment, attacked both in front and rear, was at one moment in great danger, and some daring and almost successful movements were made under the eye of Sumroo. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon, and of 150 boats that lay close by in the Ganges loaded with provisions. They fled to an intrenched camp, which had been formed on the banks of the Oodwah.

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

Murdering one or two more chiefs, Meer Cossim fled from Monghir towards Patna. The English advanced, and laid siege to Monghir, which had been strongly fortified, and which was defended by 2,000 sepoys. Early in October, after nine days of open trenches, the garrison surrendered. Meer Cossim, who had entertained the hope that it could repulse our army, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken prisoners, together with Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna. The European adventurer, Sumroo, or Sombre, undertook the execution, and personally directed the massacre, of 150 Englishmen—every soldier, every officer, and every servant of the Company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon.

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

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

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp: many of the sepoys deserted to the enemy, and whole companies of Europeans, chiefly French, and Germans, and Swiss, who had been formerly in the French service, marched off for Benares with their arms and accoutrements. Major Carnac, who now arrived to take the command, deemed it prudent to retreat from the frontier of Oude to the city of Patna, for provisions had grown scarce, and the mutinous spirit seemed to continue. After a short interval, Carnac was followed by the united armies of Sujah Dowlah, Meer Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3rd of May, by what seemed an overwhelming force, foremost in which was the devil Sumroo, with the best of his disciplined infantry. But Carnac stood like a rock; attack after attack was repulsed, and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been immense. The two nabobs and the poor Mogul fled, rather than retreated, from Bahar into Oude. Shortly after the battle of Patna, Major Hector Monro came up with considerable reinforcements of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro determined to blow twenty-four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. The victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their English officers, had been caught marching off by night to join the enemy. They had been tried by a field court-martial, composed of their own black officers, who had found them guilty of mutiny and desertion. When four of them had suffered, and the fifth was being tied to the gun's mouth, the sepoys tumultuously declared that the executions should stop there. Monro ordered the artillery officers to load with grape, and turn their guns on the native regiments; he drew up his

Europeans in the intervals between the guns, and called upon the sepoys to ground their arms. The men obeyed, and the executions went on. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.

At the close of the rainy season, on the 15th September, Major Monro led his reformed army against the enemy, carrying with him no more than provisions enough for eight days. On the 22nd of October, having crossed the Sona in the teeth of their cavalry, he reached the vicinity of their intrenched camp at Buxar, and on the following morning he gave them a defeat, which entirely broke the power of the nabob of Oude, the only Mogul prince we had to fear. Leaving 130 pieces of artillery on the field, Sujah Dowlah fled for Lucknow, cursing his allies who had hurried him into this war. Instead of following him, Shah Alum, the unsteady Mogul, came and pitched his tents close to the English army, sought an interview with our chief officers, vowed that Sujah Dowlah had treated him rather as a state prisoner than as an emperor, and proposed entering into a treaty of amity and close alliance with the Company. Monro, with the Mogul in his train, marched on through Oude. When he reached the holy city of Benares, Sujah Dowlah sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the Company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country. Monro refused to treat unless the nabob previously delivered to the English Meer Cossim and Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah, who had quarrelled with the ex-nabob and seized all the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim to give up all thoughts of dominion and flee to a distant country. As for Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, purposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentleman Major Monro might choose to send to witness the punishment. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiation was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Shah Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English the country of Gazipore, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwunt Sing, the zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the

city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Sujah Dowlah.

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

About four months before General Carnac's great victory, the nabob Meer Jaffier died at Moorshedabad, thus rendering necessary new political arrangements. Moreover, on the very day of that victory, Lord Clive had arrived at Calcutta with powers to set right all that had been done wrong during his absence. A few days after his defeat at Corah, Sujah Dowlah, having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy and magnanimity of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac. He assured the general that Meer Cossim had fled into Rohilcund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the Company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he (Sujah Dowlah) was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans.

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

Dowlah engaged to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. Shah Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been nothing without the presence of the armies of the Company, granted to the English the dewanee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; in return for which, he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad, Corah, and the Douab, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewanee, which, in fact, constituted the Company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant, the young emperor confirmed the rights of the Company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India.

The grant was presented by the young Mogul, in great state, to Lord Clive, about the middle of August, 1765.*

* Scott, 'History of Bengal.' Orme, 'Vansittart's own Narrative.' 'Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, by his Son.' Verelst, 'View of the English Government in Bengal.'

CHAPTER X.

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

On the death of Meer Jaffier (some four months before Clive's return to India), the council at Calcutta had conferred the nominal sovereignty of Bengal on that nabob's eldest surviving son, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, a spiritless, imbecile youth. The dictator in India, for such Lord Clive now was, strongly disapproved of the revolution effected by the Company in deposing Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his own making ; but he did not admire Meer Jaffier's son, and soon compelled him to retire from all public business on a pension of thirty-two lacs of rupees.

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

but, at the same time, he adopted measures which might give the civil servants of the Company, whose pay had hitherto been miserably low, a proper maintenance, and a fair chance of acquiring fortunes by ability, application, and perseverance.

After settling with the men of the pen, the civil servants, Clive had to struggle with the bolder men who held the sword, and to encounter, what is always hard for an old soldier to bear, the ill-will and reproaches of old companions in arms. He proceeded to set limits to the practice of giving additional pay, or, as it was called, "double batta," a practice first introduced after the battle of Plassey, when the nabob Meer Jaffier paid expenses. On the 1st of January, 1766, Clive issued an order, that "double batta" to the European officers, the only class that now claimed it, should cease, except at Allahabad, where the troops were considered as actually in the field; and, generally, that the army in Bengal should be put on the same footing as that on the Coromandel coast, by whom no "batta" was drawn, except when marching or serving in the field. After remonstrating, 200 English officers resigned in one day, apparently in full confidence that Clive would be intimidated. Stern and unmoved, his lordship wrote to the Calcutta council, "Such a spirit must, at all hazards, be suppressed at the birth;" and he desired the council to write to Madras, in order that every officer, every cadet that could be spared from that presidency, should be held in readiness to embark for Bengal. He had still a few officers near his person on whom he could rely, and having in his own personal experience some reason to know that a young writer or clerk might soon be turned into a good soldier, he gave commissions to several young gentlemen in the mercantile service. He was well backed by General Carnac, Colonel Smith, and other superior officers; he knew that the English soldiery were steady, and that the sepoys would stand by him—their idol—in any extremity. Therefore, he quitted Moorshedabad, where he had been arranging matters of trade and finance, and advanced with a small escort to Monghir, the head-quarters of the rebellious officers, declaring that he must see the soldier's bayonet levelled at his throat before he could give way an inch. Immediately on his arrival at Monghir, Clive addressed the soldiers, explained the crimes of their officers; mentioned his own recent donation of

£70,000 to the European portion of the army,* and ordered double pay to the sepoys for two months. To the devoted sepoys he committed the care of escorting a number of the mutinous officers to Fort William. In a short time, and with the greatest ease, all the ringleaders were arrested, tried by a court-martial, and cashiered. The younger offenders were treated with lenity, and, when his indignation was cooled, Clive scorned to take any vengeance for the many personal wrongs and insults he had received. Upon being told that one of the mutinous officers had planned his assassination, he stopped the charge with a short sentence—"No! the officers are Englishmen, not assassins." He adopted several wise regulations to check that luxury and extravagance, that gambling and dissipation, which had demoralized the English officers. In the course of a very few weeks he could announce that discipline and subordination were restored, and that everything was as quiet and as well regulated as could be wished.

Clive showed a disinterestedness which was rare and heroic. He aimed at a reform which, in the end, must prove beneficial to the oppressors and to the oppressed; to the poor natives, to the servants of the Company, to the Company itself, and to the British nation. The servants of the Company would have enabled him to double or treble his fortune, if he had consented to connivance; the neighbouring princes of India would have paid any price for his assistance in their several schemes of aggrandizement; but he cast all these temptations behind him, making no merit of his refusals, which did not come to light till after his death. He always affirmed that this last visit to India diminished the fortune he had previously made.†

Having, as he considered, done all that he came to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again seriously affected. The nervous malady to which, from time to time, he had been a prey ever since his youth, was now accompanied by the bodily and mental horrors that arise

* A legacy of £70,000 was bequeathed by Meer Jaffer to Clive, who paid it into the Company's treasury at Fort William, to lie at interest for the support of European officers and soldiers who might be disabled in the Company's service in Bengal, and for the widows of officers and soldiers who might die on the service of that presidency. The Company afterwards extended this provision, but the fund still bears the name of "Clive."

† Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.'

from continuous bile and a diseased liver; and he was occasionally attacked by spasms, which endangered his life, or his reason. On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended a meeting of the select committee for the last time. In ending an address, he said, "I leave the country in peace; I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination: it is your duty to keep them so."

At the end of January he took his final farewell of India, embarking for England in the good ship *Britannia*.

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

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Lord Clive.' Id., 'Political History of India.' Scott, 'History of Bengal.'

CHAPTER XI.

A FEW months after Lord Clive's departure, the fierce Afghans created some alarm by marching again upon Delhi ; but they came only for plunder, and soon returned to their own mountains. In the course of the same year, the presidency of Bengal made a feeble attempt to restore a dispossessed rajah of Nepaul to his dominions. The country of Nepaul, surrounded by mountains and forests, was found too difficult of access, and the officer in command of our weak detachment thought proper to return.

In the Carnatic, the flames of war were rekindled by Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, whom we have seen in brief alliance with M. Lally.

Hyder, the son of a distinguished robber, began life as a freebooter. Making himself considerable by the number of his followers, he was received into the service and favour of the rajah of Mysore, a Hindū prince, who governed according to the ancient religion and laws of the country. Hyder was a Mussulman, but it does not appear that all his followers were of that faith. By degrees the bold adventurer acquired more horses, oxen, camels, and elephants, more money, and the command of more men, than his benefactor the rajah ; and he accordingly made war upon that prince, defeated him, took him prisoner, pensioned him off with three lacs of rupees per annum, and kept possession of all his dominions. Hyder's army was originally formed out of the freebooting bands and erratic tribes that abounded in Western India, and that looked for no other reward than the privilege of plunder.

By the end of the year 1761, Hyder Ali's authority seemed firmly established in Mysore, a country enclosed by the Eastern and Western Ghauts, about 210 miles in length by 140 in average breadth, consisting of a high table-land nearly 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. From this

table-land rise many lofty hills, and clusters of hills, containing the sources of nearly all the rivers that intersect and fertilize the low countries of India. The climate, exempt from burning heats, may be called mild; the soil is fertile, and no part of India produces such fine flocks and herds.* The son of a robber might well have rested content with such an inheritance; but his own disposition, and the habits of the marauders in his service, led him to look to an extension of dominion or to the plunder of the neighbouring states. The physical geography of Mysore was favourable to aggression and to defence. While Hyder had at least seven or eight passes by which he could descend into the Carnatic, there was only one good pass by which he could be attacked or approached by an enemy on that side.

At first, however, Hyder limited his operation to the subjugation of several minor rajahs and polygars, whose territories lay within the limits of Mysore, but who had set the power of his predecessor on the musnud at defiance. Gooty, Balapoor, Harponelly, Chitteldroog, Bednore, and other districts, were rapidly reduced. The booty he made in Bednore was immense; for, situated among lofty mountains, that district had for a long time escaped the visitations of war. Its capital city (also called Bednore) is said to have contained at this time 20,000 houses. According to native authorities, the spoils of this city alone rendered to Hyder and his army about twelve millions sterling. He then overran the country to the north, and extended his dominions almost to the banks of the Kistna. But here his career was checked by the peishwa of the Mahrattas, who crossed the river with an immense army of horse, defeated him repeatedly, drove him back upon Mysore, and compelled him to pay thirty-two lacs of rupees.

Hyder, however, was soon in the field again. With rapidity and ease he conquered the rich Malabar provinces, and kept the country quiet by murdering nearly all the nairs, or Hindü chiefs. He was meditating fresh conquests when he was recalled to Seringapatam, by intelligence that the English, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deckan, had formed a league to check his encroachments.

The Deckan was no longer in the hands of Salibut Jung. That prince had been made a prisoner by his brother, Nizam

* Walter Hamilton, Esq., 'Geographical, Statistical, and Historical description of Hindüstan and the adjacent Countries.'

Ali, who occupied his throne, and respected his life, until the arrival of the treaty of Paris, which recognized Salibut Jung as lawful sovereign, and which thus induced Nizam Ali to give orders for his immediate murder. At first, the nizam was unfavourable to the English, and he had invaded the Carnatic, and made war upon our dependant, Mohammed Ali. But he had fled before Colonel Campbell and a small British force, and since that campaign he had concluded a treaty with the Company, confirming to them Forde's conquests in the Northern Circars, on condition of their paying a small quit-rent, and holding in readiness a body of their troops for his service, whenever he might demand such aid.

The peishwa soon covered the table-lands of Mysore with his cavalry. Colonel Smith followed with a small English corps, and the large but disorderly armies of the nabob of the Carnatic and the nizam of the Deccan. But before Smith could come up, the peishwa had consented to take from Hyder thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country, and break all his engagements with the nizam and the English. The faithless Mahratta had his match in our other ally, the nizam, who next negotiated a treaty with the ruler of Mysore, the scope of which was the expulsion of the Company from the Carnatic, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast.

Separating as quickly as might be from the nizam's army, Colonel Smith hastened to defend the Carnatic by taking possession of the ghauts or passes leading from Mysore into that country. But his force was far too small to secure all those passes against three numerous armies; Mahrattas, Mysoreans, and the best of the troops of the nizam, got down into the level country, and Smith's rear was soon threatened by the peishwa's rapid cavalry, and he was compelled to retreat, by forced marches, upon Changanama, a town about sixty miles from Madras. But before the colonel could reach that place, he was attacked by three armies. His well-disciplined infantry beat off their countless assailants; but while they were fighting, the Mahrattas got at their rice-bags, and to avoid starving, Smith's forces were obliged to continue their retreat, and to march night and day until they reached Trinomalee. Plundering, burning, and destroying, the enemy followed closely upon the steps of the colonel, who, receiving some reinforce-

ments at Trinomalee, issued from the town into the open country, which he endeavoured to save from these fire-brands. Having scarcely any cavalry, Smith's efforts were not very successful.

Seizing a favourable moment, Hyder Ali detached his son Tippoo, a youth of seventeen, to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras with 5,000 Mysorean horse. Tippoo's advance was so secret and so rapid, that he very nearly caught the members of the presidency and the wealthiest of the English in their country houses. The fortress of Madras had little to fear from cavalry attacks; but the town, the Black Town, the warehouses, villas, gardens, villages, all things in its vicinity, were carried off or destroyed, and the country, for miles, was made as bare as a desert. Tippoo retired as rapidly as he had advanced, and with great booty; but his father and his allies loitered in the open country, until they were attacked and signally defeated, near Trinomalee, by Colonel Smith. The nizam, who had been the first to fly from the field, had already had quite enough of this war, and was very anxious to be restored to the friendship of the English, whom he had so recently betrayed and deserted; and, after very little negotiation, he agreed to separate from the Mysoreans and Mahrattas. Hyder and the peishwa tried the fate of another battle, and were again beaten by Smith—and more soundly than before—near Amboor. Hyder and his ally then fled to Caverypatam, on the river Panaur.

The presidency of Madras now resolved to carry the war into the very heart of Hyder Ali's dominions. Colonel Smith, who had displayed much bravery and skill, received orders to march into Mysore. To favour his operations, the presidency of Bombay sent a force to fall upon Hyder's recent conquests in Malabar and Canara. Most unfortunately, the civilians who formed the presidency of Madras took it into their heads to direct the operations in the field, and sent to the army two members of council as field-deputies, who were to keep the campaign entirely under their own control. No war ever prospered under such a system. Hyder expelled our Bombay force in the west, and returned rapidly to the east to face Colonel Smith. He made overtures for a peace, but they were rejected by the two field-deputies. Because Colonel Smith treated these deputies, or their opinions on warlike matters, with little respect, the Madras presidency recalled that able officer, and

intrusted the command to Colonel Wood, who, in a very short time, abandoned every place which had been taken, retreated before Hyder, and even allowed himself to be surprised, beaten, and deprived of all his baggage. The presidency then superseded Wood, by Major Fitzgerald, who came up just in time to save the flying army from annihilation.

In the month of January, 1769, Hyder Ali rushed down once more into the Carnatic, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where, by virtue of the treaty of Paris, the French flag was again displayed.

As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded by the French as their own best friend. Several adroit Frenchmen issued from Pondicherry to join and advise the Mysorean chief. By these men Hyder was confirmed in the opinion he had previously formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in light cavalry, in cutting off their detachments, and in plundering the country from which they derived their supplies. Several English posts were surprised, and a considerable number of prisoners were sent off to Seringapatam. The open country was again devastated. The presidency of Madras now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled their two field-deputies. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm, Smith's operations were for the most part impeded and frustrated. After paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with the French there, Hyder Ali made a rush upon Madras with 6,000 horse. The fortress had lost none of its strength; but the town, and the Black Town, the warehouses, the country-houses, and the villages, were as defenceless as at the time of Tippoo's foray. The presidency eagerly proposed terms of peace, or eagerly listened to terms proposed by the Mysorean, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward, before Colonel Smith should double upon him and draw near to Madras. It was very soon agreed that Hyder Ali should restore whatever territory he had taken from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should do the same by him. The treaty of Madras, concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the peishwa and his Mahrattas, who swept everything before them, burning

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

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

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

Mohammed Ali, the nominal lord of the Carnatic, had induced the English to lend him aid in an expedition against the rajah of Tanjore, who had given great provocation to the presidency. Our old ally behaved in the most faithless manner, attempting to get all the gain and profit to himself, and to leave to us the expenses and the loss; but the expedition and the subsequent diplomacy terminated in the cession to the presidency of large and fertile tracts of land round Madura, together with the fortress of Vellum.

The rajah of Tanjore held a doubtful rule over the Maravars, the polygars of which district had formerly paid tribute and allegiance to the nabobs of the Carnatic. In the month of March, 1772, a force marched from Trichinopoly to reduce those chiefs. It consisted of 520 British infantry and artillery, three battalions of the Company's sepoys, six battering cannon, some of the nabob's horse, and

two battalions of sepoys in his pay. Omdut-ul-Omrah, the young nabob, accompanied the expedition, having previously been bound by the English not to make any treaties without their knowledge and consent. Ramanadporam, the capital of the greater Marawar, was taken by storm early in April, and by the middle of June, the troops of our ally, the nabob of the Carnatic, were put in possession of all the other forts in that country. The subjugation of the lesser Marawar was far more difficult, and is said to have been accompanied with cruelties, as well on the part of the English troops, as on that of the nabob's.

The whole war in the Marawars left a stain on our reputation. Before it was over, the nabob Mohammed Ali, greedy for more conquests, complained to the presidency of Madras, that the rajah of Tanjore had violated the recent treaty, by delaying payment of money, by applying for warlike assistance to the peishwa, and to Hyder Ali, and by encouraging those wild people the Cooleries to descend from their hills and ravage the outskirts of the Carnatic. The nabob offered ten lacs of pagodas,* and other advantages, if the English would only join him in another expedition against Tanjore; the presidency and council soon concluded that the political existence of the rajah of Tanjore was incompatible with their own safety; that it was dangerous to have such a separate independent power in the heart of the Carnatic; that the rajah, in case of a war breaking out in Europe, would be sure to join the French; and, finally, "that the propriety and expediency of embracing the present opportunity of reducing him entirely, before such an event took place, were evident." Mohammed Ali provided all the money, stores, and provisions for the expedition, and paid the Company for 10,000 sepoys, instead of 7,000, which was the force really employed. On the 18th of September, the often-assailed city of Tanjore was taken by assault, though defended by 20,000 fighting men. The unfortunate rajah and his family were made prisoners, and, to our disgrace, were allowed to be barbarously treated by the son and the people of the nabob of the Carnatic, in whom was now vested the long-coveted sovereignty of Tanjore.

* The pagoda was a gold coin, used principally in the South of India; it was called varaha by the Hindus, and hoon by the Mussulmans. Its value was about 6s. 8d.

In these bold and very irregular transactions, the presidency of Madras had proceeded on their own responsibility, without orders or instructions from the Court of Directors at home. At the beginning of the year 1775, Pigot, the correspondent and friend of Clive, who had quitted the post of governor of Madras in 1763, and who had since been raised to an Irish peerage, was reappointed by that court to the governorship. Lord Pigot arrived at Fort St. George on the 11th of December, 1775; and, though obstructed by all kinds of obstacles and intrigues, he proceeded forthwith to undo all that the presidency had done. The English garrison in Tanjore was reinforced, the rajah and his family were liberated; and in the month of April, 1776, Lord Pigot having repaired to that city, the rajah was re-proclaimed in his capital. At the same time his lordship wanted to reform the whole presidency of Madras, as his friend Clive had done that of Bengal. But Pigot was not, like his friend, a man of the sword—a man of iron. The council of Madras deposed his lordship, arrested him in his carriage, and placed him in confinement, suspending at the same time every member of the council that had voted with him. This audacious conduct produced astonishment and indignation at home. The Company recalled the members of the council who had displaced Lord Pigot, and restored his lordship to his office, but commanded him at the same time to return to England immediately, and deliver over the government to Sir Thomas Rumbold. But before these orders reached Madras, Lord Pigot was in his grave; his imprisonment had preyed upon his health and spirits, and he had died about eight months after his arrest.

Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived at Madras in February, 1778, and took the civil government upon himself, Major-General Hector Monro having the command of the military forces. By this time the Carnatic was again threatened by the arms of Hyder Ali and the French; but, before bringing the Mysorean through the ghauts with his 100,000 men, it will be necessary to narrate some acts of legislation for India, and other proceedings in England.*

* Colonel Wilks, 'Historical Sketches of the South of India, Mysore, &c. Dr. Buchanan, 'Journey from Madras through Mysore,' &c. Anonymous, 'The Goorka War,' 8vo. printed at Woodbridge, A.D. 1822.

CHAPTER XII.

FOR many years Indian affairs attracted very little attention either in the parliament or in the country. This ceased to be the case after the last return of Lord Clive. The territorial acquisitions, exaggerated even beyond their real extent and vast importance, were forced upon the serious consideration of the somewhat drowsy ministry of the day.

In April, 1769, an act was passed confirming to the Company the revenues of the countries they had acquired for five years to come, upon consideration of their paying the British government £400,000 per annum, and exporting to India, annually, certain quantities of British manufactures, etc.

At the same time, the Court of Directors resolved to send out three supervisors, to complete the work of reformation and put the revenues and finances under better management. Of the three gentlemen selected for this purpose, one had already given proofs, in Bengal, of his incapacity and unfitness; but the other two were men of energy and of eminent ability. They were Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Forde, the conqueror of the Circars. They never reached India, for the royal frigate which carried them foundered at sea.

Without supervisors, the government of Bengal was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but in less than two years, it was notified by the Court of Directors to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had continued to rise in estimation, that he was nominated to the place of second in council; and that whenever Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take the government upon himself.

In opening the session of parliament in January, 1772, the speech from the throne had, by implication, recommended to attention India, and our possessions there, as being among the dependencies of the British empire, of which it was said,

that "some of them, as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuses and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection may become necessary."

About two months after this royal speech, Mr. Sullivan, deputy-chairman of the Court of Directors (an old and bitter antagonist of Clive), moved, in his place in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill "for the better Regulation of the affairs of the East-India Company, and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in Bengal." Sullivan's principal object in the speech he delivered was to shift all blame from the Court of Directors, and to throw it wholly and solely upon the servants of the Company abroad. He did not spare the great Clive himself; but pointed at him as the fountain-head of mischief. The conqueror of Plassey, the real founder and father of our Indian empire, who had granted innumerable favours to dependants and clients without securing gratitude, had few steady friends, and innumerable and implacable enemies. The whole crew of robbers and oppressors, whom he had driven from Bengal during his last governorship, now fell upon him for revenge. They assailed him in parliament, they abused him in the East-India Court of Proprietors, they calumniated him in pamphlets, and they set up lying newspapers for no other purpose than to abuse him. No single man can reply with effect to a continuous multiplied fire like this; and Clive was too proud to reply at all. He soon came to be considered a monster in human shape. It was in vain that he was kind and liberal to his servants, bountiful to his friends, generous on all occasions, affectionate to his family, kind-hearted and hospitable; men persisted in considering him as an incarnation of wickedness, laying to his charge all the bad acts of all the English in India, including many which had been committed in his absence, and others which he had manfully put down and severely punished.

About a fortnight before the opening of the present session of parliament, the Court of Directors, by their secretary, had informed his lordship that they had lately received several papers containing charges respecting his management of affairs in Bengal, and that copies of these papers were enclosed. The charges were signed by no one, and they were vague as well as anonymous. Clive proudly replied to the directors, that

upon the public records of the Company they might find a sufficient confutation of the papers they had transmitted to him, and that he could not but suppose, that if any part of his conduct had been injurious to the service, contradictory to his engagements, or even mysterious, four years and a half since his return to England would not have elapsed without his being called to account. Sullivan, however, in his vindictive, recriminatory speech in the Commons, alluded to these vague anonymous charges. Clive had been for some time a member of that house, but he had seldom spoken before, and on those few occasions in a brief and homely or negligent manner; but now, in replying to Sullivan, he astonished and electrified the assembly, and convinced the most practised and applauded speakers of that eloquent epoch that he might easily have made himself a great orator.

“The house,” said Clive, “will give me leave to remove evil impressions, and to endeavour to restore myself to its favourable opinion. Nor do I wish to lay my conduct before this house only; I speak likewise to my country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance, but with alacrity.” He rapidly sketched the history of his proceedings during his last mission to Calcutta, which had been selected for these hostile charges. He told the house how he had cleansed that Augean stable, and how this process had raised him a host of enemies. “It is that conduct,” he exclaimed, “which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me. It is that conduct which has occasioned these charges. But it is that conduct which enables me now, when my day of judgment is come, to look my judges in the face. It is that conduct which enables me to lay my hand upon my heart and most solemnly declare to this house, to the gallery, and to the whole world at large, that I never, in a single instance, lost sight of what I thought the honour and true interest of my country and the Company, that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to justice can be deemed so. As to extortion or monopoly, such an idea never entered into my mind. So far from reaping any benefit from the last expedition, I returned to England many thousand pounds out of pocket.” One of the insinuations was, that during that mission he had made money by monopolizing cotton. To this he replied in

scorn and evident irritation,—“Trade was not my profession,—my line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been at the head of an army. As to cotton, I know no more about it than the pope of Rome!”

From a triumphant defence of his own conduct, Clive proceeded to attack that of others, and to throw back the blame on his accusers. “I attribute,” he said, “the present bad situation of affairs to four causes: a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts.” He argued that all the evils were aggravated by the system of annual elections at Leadenhall-street; that the directors thus elected were too dependent on the proprietors of Indian stock, who returned them; that one half of the year was employed by the directors in discharging obligations contracted by their last election, and the second half of the year spent in incurring new obligations for securing their election the next year by clandestine bargains with the stock-holders and others. Hence, he said, the directors had not proper time for the despatch of the Company’s business, and the orders sent out to India had been so fluctuating, and frequently so unintelligible, that the servants in the country had, in many instances, followed their own opinions rather than their orders.

The first Pitt, now earl of Chatham, was that night under the gallery of the Commons, and he declared that Clive’s speech was “one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in that house.” One effect of the speech was, that the assailing party changed their points of attack, and, leaving his last administration in India as invulnerable, turned their arms against the events and deeds of his earlier life. In April, 1772, a select committee of inquiry was appointed by the House of Commons. The members of this select committee, thirty-one in number, were elected by ballot, yet it so chanced that many of them were personal enemies of the great man. The committee had made little progress when parliament rose.

The parliament had hardly risen when the pecuniary embarrassments of the Company became too great and pressing to be concealed. Bills were falling due, without money to meet them. It appeared that by the end of October there

would be a deficit of £1,293,000. On the 15th of July the directors applied to the Bank of England for a loan of £400,000, and obtained it. On the 29th of July they asked for a further loan of £300,000, but only got £200,000, the bank directors being now somewhat alarmed.

Clive's system of economy, regularity, and vigilance, had been abandoned as soon as he had left India, and disastrous circumstances, which he could not foresee, had occurred in that country. The presidency of Madras, with its new wars in the Carnatic, the Marawars and Tanjore, had acted as a continual drain on the treasury of Calcutta; extensive fortifications and cantonments, which Clive considered wholly useless, had been undertaken at Calcutta and other places in Bengal; engineers, contractors, and all engaged in their construction, being allowed to make the wildest bargains and the most extravagant profits. Nefarious abuses, which Clive would have stopped with the strong hand, had crept into the commissariat and all other departments of the public service; and, finally, the rich plains of India had been depopulated by a terrible famine.

This will account for the greater part of the present embarrassments in Leadenhall-street; but the directors, in order to captivate the shareholders and the general courts, had increased the deficit by augmenting the dividends on Indian stock. On the 10th of August, Mr. Sullivan and the chairman waited upon Lord North, the premier, to announce the insolvency and ruin of the East-India Company as inevitable, if they were not allowed to borrow at least £1,000,000 more from the public. It happened to them, as to others, when reduced to the condition of borrowers: those from whom they asked money gave them advice and interfered in their affairs. They were at the mercy of ministers, and ministers soon determined to remodel their constitution, and make several important changes, notwithstanding the letter of their charters—charters which had been granted, under totally different circumstances, to a body of traders and merchant adventurers, and not to merchant princes and lords and masters of provinces and kingdoms. For the present, however, Lord North received the chairman and deputy-chairman with coldness and reserve, referring them to parliament for the solution of their financial difficulties.

At the re-opening of parliament in 1773, Lord North, who

was dissatisfied with the select committee appointed in the preceding session, moved that a SECRET committee of only thirteen members should be appointed, with powers to inspect the books and accounts of the East-India Company, which, in spite of a violent opposition from the East-India directors and others, *was* appointed. Colonel Burgoyne, a leader of the party opposed to government, a loud and impetuous debater, and chairman of the select committee (at the same time a virulent foe of Clive), vindicated the proceedings of the select committee, declaring that its inquiries, if allowed to proceed, would disclose such a scene of iniquity, rapine, and cruelty as had never been discovered until then.

Though Clive stood high in favour at court, and was duly esteemed as a brave and great man by George III., the timid government was not disposed to make any invidious exertion in his favour; it was agreed that the *select* committee should be continued; and thus there were two committees of inquiry proceeding with their investigations at the same time. In a very few days the committee of secrecy recommended measures which went to lower the political powers of the Company.

The dissatisfied Court of Directors had still no resource but in parliament, and on the 9th of March, 1773, they humbly petitioned the Commons for a loan of one million and a half for four years, at four per cent. interest. Ministers offered to lend them £1,400,000, and to give up the claim of £400,000 a year, which the Company had been paying from their territorial revenues, till this debt should be discharged, but insisted upon binding them strictly not to raise their dividends above six per cent. until the liquidation of this debt.* By complying with these and some other conditions and restrictions, the Company were to remain in possession of all the territories they had acquired for six years to come, when their charter would expire. The Company petitioned against these terms as harsh, arbitrary, and illegal: but all was of no avail; they could not do without the money; the minister was determined to let them have it only on his own conditions, and everything proposed was carried in the house by a large majority.

* For some time the dividends had been at 12 per cent. In March, 1772, they had been raised to 12½. Then came the great pressure; and in February, 1773, the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors themselves had reduced the dividends to 6 per cent.

Clive and others had represented to Lord North, and also to the king, that the constitution of the East-India House ought to be un-democratized; that the Court of Proprietors was a bear-garden, ever full of noise, intrigue, confusion, and anarchy; and that its direct influence and action on the Court of Directors was an obstacle to all good management and consistent government. On the 3rd of May, Lord North introduced a series of propositions, tending to a beneficial change in that constitution. The principal of these (afterwards embodied in a bill) were—1st. That the Court of Directors should in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold seats for longer than four years. 2nd. That the qualification stock should be £1,000, instead of £500; that £3,000 should give two votes, and £6,000 three votes. 3rd. That, in lieu of the mayor's court at Calcutta, the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes, a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England, their servants and dependants, residing within the Company's territories in Bengal. 4th. That a governor-general, with four councillors, should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the presidencies. This board was to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the Court of Directors, who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of their despatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinances they themselves might make; and these were, if disapproved by his majesty, to become null and void. The nomination of the first governor-general and members of council was vested in parliament, and was to continue five years, after which term those high offices were to be filled up by the Court of Directors, but still subject to the approbation of the crown.

Lastly, it was to be enacted, that no person in India, in the service either of the king or of the Company, should henceforth be allowed to receive any presents from the native nabobs, rajahs, ministers, agents, or others; and that the governor-general, members of council and judges, should be excluded from all commercial pursuits and profits.

This "Regulating Act," as they called it, was to come into operation, in England on the 1st of October, 1773, and in India on the 1st of August, 1774.

In the mean while, both Indian committees of the House of Commons, the select and the secret, had continued their occupations. The first of the two, urged on by Colonel Burgoyne, and others of its members, from whom candour and impartiality were not to be expected, had taken a most inquisitorial and personal turn. Lord Clive was subjected to incessant examinations and cross-examinations; mutilated evidence was received as good evidence; and no opportunity was lost of taunting the hero with rapacity and avarice, or of adding insult to injury. It may be safely doubted, whether there was one of Clive's accusers and tormentors that would, at Moorsheadabad, have rested satisfied with the large sum he took for himself when it was so easy to make it ten or twenty times larger. On one occasion, when irritated in the extreme by Burgoyne's select committee, and when the scenes of the past were forced upon his mind and upon his vision as a present reality, he vividly described his entrance into Moorsheadabad, and into the rich treasury of the flying tyrant Suraj-u-Dowlah:—there was the new nabob, Meer Jaffer, a creature of his making, and absolutely dependent on his will; there was a populous and opulent city offering immense sums to be saved from a plunder which was never intended; there were the Hindū seits, or bankers, bidding against each other for his favour; there were vaults piled with gold, and crowned with rubies and diamonds, and he was at liberty to help himself;—and then, bursting away from a picture as dazzling as Sinbad's valley of diamonds, he exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

On the 10th of May, 1773, Burgoyne brought up the report of the select committee, which was little else than an unmitigated anathema. It went over the whole of Clive's early Indian history. The Black-hole and its horrors were all forgotten; the cruelty, the perfidy of Suraj-u-Dowlah were consigned to the same charitable oblivion; and it was represented by Colonel Burgoyne (who had no friend or brother in the horrible catastrophe at Calcutta), that the dethronement of that tyrant was the greatest of crimes, and the real cause of all the revolutions and mischiefs which

had ensued since then. Burgoyne proposed nothing less than that Clive should be stripped of his wealth, as it had been extorted by military force.

The hero of Plassey made another most able speech, but a speech not calculated to conciliate any party in the House of Commons. He once more referred to the honours he had received, not merely from the Company, but also from the crown, in consequence of the very exploits and acts for which they were now arraigning him like a felon; and he concluded by saying,—“If the record of my services at the India House, if the defence I have twice made in this house, and if the approbation I have already met with, is not an answer to the attack that has been made upon me, I certainly can make none.”

On the 19th of May, Clive was ably defended by Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Rose Fuller, and others, and he again most ably defended himself. The termination of all these vexatious proceedings was a full acquittal, and a vote of the house that Robert Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

But “the be all and the end all” was not there, nor could depend on parliamentary motions and votes and resolutions. “The Daring in War” had received his *dimitimus* from orators’ tongues, or, at the least, his mind and body had been so harassed for many months, and his cruel maladies so exacerbated thereby, that there no longer remained in him a gleam of health, or hope, or cheerfulness. He had been acquitted—he had been applauded; some of the highest in rank and character at home, and some of the most liberal and intellectual abroad, testified their admiration, and admired him the more for the ordeal he had gone through; but he could not be comforted, he brooded over the indignity of having been accused, not only of horrible crimes, but of mean petty vices,—of having been treated—he the Baron of Plassey—by the select committee, more like a sheep-stealer than a member of the house. He sought some alleviation to his acute sufferings in a visit to Bath, and then in a short excursion on the continent; but he found none. His liver was entirely deranged, his attacks of bile were frequent and fearful; he suffered excruciating agonies from gall-stones. He had always been subject to dreadful fits of depression. It is said that, in one of these, when cooped up in Fort St. George, as a poor clerk, he twice

attempted to destroy himself, and twice the pistol missed fire; upon which, it is added, he examined the pistol, saw that it was well loaded, and then threw it from him with an exclamation, that he must certainly be destined for something great or extraordinary. In the month of November of the year which followed his acquittal (1774), being at his town-mansion in Berkeley-square, he had a violent access of the most painful of his maladies. He had recourse to powerful doses of opium. The drug did not soothe, and a paroxysm of irritability was added to the paroxysm of the disease; in the course of the 22nd of that dreary month, he died by his own hand. He had only just completed his forty-ninth year.*

* 'Annual Register.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Life of Clive.' 'Parliamentary History.'

CHAPTER XIII.

IN proceeding to the choice of the first governor-general of Bengal, in pursuance of the "Regulating Act," there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the post. Long experience in India, proved capacity, indefatigable industry, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who was accordingly named by the new parliamentary authority. Clive had considered him the best man that could be selected, and had hastened to congratulate him on the honour of being the first GOVERNOR-GENERAL. The four members of council appointed with Mr. Hastings, and, unhappily, each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Philip Francis.

Warren Hastings began his administration at Calcutta under numerous disadvantages. The famine, to which allusion has been made, occurred in 1770, under the government of Cartier, and only a few months before Hastings took that gentleman's place. In the summer of 1769, the periodical rains had failed; hence the earth was parched up, the tanks for the purposes of irrigation became empty, the rivers shrank within their beds, and the rice and other crops failed. As the Hindüs, on religious grounds, make little or no use of animal food, they perished by thousands. It was calculated that, in all, from one-fourth to one-third of the teeming population of Bengal was swept away.

A short time before the breaking out of the famine, Syef-al-Dowla, the son and successor of Meer Jaffier, died of the small-pox, and his brother, Muharek-al-Dowla, a mere boy, was appointed to the musnud. By order of the Court of Directors, Warren Hastings, during the nonage of the nabob, reduced his annual stipend to sixteen lacs of rupees. To arrange this and other difficult matters, to settle the collection of the revenue, and the young nabob's household,

Hastings made a tour in the provinces, and resided some time in Moorsshedabad. The dewanee, or public treasury, was removed to Calcutta and placed under English management, and thither also were carried the superior courts of justice. Hastings clearly foresaw the high destinies of our city on the Hooghly. He now wrote to a friend:—"By the translation of the treasury, by the exercise of the dewanee without an intermediate agent, by the present superintendency of the nabob's household, and by the establishment of the new courts of justice under the control of our own government, the authority of the Company is fixed in this country without any possibility of a competition, and beyond the power of any but themselves to shake it. The nabob is a mere name, and the seat of government most effectually and visibly transferred from Moorsshedabad to Calcutta, which I do not despair of seeing the first city in Asia, if I live and am supported but a few years longer."*

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

It soon became evident that twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum was too great a price to pay to Shah Alum for the merely ceremonial investiture of the Company in the dewanee of Bengal, over which neither he, the reigning Mogul, nor his immediate predecessors, had ever had the least

* Letter to Mr. Sykes, in Gleig's 'Life of Hastings.'

control. Hastings also taxed Shah Alum with the basest treachery and ingratitude. "Of all the powers of Hindustan," said he, "the English alone have really acknowledged his authority: they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory." * At this juncture he learned that the imbecile Mogul had ceded that territory (Allahabad and Corah) to the Mahrattas, who were declaring their intention of taking immediate possession. The nabob of Oude, as the ally of the English, claimed their assistance in preventing the marauders from obtaining a settlement in provinces that lay in the heart of his own country, and that would bring them close upon the frontiers of the Company's territories. Anticipating their movements, Hastings threw a good garrison into the important city of Allahabad. This force was received with a welcome, the Mogul's deputy or governor declaring that his master was no longer a free agent, but a prisoner to the Mahratta chiefs, who were in the habit of subjecting him to the degradation of blows when he refused to sign such grants, firmans, or decrees as they required.

The healthy and fertile province of Cooch Bahar had been overrun by the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, who cruelly oppressed the peasantry, and proved turbulent and dangerous neighbours. Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive out these Bootans and annex the country to the English dominions. At the same time his attention was called to the inroads of the Senassie fakeers, an assemblage of men who united in themselves the several characters of saints, living martyrs, prophets, jugglers, robbers, and cut-throats. Hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost stark-naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of violence and obscenity. A host of the kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor to tremble on his throne at Delhi. They were one of the many scourges to which the country was periodically liable under the imbecile government of the native princes. The present swarm fell suddenly upon Bengal like a flight of locusts. Dividing themselves into bodies, each two or three

* Letter to Sir George Colebrooke, as given by Mr. Gleig, 'Memoirs of Warren Hastings.'

thousand strong, they rushed in search of their prey, and wherever they penetrated they burned the villages, destroyed the crops, and committed their unnameable abominations. Five battalions of sepoy were sent in pursuit of them; but they moved at a speed that defied the pursuit of any regular infantry; and Hastings, to save the Company's money, had been obliged to discharge nearly all the native cavalry. They were favoured by the superstition and infatuation of a large portion of the population, who considered them saints while committing the greatest sins, and who stood in awe of the supernatural powers to which they laid claim. They indeed seemed gifted with ubiquity: while reported to be beyond the Bramapootra river, they reappeared in the interior of the province. One of their parties fell in with a small detachment of newly-raised sepoy, defeated them, and killed Captain Edwards as he was attempting to rally his men. Another British officer, with an entire battalion, followed them closely, but could never come up with them. Hastings hurried on another detachment to assist in the pursuit, and another to cross the track which the fakeers usually took on their return. Yet, after every exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and lofty mountains, got back with their plunder to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China. Their visit proved a serious blow to the revenues of the country, as well from pretended as from real losses.

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

1. The chiefs of Rohilcund, when recently attacked by the Mahrattas, had made an offer of forty lacs of rupees to the nabob of Oude for his assistance, and the nabob of Oude had promised to give half of this money to the Company for the services of English troops and sepoy. The troops of Oude had been of little use, but the troops of the Company, under Sir Robert Barker, had cleared the country of the Mahrattas; and yet the Rohilla chiefs refused to pay the forty lacs, or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude,

and must keep our ally the nabob poor and in constant need of English assistance, unless the two allies, by one great effort, for which the nabob was willing to pay a liberal price (and he knew how much the Company stood in need of money), should conquer that Afghan race, who were themselves but conquerors of a recent date, without any right but that of the sword, and without any consideration or mercy for the original and peaceful occupants of the soil, who were tenfold more numerous than themselves. So far from being the industrious, gentle people that English parliamentary orators afterwards chose to fancy them, these Rohillas were about the most predatory, barbarous, and sanguinary of the Afghan tribes. "The Rohilla country," wrote Hastings, "is bounded on the west by the Ganges, and on the north and east by the mountains of Tartary. It is to the province of Oude, in respect both to its geographical and political relation, exactly what Scotland was to England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is open on the south where it touches Oude. The reduction of this territory would complete the defensive line of the vizier's dominions, and of course leave us less to defend; as he subsists on our strength entirely. It would also add much to his income, *in which we should have our share.*"* Upon all these and other considerations, Hastings consented to employ an army against the Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizier nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the war, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees.

II. The ruler of Oude was anxious to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, and the Douab, which stood within his frontiers, and which the poor Mogul could not maintain. For fifty lacs of rupees—twenty paid on the spot, and thirty to be paid in two years—Hastings transferred Corah and Allahabad to Sujah Dowlah.

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

IV. Cheyte Sing, the young rajah of Benares, was in-

* Letter to Mr. Sullivan.

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

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

Returning to Calcutta, Hastings applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal, to the establishment of something like an efficient police, to the posting of detachments so as to prevent the incursions of the fakeers and other robbers, to the formation of local forts in the districts, to the protection of native trade and industry, to the removing impolitic taxes, and fees upon native marriages. Even men in India, unfriendly to this able and indefatigable administrator, confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal, in 1771, the whole country had assumed, or was rapidly assuming, a new aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up; frequent immigrations of quiet, laborious people from other parts of India sought and found that protection and encouragement under the Company's government which they could find scarcely anywhere else on the vast surface of Hindustan—in countries exposed to the ravages of the Mah-rattas, Afghans, Jauts, Decoits, Thugs, Bheels, and other monsters. Rajahs, nabobs, khans, and all grantees, might complain; but the native merchant, manufacturer, tiller of the soil, artisan, all that we call *people*, were brought to regard Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name. "I could have gone," said he, "from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the good-will and affection of the natives."

Early in the year 1774, the vizier nabob, Sujah Dowlah, applied for the instant marching of the English brigade stationed at Allahabad, as he was now determined to invade Rohilcund. Accordingly, that brigade, under the command

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

Many cruelties and horrors were committed in this Rohilla war—not by the English and their disciplined sepoys, who had all the fighting, but by the nabob's rabble, who never fought at all—not with the connivance of Hastings, but in spite of his loud and repeated remonstrances. The natural disposition, the habits, the policy, the cool calculations of the English governor, all joined in making him averse to cruelty, bloodshed, and devastation. The quiet Hindū inhabitants, so far from making common cause with the Rohillas, their oppressors, were ready to render all the services against them that their weakness and timidity permitted; yet the nabob's troops fell to plundering and burning their villages. The necessity of clearing the whole region

* Letter to Mr. Hastings.

of the Rohilla chiefs and their bands, who neither tilled nor spun, who despised every occupation except that of war or plunder, was understood from the first; but, if the nabob devastated the country, and scared away its old and peaceful inhabitants, whose industry paid the revenues, how would the nabob of Oude be able to make his large payments to the Company? Hastings enforced these considerations on the commander in the field, and on Mr. Middleton, the resident at the nabob's court, constantly recommending them to protect the poor Hindüs. Nor did he fail to insist upon a mild and proper treatment for such of the Rohilla chiefs as had fallen into the hands of the vizier nabob. "Tell the vizier," continued he, "that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy."*

The Rohillas had exhausted all their strength or spirit in one sharp battle; they never again made head in the interior of the country against the English, and the rest of the war consisted of skirmishes and pursuit. At Bissolulah, the principal city, in the very centre of Rohilcund, the English found an army of Shah Alum, who had escaped from his Mahratta bondage, and had entered into a secret agreement to assist the vizier nabob in this conquest, upon condition of sharing in the booty, and having part of the subdued territory. This force had done nothing, and had now nothing to do; yet Nureef Khan, the commander of it, demanded from Colonel Champion both money and territory. Of course, the khan got nothing, being too weak and cowardly to help himself. Hastings and the council at Calcutta decided that the whole of the country should and must remain to Sujah Dowlah, according to their own treaty with him, in which the Mogul was certainly neither named nor thought of.

The fugitive Rohillas, under Fyzoola Khan, took up a very strong post near the northern frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family from the mountains in their rear. It was apprehended by Sujah Dowlah, that the Mahrattas might come in also, and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. The English brigade was worn out by long marches and short commons, and Champion and his officers.

* Letter to Middleton, as given in Mr. Gleig's 'Memoirs of Warren Hastings.'

were thoroughly disgusted with their ally, and all his concerns. A treaty was therefore hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of his treasure, and one-half of all his effects, to the nabob of Oude, and that nabob granting him the small district of Rampore, in jagheer. Some few chiefs remained with Fyzoola Khan, but the majority went into other countries, to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Rohileund. Their entire number had probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes, and men, women, and children. The Hindū population transferred to the nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

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

* Rev. G. R. Gleig, 'Memoirs; with Mr. Hastings' own numerous Letters, Despatches, and Memoranda, published therein.' Mills, 'Hist. of British India.' Parliamentary Papers, 'Evidence against and for Warren Hastings, on the Commons' Charges of Impeachment,' 9 vols. folio, published between the years 1786 and 1794.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE members of council—General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis—arrived at Calcutta (Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before) on the 19th day of October, 1774. On the following day, the existing government was dissolved by proclamation, and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings, with the rank of governor-general of Bengal, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues, only Mr. Barwell, who from long residence had a perfect knowledge of Indian affairs, was quite acceptable to Hastings. Three seemed to have come out with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning with an intensity, of which English natures are seldom capable. But the “Regulating Act” had framed a Supreme Court of Justice as well as a council, and among the judges who had arrived with the members of this new council, Sir Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old and dear friend of the governor-general. They had been school-fellows at Westminster.* On account of this close friendship, and through incidents of no very moral kind, which brought Mr. Francis before the Supreme Court to receive sentence of damages from the lips of Sir Elijah, that vindictive member of council soon hated the judge as much as the governor-general. The general letter of the Court of Directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended, above all things, unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated; and it required them to do their utmost in order to preserve peace in India. But unanimity and concord were incompatible with a body so constituted, and with notions, interests, and views so diametrically

* ‘Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey,’ by his son, the late Elijah Barwell Impey, Esq., 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1846.

opposed. The temper of Francis alone was enough to introduce discord in a paradise. Besides, he, and Clavering, and Monson, who had never been in India before, and who knew marvellously little about the country, had come out to detect and reform abuses, which the long knowledge of Hastings and Barwell viewed in a different light, or with a better acquaintance as to the primary causes of them, and the difficulty of any sudden changes. Correctors of abuses usually find more abuses than really exist; and no class of men are more intolerable than reformers. Hastings, too, conscious of his own superior knowledge of Indian affairs and the Indian character, and accustomed for some time to an almost undivided authority, was not likely to descend very willingly from a whole, to be only a fifth, or to entertain an implicit deference to the opinions of men who had passed their lives in such a different sphere. The natural love of power, and the intimate and unselfish conviction that such a system was the only one suited to the native princes, who had no idea of a divided rule, had led him to act upon advice given to him by Clive, and, at least in his political negotiations, to assume a high and almost single authority. The members of the new council began their open quarrel upon the transactions in Oude and the Rohilla war. They asserted, by implication, that Hastings had embarked in that war for private and sordid motives, and that his entire connection with Sujah Dowlah had been directed by fraud and selfishness. As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were most unjust. Hastings was a poorer man now than when he quitted an inferior employment at Madras. He had made savings, and gathered large contributions, and perhaps, in some cases, neither the economy nor the gain had proceeded upon the strictest principles of justice; but he had made them solely for the Company's benefit, and mostly at the Company's express command. He was above the sordid motives imputed to him: he was, as many other men have been and are, constitutionally indifferent to money for himself. In 1772, when he assumed the simple governorship of Bengal, he found empty coffers, and a large and costly military force to maintain. The famine and its awful consequences choked up the sources of the revenue, while the Court of Directors at home were falling into debt, and exhorting him by every ship to remit them money. Long afterwards he said, "When I took charge of the govern-

ment of Bengal, in April, 1772, I found it loaded with debt; in less than two years I saw that debt completely discharged, and a sum in ready cash to the same amount in the public treasuries."* It thus becomes easy to conceive to what uses he had applied the lacs of rupees obtained from Sujah Dowlah and other native princes.

As Francis—this name must be put first, for he was ever the most active, and by far the most able of the three—Clavering, and Monson, constituted the majority of the council, wherein, by the "Regulating Act," the vote of the majority was decisive, they assumed all the powers of government, and, for a time, reduced Hastings, with his adherent Barwell, to the condition of a cipher. They recalled Mr. Middleton from Oude; they displaced other able servants who had been trained under Clive and his great successor; they proceeded to undo nearly all that Hastings had done; they turned the government into an anarchy, and spread amazement and consternation among the natives. They appeared to have frightened Sujah Dowlah to death. That prince died a few months after their arrival, dictating in his last moments a letter to Hastings, to implore his protection to his son. The son, who took the name of Asoff-ul-Dowlah, succeeded without opposition to Oude and its dependencies, which now included Rohilcund. But the new council allowed him not a moment of tranquillity, calling upon him incessantly for money. Through their new resident, Mr. Bristow, they compelled the young nabob to accede to an iniquitous treaty. By this treaty, the Company guaranteed to Asoff-ul-Dowlah the possession of Corah and Allahabad; but the nabob, in return, CEDED TO THE COMPANY THE TERRITORY OF CHEYTE SING, THE RAJAH OF BENARES, WHICH WAS NOT HIS TO CEDE, AND WHICH HAD BEEN SOLEMNLY GUARANTEED TO THE RAJAH BY HASTINGS. The revenue of Cheyte Sing's territory, thus alienated, was estimated at 22,000,000 of rupees; but, as this took nothing out of the pocket of the young nabob of Oude, he was bound in the same treaty to discharge all his father's debts and engagements whatsoever with the Company, and to raise greatly the allowance to the Company's brigade. Hastings indignantly refused to sanction this treaty, which, nevertheless, met the approbation of the Court of Directors.

* Warren Hastings, 'Memoirs relating to the State of India.' London, 1787.

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

The political state of Bombay, which had long been quiet, and removed from the struggles of war, was at this moment sufficiently disturbed, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and puzzling sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation had been the rich island of Salsette, that lay in their immediate neighbourhood. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Rao, and the election of a new peishwa of the Mahrattas. A considerable force, sent against Salsette, stormed the principal fort, and then took quiet possession of the island; to secure this conquest, and to obtain some territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the Bombay presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, one of the aspirants to the musnud. Ragoba made the desired grants, and received his price in English troops and sepoy, with whom he made sure of beating all his competitors. The presidency sent Colonel Keating, with 500 European infantry, 80 European artillery, 1,400 sepoy, and 160 lascars, with a field-train, and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba, who had himself a large army of horse.* On the 18th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies; but he lost a considerable number of men and officers, and found his movements impeded by a mutiny in Ragoba's camp. That chief, however, got together some money, paid his troops, and bought over many of his enemies; and in the month of July, the road to Poona, the Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies.

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

* Forbes, 'Oriental Memoirs.' Mr. Forbes was at this time private secretary to Colonel Keating, the commanding officer.

the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy as the supreme council of Calcutta—in their wisdom—considered as likely to prevail; but Upton was also furnished with a letter from the said council to Ragoba, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy succeeded, the letter might be burned; if they should be defeated, it would serve as an introduction to negotiations with Ragoba. The pertinacity of the Mahratta chiefs, confederated against Ragoba, in demanding the immediate restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and every inch of territory we had acquired, soon induced the supreme council to determine that the peishwa recognized by the presidency of Bombay, was to be recognized by them also, as the rightful sovereign of the Mahrattas, and that the cause of Ragoba was to be supported “with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India.” Upon this, the confederates, hostile to Ragoba, agreed to yield Salsette, and the small islands near to it, to the English, seeing that they would not be satisfied with less; and no sooner was this settled, than the ruling majority of Calcutta agreed to abandon the cause of Ragoba, and give up their claims to Bassein, etc. A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton; and then Ragoba, knowing that his life was in danger, prayed for an asylum in Bombay. That presidency granted his prayer; but the supreme council sent orders from Calcutta, that they were not to receive him, as such a measure might give umbrage to the confederacy with whom the treaty had been concluded; and Ragoba was therefore condemned to lead a vagabond life. Verily, Francis, Clavering, and Monson, were proper men to moralize on the political conduct of Clive and Hastings!

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

and fast losing their reliance on us, and the army was discontented and dispirited.

Francis, Clavering, and Monson could think of little else than of the means of ruining Hastings. They calumniated him, they raked up information against him out of the dirt of Calcutta, and they encouraged the greatest villains of the province to stand forward as his accusers.* They brought forward the arch-devil of Bengal, the notorious Rajah Nuncomar—avowed by all parties to be the greatest villain in all India—to charge the governor-general with having accepted bribes. But Nuncomar came under the grip of English law, which the “Regulating Act” had now established in the country; he was tried by a most respectable jury, who found him guilty of an old forgery, and by English law he was condemned to be hanged. The trio who had set him on made not the slightest attempt to save him;—on the contrary, they kept back a petition which the rajah had addressed to the Supreme Court—and, as the law then stood, Nuncomar was justly executed.†

If the trio in council deprecated war with the native powers, they did so not from any sense of its injustice, but from their calculations that the war would cost more than the prizes of victory would be worth. Without being at war, they tried to make all the subjected and allied parts of India pay war taxes. While the governor-general was spending in the public service the moderate private fortune he had accumulated, Philip Francis, a man new to the country, who had never known either toil or danger, was hoarding and scraping, jobbing, speculating, trading, and resorting to all those means which enabled him to return to Europe with a very large fortune.

But on the 25th of September, 1776, the majority in council was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side, but the casting vote of the governor-general gave him the superiority. Dissensions and manœuvres in Calcutta, and misunderstandings in the Court of Directors in England, far too numerous

* Letter to Sullivan, dated February 12th, 1775, as given by Mr. Gleig, in ‘Memoirs of Warren Hastings.’

† I hold that this view of the Nuncomar case is fully made out by the documents quoted by Mr. Elijah Barwell Impey, in his memoirs of his father. But the question had been settled many years before the publication of Mr. Impey’s book, by Sir Elijah’s own triumphant defence at the bar of the House of Commons.

to relate in an epitome of Indian history, then ensued. The disputes rose so high, that the sword of civil war was half unsheathed in the streets of Calcutta. But General Clavering, a man of the sword, and of an impetuous temper, was made to quail before the firm, unflinching civilian Warren Hastings. At length Colonel Monson's place was filled by Mr. Wheler, who, though he came out expecting to be governor-general himself, consented to hold an inferior post. Wheler commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover confidence, it was again reduced to a minority by the death of General Clavering.

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

Without hesitation, Hastings proposed in council, that every possible assistance in men and money should be given to Ragoba and his ally Baboo, and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. Francis and Wheler protested; but in vain. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately forwarded to Bombay, by bills; and on the 23rd of February, orders were issued for assembling the forces at Culpee. If the army went by sea, they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops, or ships of war to give them convoy. "Let the army march by land," said Hastings. This was a bold idea, that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian soldier or statesman. Francis and Wheler, and many others, said the governor-general was mad. But Hastings had studied the capabilities of the native troops, and had a high reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance; and he had long wished for an

opportunity to show the might of the Company to some of the princes and potentates of the interior, who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto remained strangers to it. Some good British officers, whom he consulted, saw no impossibility in marching through hostile or unknown regions, from the banks of the Ganges to the Gulf of Cam-bay. Taking all responsibility on himself, the governor-general gave the word 'advance.'

The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry furnished by the nabob of Oude, and a company of artillery; altogether, amounting to 103 European officers, 6,234 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazaar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoy; and this host had to march upwards of 1,000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was intrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so bold and brilliant a conception. Except the officers, there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army commenced its march on the 12th of June, 1778. It had not proceeded far, when intelligence was received, that war had been declared between France and England. Francis and Wheler insisted that the army should be recalled; but Hastings insisted that it should go on, and that the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and all Bengal, could be very well defended without it. Clive himself could not have shown more resoluteness or more rapidity than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, and all the restored French factories in Bengal; he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry—but, in infraction of the last treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been re-fortified, and could not be taken without a siege: he threw up strong works near Calcutta; he collected ships and improvised a regular marine establishment; he raised nine battalions of sepoy, and a numerous corps of native artillery; and, being thus at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the other parts of India.

Colonel Leslie had been instructed to conciliate where he could, and to fight his way through where he could not. Hastings had previously sent letters and presents to the rajah of Berah and other princes, through whose territories the troops must march. The army met with a feeble resistance, in crossing the river Jumna, from a Mahratta chief

called Ballajee. This chief also engaged the rajah of Bondilcund to oppose it as it advanced up the country. But the rajah and the Mahrattas were beaten and routed, and by the middle of July, Leslie was at Chatterpoor, having been joined by a brother of the rajah, who claimed the musnud, and by several other Bondilcund chiefs. Go where they would in India, the English found disputed successions and mad factions to tempt their ambition, and furnish means for its gratification. Contrary to the advice of Hastings, Leslie entangled himself in the contests of the two brothers. Having reached Rajaghur, a principal city of Bondilcund, the "Country of Diamonds," on the 17th of August, he halted there for a long time, and entered into various private negotiations. But the delay is in part attributable to the indecision of the presidency of Bombay, under whose orders he had been told to consider himself from the moment he had passed the Jumna.

Leslie, therefore, remained where he was in Bondilcund, justifying his inactivity by showing that a force which was to advance from Bombay to meet him had not taken the field. When he had loitered away four months, busied in what Hastings called "paltering work," the governor-general recalled him, and gave the command of the army to Colonel Goddard. It is possible that Leslie might have been brought to account at Calcutta for some of his acts and private bargains; but he died on the 3rd of October, several days before the letter of recall could reach him. Goddard, a much more active and enterprising officer, was released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, and instructed to judge and act for himself. He forthwith quitted Bondilcund, and, taking the road through Malwa, he continued his march a long while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing any of the many impediments which Leslie had anticipated. He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpoor. By the 1st of December, Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Bérar. Now he received despatches from the Bombay presidency, acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poona, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city.

This Bombay force, 4,500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, advanced boldly through the ghauts, arrived at Condala, and by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poona.

Loose bodies of Mahratta horse kept skirmishing and retreating, but Colonel Egerton could nowhere see the friendly Mahratta army which Ragoba (once more in close alliance with us!) had assured him would repair to his standard. Ragoba, who was accompanying Egerton with a very small force, was taken to task; but he represented that the wavering Mahratta chiefs were not likely to join until the English should have obtained some decisive advantage. Egerton, therefore, kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poona, in which neighbourhood he was sure to meet Goddard in a very few days. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front. Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners into the field with Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and, upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!—they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army followed them, cut to pieces nearly 400 men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provisions. The two commissioners fell into a state of helplessness and despair; and even Colonel Egerton declared it to be impossible to carry back the army to Bombay. The three deserved hanging, and two of them (the civil commissioners) were well nigh incurring the risk of a worse fate in a Mahratta prison. A deputation was sent to the enemy to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit the quiet march of the English back to the coast. The Mahratta chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered up to them. With this demand, Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing the breach of honour and hospitality, by alleging that Ragoba had opened a correspondence with the enemy. When the Mahrattas had got Ragoba into their hands, they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty, by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this effect. The Mahratta chiefs then demanded hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance.

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

In the mean while, Goddard was advancing upon Poona, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his forces near that city. But when he reached Boorhampoor, 980 miles from Calcutta, Goddard was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field-commissioners he was told that he must retrace his steps ; by another from the same commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said ; but neither the commissioners nor Egerton gave him an account or any intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt, Goddard remained at Boorhampoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the real state of affairs. Happily he was no Egerton, and had no commissioners with him. He resolved not to be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right to include him in their disgrace. He would bravely continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poona, and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay. But Surat was nearly 250 miles off, the disposition of the intervening country very doubtful, and a great and increasing army of Mahratta horse was hanging on his rear. His decision and rapidity, the discipline and orderly conduct of his native Bengal infantry, could alone save him from destruction or dishonour.* But he and his army were preceded by the sweet odour of a good name. In the course of their long and toilsome marches from Bondilcund, no plundering, no excesses, no insults or wrongs of any kind had been permitted. Hence, the country people flocked to supply them with provisions, and to render such information and services as they could. From Boorhampoor to the coast his route lay in the most fertile and best-cultivated fields of Western India, thickly dotted with open villages and defenceless towns ; but the same morality was kept up,

* For the formation and gradual improvement of these valuable troops, the reader is referred to Captain Williams's ' Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry.' 8vo. London, 1817.

the army touched nothing without paying for it, and was consequently befriended and always well provided by the natives. Goddard and his sepoys performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory; they had left a moral impression which could not soon be effaced, and which was scarcely overrated by Hastings. "Be assured," wrote the governor-general to one of the directors, "that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part, of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat, has contributed more than, perhaps, our more splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindustan. To them, as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting."*

Colonel Goddard was promoted to the rank of general, and was ordered to take upon himself all future wars or negotiations with the Mahrattas. Ragoba, that man of many adventures, escaped from his confinement at Poona, and took refuge with the English in Surat. Goddard proposed an amicable treaty with the Poona confederacy, upon the basis that they should annul the dishonourable treaty extorted from Egerton and the commissioners, and renounce all connection with the French. The Mahratta chiefs required as a preliminary that Ragoba should be given up, and Salsette restored. Goddard would have been blown from the mouth of a cannon rather than consent to such conditions. He took the field at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dubhoy and carried by storm the important city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Goozerat. He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Mahratta army, 40,000 strong, under the two great chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 4th of March he was close up with this army, and would have attacked it that very night if the Mahrattas had not liberated the two English hostages and sent them to his camp with a vakeel or agent to open new negotiations. Finding that the Mahrattas were only seeking to gain time until the setting in of the rains,

* Letter to Mr. Sullivan, as given by Mr. Gleig.

Goddard tore up their papers and put his troops in motion. As their army was all cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were enabled for many days to avoid an attack ; but, on the 3rd of April, between night and morning, he, with a select part of his army, surprised them in their camp and put them to the rout. Their flight left him undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea. In the mean time Warren Hastings had formed an alliance with an Hindū prince, commonly called the ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country between the territories of the great Mahratta chief Scindia and the kingdom of Oude ; and Captain Popham, with a small force, had been detached from Bengal to assist the ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham, a brave, active officer, worthy of co-operating with Goddard, had taken the field at the beginning of the year, had driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the ranna, had crossed Scinde, had followed the Mahrattas into their own territory, and had taken by storm their fortress of Lahar. Hastings would have greatly reinforced Popham ; Francis protested ; but another detachment was sent to join Popham. Before it had time to arrive, Popham, with extraordinary daring, took by escalade the fortress of Gwalior, one of the very strongest in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and at that time defended by a numerous garrison. The brave young Bruce, who led the escalading and storming party, was one of a family insensible to danger ; he was brother of Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller. Upon the fall of Gwalior, the Mahrattas abandoned all that part of the country.

The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Captain Popham was about the last public act in India of Mr. Philip Francis. A truce or conciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this discordant member of council, Francis agreeing to cease or moderate his opposition, and Hastings agreeing to concede to Francis a larger share in the distribution of places of honour and profit. But no truce could be of long duration between such contracting parties. No sooner had Mr. Barwell, the supporter of the governor-general in the council, taken his departure for England, than Francis renewed his opposition, and again endeavoured to thwart the campaign of Popham, and every project that lay nearest the heart of the governor-general. Irritated in the extreme, Hastings, in answering a minute of council, wrote :

—"I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Although Francis well merited the reproach, he could not do less than challenge the governor-general, who shot him through the body. The wound, thought to be dangerous, did not prove mortal. But Francis, who had "feathered his nest," resigned his place and returned home a few months after the duel, to the incalculable advantage of our interests and honour in India.*

* Rev. G. R. Gleig, 'Memoirs of Warren Hastings.' Major Wilks, 'Sketches of the South of India.' 'Wars in Asia,' by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment, London, 1780.

CHAPTER XV.

THE pride and confidence of the Mahrattas had been lowered by Goddard and Popham, when the Mysoreans again took the field and threatened the entire subversion of the English power on the coast of Coromandel.

For the space of seven years Hyder Ali had been concerting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, improving and increasing his army, and preparing the nerves of war by squeezing his subjects and plundering his neighbours. The treasury of Mysore was certainly well filled, and all the weight which money could give was on the side of Hyder, when, in the summer of 1780, he quitted Seringapatam, and poured through the ghauts with 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, 28,000 cavalry, 2,000 artillery and rocket-men, and 400 French and other European adventurers. There was a complete staff of French officers to guide the operations. The artillery exceeded 100 pieces of all calibres.

To meet this immense force, the presidency of Madras had an empty exchequer, a divided council, an army of 6,000 men, mostly sepoys; and these troops, wholly unprepared, were scattered over a wide tract of country. As for the forces of their ally, the nabob of the Carnatic, there was no reliance to be put in them: they ran away, or they deserted to Hyder so soon as his army defiled through the ghauts. The Mysoreans captured and plundered Porto Novo on the coast, and Conjeveram, close to Trichinopoly, and kindled fires that were seen by night from the top of Mount St. Thomas, close to Madras. That presidency sent to Calcutta to implore the governor-general to forward them help, and, above all, *money*. With money all would go well, but without money the Coromandel coast would be lost, and a death-blow given to the British empire in India. Hastings knew these truths, and he filled a purse for Madras

as best he could. Before his money, a French armament arrived on the Coromandel coast.

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

Just before this unequal battle began, Sir Hector Monro, with another division of the Madras army, was within a short march of Hyder's rear. Had Monro come up, the Mahrattas must have been defeated; but it was pleaded in excuse of his reticence, that his rice-bags were empty, and his troops half starved. As the money which Hastings was collecting in Bengal had not yet arrived, the excuse *may* have been founded on truth. Upon learning the dreadful catastrophe of Baillie, Sir Hector abandoned his tents and baggage, threw his heavier guns into a tank, and fled to Madras. A great part of the country was again laid waste, and within a few weeks, Wandewash, Chingliput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged.

But for Hastings, the game was up in the Carnatic and the Northern Circars. He soon sent fifteen lacs of rupees to Madras as a present supply for the army, with a promise that more money should be forthcoming. His missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorsshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where the governor-general had a claim, or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the east. The inert governor of Madras was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote was invited to take the command and the entire

* Colonel Wilks, 'Historical Sketches of the South of India,' &c. 'Wars in Asia,' by an officer of Col. Baillie's detachment, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1788. 'Tippoo Sultan, Memoirs of,' by an Officer in the E. I. Company's service, 8vo. Calcutta, 1819.

management of the war. Peace was concluded with the Mahratta Scindia, and the brave and alert Popham was called down from the Jumna.

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

In the mean time, Sir Eyre Coote had taken the field against the Mysoreans, with 1,700 Europeans and about 5,000 native troops. He marched to recover Wandewash, which had been the scene of his greatest exploit. Terrified at his name, Hyder Ali abandoned Wandewash, raised several of his sieges, and seemed on the point of flying back through the ghauts. But at this moment, a French fleet came to anchor off Pondicherry, and Coote was obliged to encamp on the hills behind that city. On taking Pondi-

* These words were contained in one of the last General Orders Hastings issued to the army of Bengal. They were addressed to Goddard's corps, which had returned home after five years' absence, and most active service.

When Colonel Pearse's detachment, which had been reduced by service from 5,000 to 2,000 men, returned to Bengal, after an absence of four years, Hastings treated them with all possible honour and distinction: he visited them, he talked to them, and his personal conduct towards both the European officers and the natives gave grace to his public measures. A lasting impression was made on the minds of all. Others were stimulated to future exertions by his present conduct.

cherry (after a siege) at the breaking out of this war with France, Sir Hector Monro had partly destroyed the fortifications, and had put a very small garrison in the town. Even this garrison had been withdrawn at the beginning of Hyder's present invasion. The French officers had given their parole, the inhabitants had been protected and allowed to continue their trade; but the temptation was too great, and when it was seen that the English were losing ground, and known that a great armament was coming from France, they had clapped the English resident in prison, flown to arms, enlisted sepoys, and collected provisions for an army in Karangotty, at a convenient distance from Porto Novo.

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

Penetrating into Tanjore, Hyder ravaged that beautiful district. His son Tippoo made a rush at Wandewash, and even laid siege to that place. Sir Edward Hughes, with an English squadron, destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and about the middle of June arrived at Madras with some reinforcements.

On the 18th of June, Coote attacked the fortified pagoda of Chillambaram, near Trichinopoly, about thirty miles S.W. from Cuddalore, and was repulsed with very considerable loss. This affair gave Hyder such confidence, that he came again down to the coast, and encamped at Cuddalore. He took up good ground, and made lines and formidable redoubts, after the plans drawn for him by French officers.



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He had three whole days for these operations; but, during that time, Sir Edward Hughes landed men and guns, provisions and ammunition, and early in the morning of the fourth day—the 1st of July—Coote, advancing from Porto Novo, fell upon his host of 80,000 with 7,000 men, forced his lines, carried his batteries, and gave him a thorough defeat. Leaving more than 3,000 dead upon the field, and raving and tearing his clothes, Hyder fled on a fleet horse, and was soon out of sight with all his cavalry. Coote had no cavalry to pursue him. He was next heard of at Arcot, whither he had recalled Tippoo from Wandewash. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirit and resources of his enemy. “The defeat of many Baillies,” said he, “will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea.” He sorely regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French councils; and he bitterly complained of having been deluded by expectations of a great French force. He determined, however, to risk another battle, for the defence of Arcot. The ground he chose was the very spot where Baillie’s detachment had been annihilated, and which he therefore considered a lucky spot. He was again defeated; but this time Coote’s army sustained a severe loss. This was on the 27th of August. On the 27th of September, another battle was fought in the pass of Sholinghur, near Vellore. Here Hyder was routed with terrible loss; and our fortress of Vellore, one of the keys of the Carnatic, almost reduced to extremities by famine, was relieved and saved. The rains, the monsoon floods, and the rising of the rivers, put an end to any further extensive operations; but before Coote retired into cantonments, Chittore, Palipett, and other places we had lost, were recovered.

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

operations Lord Macartney had only some gentlemen volunteers, some of the Madras militia, and sailors, and a few marines taken out of our men-of-war.

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

Colonel Brathwaite, after assisting Lord Macartney in the reduction of Negapatam, had returned into Tanjore with the view of recovering some of the fortresses of that country which had been taken by Hyder and his son Tippoo, rather by bribery than by force of arms. By the same arts, Brathwaite was now deceived and misled by his Tanjorean allies; and while encamped on the left bank of the Cavery, on the 18th of February, he was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed, by Tippoo and a French corps, after maintaining a most unequal struggle from sunrise to sunset. The circumstances of Brathwaite's defeat resembled those of Colonel Baillie's: he had only 100 English, 1,500 sepoy, and 300 native horse; while Tippoo had 10,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, 20 pieces of artillery, and 400 Europeans, commanded by French officers. The French decided the long and obstinate contest by charging our exhausted sepoy with the bayonet. The massacre of the prisoners was prevented by the humanity and courage of the French officers, who were seen risking their own lives, and cutting down Tippoo's savages to save the wounded and defenceless English. The few survivors of this bloody field—among whom was Colonel Brathwaite himself—were soon immured in the horrible dungeons of Seringapatam. This disaster was scarcely counterbalanced by successes obtained on the very same day over Hyder Ali on the Malabar coast.

The regular cavalry of Madras—the first arm of the kind

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

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xviii. Sir John Barrow, 'Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Macartney.' Colonel Wilks, 'Historical Sketches of the South of India.' 'Memoirs of the late Wars in India.' Captain Williams, 'Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry.' Rev. G. R. Gleig, 'Memoirs of Warren Hastings.'

CHAPTER XVI.

BUT the war of the Carnatic was now to rage by sea as well as by land; and Bussy, the Clive of the French, was returning to take the command on the field of his early exploits and glory. The French government sent out Admiral Suffrein with ships and troops. Suffrein had an adventurous voyage. Among the Cape de Verd Islands, he encountered the squadron of Commodore Johnstone, who, after an indecisive battle, followed him as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and who probably might have spoiled his voyage if he had not preferred capturing five rich Dutch East-Indiamen in Saldanha Bay. Johnstone returned home with his prizes; but a part of his squadron, with transports having on board British troops for India, followed in the track of Admiral Suffrein. The French put into the Isle of France, where they were joined by more troops, and by several other ships. The English, whose crews were sickly, stopped at the Isle of Johanna some twenty-four days. From these two new starting-points—Johanna and the Isle of France—the French had a quicker and more fortunate passage than the English. Having captured on his way the *Hannibal*, a fifty-gun ship, which had been separated from the rest of the English squadron, Suffrein reached the Coromandel coast early in January, with his ships all safe, and with 3,000 land-troops on board, two-thirds being veteran French soldiers, and the other third Caffres, and all under the command of Bussy.

Admiral Sir Edward Hughes was at this moment engaged in reducing or settling Trincomalee. Our squadron from England was not long behind the French. Separating into two divisions, one division ran for Bombay under the impression that the French armament was destined for that neighbourhood, and the other went in quest of Admiral Hughes without knowing where he was stationed. The first

of these divisions reached Bombay on the 22nd of January, having part of the British troops on board under the command of Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie. All was quiet in that neighbourhood ; but, after some hesitation, Mackenzie boldly resolved to attempt a diversion on the Malabar side of Hyder's dominions, and on the 18th of February he landed his troops at Calicut. He had with him scarcely 1,000 men ; but there was already a detachment of Bombay sepoys on that part of the coast under Major Abingdon, who had compelled Calicut to surrender on the 12th of February ; and when these forces were united, Mackenzie was quite strong enough to drive before him a Mysorean army, to take several towns and fortresses, and to create a panic in the mind of Hyder, who was under the necessity of weakening his army in the Carnatic, in order to check the English in Malabar.

Meanwhile, Sir Edward Hughes, leaving a small garrison in Trincomalee, had returned to Madras on the 8th of February, without encountering the very superior force of Suffrein, although he had passed very near it. With equal good fortune, the part of the squadron from England which had separated from the rest on the western coast, and which had on board 1,000 or 1,200 British troops, ran past the French and joined Hughes at Madras on the 9th. Sir Edward now counted nine sail of the line ; but six of these ships were foul and damaged from long service in the Indian seas. On the 15th Suffrein appeared off Madras, with twelve ships of the line and six frigates. The French admiral had expected to find Hughes with only six ships of the line. He was a brave man ; but the positive orders of his government were to act with extreme caution, as their finances could not bear the equipping of another fleet for the East. Therefore, Suffrein, instead of coming to action, bore away to the southward. Hughes weighed and followed him. On the 16th, the English ships that were clean and coppered came up with and captured six sail of Suffrein's convoy, one of these sail being a large French transport, loaded with shot, powder, and guns, and having on board many officers, and 300 soldiers. Suffrein, as Hughes had anticipated, wore round to protect the rest of his convoy. During that night the hostile fleets came close together, and on the following morning they came into action. Inferior as was their force, the English severely

punished the French ships, and after a short but sharp action, Suffrein bore away for Porto Novo, where the Mysoreans had a footing, and where the French were presently joined by Tippoo, fresh from the slaughter of Colonel Brathwaite's division in Tanjore. As Hughes had been obliged to make for Trincomalee, in order to repair his damaged masts and spars, Suffrein quietly landed at Porto Novo M. Bussy, with his Frenchmen and Caffres, artillery and stores. It was soon found that M. Bussy was not the man he had been twenty years before. He united his forces with the army of Tippoo; but they performed no exploit till the beginning of April, when they captured Cuddalore—a convenient station for the French fleet.

On the 8th of April, Hughes, who had refitted and who had escorted to Madras a fleet of our Indiamen, found himself almost within gun-shot of Suffrein; he pursued his course to Ceylon, to execute his more immediate object, which was to strengthen the garrison at Trincomalee; but he was closely followed by the French, who brought him to action on the morning of the 12th, when his ships were on a dangerous lee shore. The combat, beginning at noon and lasting till dark, was hot and bloody, each side losing from 500 to 600 men in killed and wounded; but, after all, it was a drawn battle, Hughes reaching his port of destination, and Suffrein bearing up for the Dutch harbour of Bathcola.

From Cuddalore, Bussy and Tippoo marched upon Wandewash. Coote, though now worn out by age, and suffering from a recent apoplectic attack, advanced rapidly to the relief of that place, and on the 24th of April, encamped on the very spot where he had defeated Lally and Bussy in the year 1760. He had been reinforced by some of the fresh British troops which had been landed by the division of our squadron in the month of February. Instead of accepting the battle he offered, Bussy and Tippoo retreated before Coote. The English had then threatened the strong fort of Arnee, where Hyder had deposited plunder and provisions. The old Mysorean advanced in person for the defence of the place, and fought a loose battle, in which he sustained some loss; but, while he was facing Coote, his son Tippoo succeeded in carrying off the plunder and provisions from Arnee.

Bussy now retreated towards Pondicherry, Hyder put

himself in quarters near the coast, and Tippoo and a strong French detachment hurried away in the direction of Calicut. On the Malabar coast the affairs of Hyder seemed going to ruin, for the Nairs or Hindū chiefs, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Mysoreans, were rising in arms and joining the English under Colonel Mackenzie.

At this critical juncture, when experience had shown him that, even with the aid of his French allies, it was very doubtful whether he could maintain his ground in the Carnatic, Hyder was thrown into utter dismay by learning the result of Hastings' successful policy, or the conclusion of a treaty between the English and the Mahrattas. He expected every moment to have the Mahratta confederacy upon him; and on a former occasion the Mahrattas alone had been more than a match for his Mysoreans. At the same time, he suspected and dreaded the French, whom he was determined, on no account, to admit in any force into Mysore. He was always fancying that the Mahrattas were falling upon his country; he was haunted by visions of conspiracy and murder, and his health, which had been declining before, was quite broken by his anxieties. He however permitted himself to be persuaded by M. Bussy that the war in the Carnatic was not yet hopeless, and that means might be found to counteract Hastings, and win over the fickle Mahrattas; and while the cunning old man had amused Sir Eyre Coote, and kept him in a state of inactivity, by intimating that, he might accede to the governor-general's treaty with the Mahrattas and become a party to it, he was prepared to co-operate with M. Bussy in an attack upon Negapatam.

The success of the powers contending on shore mainly depended on the operations of the French and English fleets. On the 3rd of July, another drawn battle was fought between Suffrein and Hughes, after which the French went to anchor at Cuddalore, and the English at Madras. Suffrein was the first to be ready for sea, and making again for Ceylon, and being joined on that coast by two more ships of the line, fresh from Europe, and with land-troops on board, he made a dash at Trincomalee. The weak garrison surrendered on the 31st of August, and on the 2nd of September, Admiral Hughes had arrived. Preferring fighting with sea-room to being attacked in the bay, Suffrein came out, and another battle, far more desperate than

either of the preceding ones between him and Hughes, took place, the French having sixteen sail of the line, and the English twelve. As night set in, the French ran back to Trincomalee, and in such confusion, that one of their best ships ran ashore and was lost, and two others missed the mouth of the bay, and fell down the coast. The slaughter on board the French ships had been unprecedented; in his own ship, which was crowded with people, Suffrein counted 380 in killed and wounded: his total loss in killed and wounded exceeded 1,000.

Admiral Hughes, annoyed at the loss of the town of Trincomalee, returned to Madras, where he found Sir Eyre Coote determined to make an attack upon the French lines at Cuddalore, though almost deprived of the use of his limbs by another paralytic seizure. Coote wanted the admiral to remain and co-operate, but the admiral said that he could not stay with any safety to his ships during the monsoon. There were some bickerings about his going (he sailed on the 15th of October, and got well out to sea on that day); but it proved to be a most happy thing that he was gone. In the course of that night, the well-known roar of the coming monsoon was heard at Madras, and the surf began to shake the coast; and by the next morning the strand was covered with wrecks or fragments of merchant ships that had stayed behind when Hughes took his departure. With these ships had perished all the rice and other provisions of Coote's army. There had been scarcity before, but now there was famine. Thousands of the poor natives of the Carnatic, who had fled from Hyder to seek refuge in Madras, were the first to feel the horrors; calling upon the English for help, which the English had not the means of giving, they died by hundreds; and they soon had fellow-sufferers. The roads that led to the town, and the streets of the town itself, were strewn with the dead and dying. It is said that 10,000 poor souls perished before supplies of rice could be obtained from Bengal and other parts.

Four or five days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Richard Bickerton put into Madras Road with some ships of war and land-troops from England; but, having no provisions to spare after his long voyage, and considering it to be at once his duty and the only mode of securing his ships—menaced by the monsoon and by

Suffrein's vast superiority—to join the admiral, he put again to sea, and made for Bombay. Shortly after his departure, Sir Eyre Coote, more dead than alive, was embarked for Calcutta.

The command now devolved on General Stuart, who sent 500 men to reinforce our garrison at Negapatam, 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay and Bengal forces under Goddard (who was preparing to invade Mysore), and 300 Europeans to strengthen our forces in the Circars. But both Bussy and Suffrein became quite inactive. They did not attack Negapatam when the garrison was weak; they did not attempt to intercept the small squadron of Bickerton; they made no attempt against Madras when it was famine-stricken and in panic; and they allowed the place to be revictualled from the Circars and from Bengal. The health of Hyder was now desperate, and Tippoo was at a distance on the Malabar coast with ample work in hand for his 20,000 Mysoreans and 400 Frenchmen. Colonel H. Mackenzie, who had made for himself a strong party in Malabar, was pressing on Mysore, and was preparing for the siege of Palagatcherry, not many marches from Seringapatam, when the approach of Tippoo constrained him to fall back upon the coast. The English drew up at Paniany, a sea-port town about thirty-five miles from Calicut. Here Tippoo attacked them on the 28th of November, and sustained himself a terrible defeat. Just after this reverse, Tippoo received intelligence of his father's death; and it behoved him to look after his inheritance, for he had brothers and cousins. He therefore left the Malabar army to secure the musnud and the treasury at Seringapatam. Having done this and seen his father interred, he hastened to join the main army in Mysore, scorning all overtures for a peace with the English. This was at the end of December. On the 4th of January (1783), General Stuart took the field against him. The immense Mysorean army, though joined by 900 French veterans, 2,000 disciplined sepoys, 250 Caffres, and twenty-two French field-pieces, retreated before Stuart, whose entire force consisted of about 14,000 men—but of that number nearly 3,000 were first-rate British troops. Tippoo crossed the river Arnee in disorderly haste, and recalled his garrisons from Arcot and other places. It became evident that he was evacuating the whole of the Carnatic. He was not, however,

flying so much from Stuart, as flying to defend his own dominions, now again seriously menaced by the English.

Soon after the retiring of Tippoo from the Malabar coast, Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie carried his forces to the coast of Canara, to co-operate with a part of the army of Bengal, in reducing some of the richest provinces or dependencies of Mysore. He reached his point in the month of January, having displayed skill, precision, and courage. Unhappily, General Mathews, who had arrived at Bombay from England, with king's troops, came and took the command over him. The fort of Onore was taken by storm, the range of rocks which runs between the coast and Bednore were scaled, the steep ghauts, though defended at intervals by batteries, were cleared by the bayonet, and on the 26th of January, the rich capital of Bednore surrendered to the English. Most of the other forts in the country surrendered at or before a summons; but Ananpore and Mangalore held out. Ananpore was carried by storm, and Mangalore, situated on the coast, surrendered as soon as a breach was made. This career of conquest was checked by the meanness and avarice of General Mathews, who wanted to keep all the spoil to himself, and to give nothing either to the British or to the native troops—who, for several months, had received not a single rupee of pay. Colonel Macleod, Colonel H. Mackenzie, and Major Shaw, left the army and repaired to Bombay, to lay their complaints before the governor and council.* After their departure, Mathews behaved like a madman; he scattered his army all over the country in contemptible mud forts; he sent the brave 42nd Highlanders back to the coast; and he fixed his head-quarters in the city of Bednore, without laying in a stock of ammunition and provisions, or doing anything to strengthen the fort. He was in this state of stupid security when Tippoo, on the 9th of April, appeared in the

* The council agreed that Mathews should be superseded, and Colonel Macleod, raised to the rank of brigadier-general, sent back to Bednore to take the command. Humberstone Mackenzie and Major Shaw accompanied General Macleod; but on their voyage along the coast they were attacked, in a weak, small vessel, by five Mahratta pirates, who killed or wounded nearly every Englishman on board. Major Shaw was despatched outright; Colonel H. Mackenzie died of his wounds, and General Macleod was carried into Gheriah. The general, however, was liberated from his captivity, and soon appeared with an armament on the Malabar coast.

neighbourhood with the great army which he had withdrawn from the Carnatic. Mathews threw himself into the fort, and there capitulated to Tippoo, on the last day of April. He had been promised very honourable terms, but the Mysoreans, instead of allowing him and his troops to retire with the honours of war to the coast, bound them all with chains or ropes, and sent them to his dungeons in Mysore. Tippoo then went through the ghauts and down to Mangalore, in which the 42nd and a few other troops had thrown themselves. This was an important place, the harbour being the best on the coast of Canara; and about the middle of May, Tippoo and his French allies invested it. This siege detained them for months from more important services, and, after all, Mangalore was not taken.

The departure of the Mysoreans from the Carnatic had left General Stuart no enemies in that country except the French and their sepoys, who remained behind their fortified lines at Cuddalore. Sir Eyre Coote had returned to the coast, to resume the chief command and expel these French, but a third fit had proved fatal, and he had died on the 26th of April, three days after landing at Madras. Stuart lost time, and when, on the 13th of June, he attacked their lines, the French had made themselves so strong, that he was repulsed with loss.

On the very next day, Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing to co-operate in the attack on the lines of Cuddalore, but he was closely followed by M. Suffrein. The two admirals tacked and manœuvred during six or seven days; but, on the 20th of June, they came into action. As it grew dark, the two old antagonists separated, each with a good number of killed and wounded on his decks; and thus indecisively ended the fifth and last engagement between Hughes and Suffrein. On the 22nd, however, the French ships managed to get into the harbour of Cuddalore, where Suffrein landed every man he could spare to assist M. Bussy in defending the lines against Stuart. Encouraged by this accession of strength, Bussy attempted several sorties and surprises, which, however, were not very successful. In one of them, a good many Frenchmen were wounded and taken prisoners. Among them was a brave young sergeant, whose youth, gallantry, and superior manners attracted the attention of Colonel Wangenheim, who was serving under Stuart, with a corps of Hanoverians. The kind-hearted German officer caused the young man to be

conveyed to his own tent, where he was treated with every possible kindness. That wounded young serjeant was Charles John Bernadotte, afterwards general of the French Republic, prince and marshal of the empire, prince of Pontecorvo, crown prince of Sweden, and, as his climax, Charles John XIV., king of Sweden and Norway, &c.*

A few days after this sortie, when Stuart was expecting reinforcements, and preparing at last for a desperate assault on the Cuddalore lines,† news reached Madras that peace had been concluded between France and England.

M. Bussy gladly agreed to a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, and sent to invite Tippoo to be a party to these pacific arrangements.

The Mysorean was ruining himself in ineffectual attempts to take the town and half-ruined fort of Mangalore. He showed no anxiety for peace, as more than a month passed before M. Bussy received any answer to his letter. His tone even then was high; the English must restore to him everything they had taken from him or his father. Lord Macartney sent three commissioners to treat. Tippoo continued his siege of Mangalore. Nor were military operations against him suspended by the English. Colonel Fullarton, an excellent officer, who had succeeded the unfortunate Brathwaite, and who had been moving in the country beyond Tanjore, had taken the important fortress of Daraporam, which opened one of the roads to Seringapatam; and having destroyed its fortifications, he left a garrison in Dindigal, another important fortress which he had taken by storm, and he made other arrangements to keep open his communications, and facilitate his return towards the heart of

* More than twenty years after this incident, when Bernadotte took possession of Hanover as a conqueror, he met the kind-hearted veteran, then General Wangenheim, and showed to him his grateful recollection of what had passed in front of the lines of Cuddalore.

† General Stuart's conduct had given universal dissatisfaction. As soon as the truce was concluded with M. Bussy, the governor and council of Madras unanimously resolved that he should be deprived of the command. Stuart insisted that the council could dispose only of the command of their sepoy, and that he, as an officer in his majesty's service, had a right to retain the command of the king's troops. He spoke loudly of using force against force. Decisive steps were necessary, and Lord Macartney took them. He despatched his private secretary (the late Sir John Barrow, we believe), and the town adjutant, with a party of sepoy, to capture the general in his villa near Madras. Stuart was carried to the fort, and in a day or two shipped off for England.

Mysore, when the time should come. For the present, Fullarton had another line of march to pursue. Hostilities being terminated between the French and the English, Lord Macartney reinforced him with about 1,000 Europeans, and four battalions of sepoy, and instructed him to resume the plan of a campaign which had been conceived by himself, and interrupted by General Stuart, who had called him back to assist in the attack on the French lines at Cuddalore: he was to move against the southern coast-possession of Tippoo, before trying the road to Seringapatam.

After reducing the numerous Polygars of Tinivelly, who had thrown off their allegiance to the Company at the commencement of Hyder's invasion, and had been ravaging the country from Madura to Cape Comorin, and after chastising the hill Cooleries, who had been committing horrible excesses, Fullarton, with 16,000 fighting men, steadily kept his course. He was without money or any means of supply, except such magazines of the enemy as he might be enabled to capture. He was, however, well provided with artillery, shot, and gunpowder, which had been collected from the southern garrisons; and the rajah of Travancore, who had given a cordial support to Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, engaged to furnish some stores and provisions in the event of his moving against the southern coast. A friendly correspondence was also opened with the Zamorin, or ancient Hindū sovereign of Calicut, and with the other Malabar rajahs, whom Hyder had dispossessed and cruelly treated. All these princes or chiefs, eager for repossession and revenge, afforded what little aid they could. Other parties, less interested in the overthrow of Tippoo, occasionally furnished stores and provisions, and took bills upon the presidency of Madras, in payment. But Colonel Fullarton adopted other measures, which contributed in a much greater degree to facilitate his progress, by gaining the good-will and esteem of all parties. He treated the people with the utmost gentleness and kindness, having always a compliment or good word to say to them, whether they were princes or peasants; he gave up some paltry duties which former commanders had been accustomed to levy upon all articles sold in the bazaar or market of the army; he completely checked plundering, by hanging two or three of the first offenders; and—most of all—he paid the greatest respect to the deep-rooted religious prejudices of the Hindūs, and he enforced that re-

spect on the European soldiery, who were too apt to ridicule the worship, and laugh at the grotesque idols of the country. This toleration was extended even to the poor Pooleahs of Malabar, who worshipped monkeys, and pampered those creatures with sacrifices, and who were, themselves, treated as foul, obscene beasts, by the Hindüs. If a Nair met a Pooleah on the highway, he cut him down like a noxious animal. It was therefore the custom for a Pooleah, when travelling, to give a loud howl, and to run to a tree and climb up it, as he saw any Hindü approaching. The English conciliated the poor savages, who could be very useful in the woods and forests they inhabited. Fullarton also made a material change in the mode of marching, which had hitherto been by files, so that a large army was often many miles in length, with little communication between the distant parts of the line. At the same time he established, by means of the natives, an admirable system for getting intelligence, the want of which precaution had led to many disasters in this war; and so complete and effective was his system, that statements were always procured, not only of the military force of the enemy, but also of the grain deposited anywhere within 200 miles of his front or flanks.

For a short time, Fullarton halted in the neighbourhood of Daraporam, waiting for intelligence from the three commissioners, whom Lord Macartney had despatched to Tippoo; but, on the 16th of October, when he was officially informed that the Mysorean, instead of listening to terms of peace, had recommenced active hostilities at Mangalore, he took immediate measures to resent the insult, and bring the tyrant to reason.

Fullarton's mind, and that of the council at Madras, had been divided between two plans—1. To march right across the peninsula, through an enemy's country, 500 miles in extent, to the relief of Mangalore. 2. Or, to advance upon Seringapatam, and either overthrow the dynasty of Hyder in their capital, or compel Tippoo to hurry from the coast, in order to save that capital. He determined upon the latter movement, though not by the direct road, which offered no intermediate place of strength in which to lodge stores and provisions for the prosecution of his undertaking, or in which to secure a retreat in case of a reverse. But there was a more circuitous route which presented this essential recommendation, and several other military advantages.

Palagatcherry, nearer to the coast, had been rebuilt by Hyder, and was considered one of the strongest fortresses in India: the mountains, bounding the pass which it commanded, were covered by thick forests, through which there was no passage, and the plain below, a long and wide extent of rice-grounds, was crossed and intersected, like a chess-board, by the Paniany river, and might be defended by a small body of infantry against all Tippoo's cavalry. The fort further commanded the only practicable road between the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar: it opened the means of supply from Travancore, Cochin, Calicut, and other places; its occupation by the English would afford confidence to the Zamorin and the other chiefs, who, from Cochin to Goa, were all struggling to shake off the Mysorean yoke, and it would leave Fullarton liberty to disguise his movements, and to march upon Seringapatam by the route of Coimbatoor and the pass of Gudjereddy, or by the sea-coast route to Calicut, and thence through the pass of Dalmacherry. The colonel therefore determined to capture Palagatcherry; and on the 18th of October he began his march—one of the most remarkable in military history. Carrying several little forts on his way, he soon reached the high grounds of Palatchy, whence the streams run east and west to the Coromandel and Malabar seas. Beyond this point, his progress was slow and most difficult, for he had to force his way through a forest twenty miles in depth, with frequent torrent-courses and deep ravines within it. These ravines had to be filled up before it was possible to drag the heavy guns across them; innumerable large trees which obstructed the passage, required to be cut down and drawn out of the track, and then the whole road had to be formed before the carriages of the army could pass. Fourteen days were spent in these arduous labours, and in getting the materials of the army through that dense forest; and, to increase the toil and discomforts, a tremendous rain began as our people first entered the woods, and never ceased till they had cleared their way through them. The ravines were filled with water, the bullocks lost their footing, and the soldiers were obliged to drag the guns and the carriages nearly the whole distance. Difficulties and operations like these elevate the character of the Indian service; and they were of frequent occurrence. Goddard and Pearse, for example, in their long marches from Bengal to the Carnatic, had often

to make the road by which they were to advance, and the sepoys to yoke themselves to their cannons, tumbrils, and baggage-waggons.

On the 5th of November, Fullarton crossed a branch of the Paniany river, occupied the open town of Palagatcherry, and commenced a fire on the fort. But it was the 9th before the heavy battering-train was brought up—"after a succession of toils," says the colonel, "that would appear incredible if related in detail."* On the night of the 15th, Tippoo's garrison called out for quarter, and delivered up a place capable of making a long resistance. The English found in the fort 50,000 pagodas in money, a very large supply of grain, much artillery, powder and shot, and other necessary stores. During all these operations, Fullarton maintained his correspondence with Brigadier-General Macleod, now at Cannanore, and with Colonel Campbell, who commanded in Mangalore, telling them of his gradual approach to their coast, and calling upon them for a joint movement, and an advance in full force against Seringapatam. But Campbell was still cooped up by Tippoo, who madly persevered in his siege of Mangalore; Telicherry could spare no artillery or stores, and Macleod had no bullocks. Fullarton therefore gave up the notion of proceeding by the sea-coast to Calicut, and took the route that led by Coimbatoor to the pass of Gudjereddy. He was annoyed on his march by a large body of Tippoo's cavalry, who threw rockets; but, on the 26th of November, he sat down before the fort of Coimbatoor, which surrendered before he could finish a battery. Here, too, he found a great quantity of grain, ammunition, and stores. Money there was none; but the adjacent fields, productive of rich crops, promised abundant resources for the future. Coimbatoor, though a place of no military strength, was important from the reverence in which it was held by the Hindü population, as the ancient capital of a rajahship, where no Mussulman conqueror had ever penetrated, and where the old gods of India had not been disturbed. There, temples and pagodas were erect and undefiled; the idol Ganesa, with human body and elephant's head, sat on his throne, and wreathed his lithe proboscis; the goddess Saraswati bestrode her peacock, with tail

* 'An Account of the Military Operations in the Southern Parts of the Indian Peninsula, during the Campaigns of 1782, 1783, and 1784.' by William Fullarton, of Fullarton, M.P.

glittering with gems; the goddess Devi held her unbroken lotus; and Brahma, with his four heads and two pair of hands, had not a limb injured, or a feature defaced.*

Every ancient rajah now flew to arms, or made preparations for war; all the Hindūs between the ghauts and the sea, encouraged by the failures and losses of Tippoo before Mangalore, were in open revolt, or ripe for it; and in the country above the ghauts, in the very centre of Mysore, Fullarton's friendly Brahmins had excited the Hindūs, who were far more numerous even there than their Mussulman conquerors, and who engaged to render all the assistance they could to the English. The Coorga rajah, a powerful chief, under the mountains which separate the Malabar country from Mysore, was actively asserting his independence; and General Macleod, strong in Europeans and artillery, moved from point to point, generally by sea, to keep up this flame all along the coast. Nor were these all the enemies that were girding in Mysore; for General Jones was at the same time advancing on the Cuddapah country, or northern and inland possessions of Tippoo, where his power was ill-established and his government abhorred.

"The army under my own direction," says Fullarton, "was, perhaps, the strongest force belonging to Europeans that had ever been employed in India. The countries we had reduced extended 200 miles in length, afforded provisions for 100,000 men, and yielded an annual revenue of £600,000, while every necessary arrangement had been made for the regular collection of these resources. The fort and pass of Palagatcherry secured our western flank, and the intermediate position of General Macleod's army between Palagatcherry and Tippoo's main army at Mangalore, together with the singular combination of ravines, rivers, and embankments, that intersect the Malabar countries, and the mountains that divide them from Mysore (the passes through which were occupied by our friends—the disaffected rajahs), rendered it almost impracticable for Tippoo to move in that direction against our own acquisitions. To attack them by a movement through the passes of the ghauts, on the eastern flank towards Salem and Erode, supposed a circuit of 500 or 600 miles from the position of Tippoo's army before Mangalore. His movements, therefore, against these acquisitions,

* Edward Moor, 'Hindū Pantheon.'

could only be attempted by the central pass from Mysore at Gudjereddy, which is not fifty miles in front from Coimbatore; and the possession of that pass assured us an immediate access to the capital of Tippoo's kingdom, commanding a communication with our new acquisitions, and with the Company's southern provinces."*

Fullarton was on the point of pushing forward to Tippoo's capital with every assurance of success, when, on the 28th of November, he received the commands of the English commissioners, who were treating of peace, not only to desist, but also to evacuate immediately all the forts and posts he had taken, and to retire within our own limits. Feeling himself at liberty neither to disregard this peremptory command, nor to obey it to the extent of its literal signification, he stopped his marching order, and remained at Coimbatore for further advices. No true soldier could abandon such a scheme as he had formed, at the very moment when the prospect of success was brightest, without a bitter pang. Ten days of march would have brought Fullarton under the walls of Seringapatam; ten more days would, at that time, have sufficed for the reduction of that capital; the events of twenty-five years might have been anticipated, an inestimable amount of money and of blood might have been saved, the power of the British in the whole of the south of India might have been established, and a quarter of a century won to the cause of order and tranquillity. But Fullarton had to feel the bitter pang. About the middle of December, he received another letter from the commissioners repeating their former instructions, and also the minutes of a consultation from the government of Madras, directing him to fulfil the order of unqualified restitution, as the preliminary of negotiations with Tippoo Suldaun. Upon this the army of the south began to retrace their steps towards Tanjore and Trichinopoly, to the dismay and grief of the poor Zamorin and the other Hindüs who had openly committed themselves with the revengeful Tippoo. Fullarton had scarcely begun his backward march, when events occurred which must have made the council and commissioners regret the positive orders they had sent to him.

Those commissioners were treated like wretched hostages, and kept in the camp of the Mysorean, while he prosecuted

* 'View of the English Interests in India,' etc.

the siege of Mangalore. At one time they were commanded to send Colonel Campbell orders to evacuate that place; at another time they were personally threatened with the tyrant's vengeance; and at all times their letters were intercepted, and they were debarred from everything like freedom of communication.

Mangalore was contemptible as a fortified place, and would have been scarcely defensible at all except by troops like the 42nd, and an unyielding commander like Colonel Campbell. When the siege commenced, the garrison consisted of about 700 British troops and 3,000 sepoys; while Tippoo's force was estimated at 50,000 horse of all kinds, 30,000 foot, 600 French infantry under the command of Colonel Cossigny, and a medley force of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and Portuguese, under the command of an officer of the king of France; having, among them all, nearly 100 pieces of artillery. One broad breach was made after another—the paltry fortifications on the northern side were almost levelled—but every time the besiegers attempted to storm, they were driven back at the point of the bayonet. That weapon was also employed in frequent sorties made by the garrison, wherein batteries were taken, guns spiked, and great slaughters committed. By an unpardonable negligence, sufficient supplies were not thrown into the place, and its gallant defenders were beginning to feel the approaches of famine, when news arrived of the conclusion of peace in Europe, and in the Carnatic. M. Cossigny, after vainly endeavouring to prevail upon the obstinate Tippoo to join in the treaty, withdrew with his regular French troops; but several French officers, with all the less regular European forces, remained with the besiegers.

After many other cannonades and some most fruitless attempts at storming, the Mysorean consented to a cessation of hostilities. By the armistice Tippoo agreed to allow Colonel Campbell to purchase provisions in the country for his famishing troops. But the tyrant, who never kept an agreement, forbade the country people, under penalty of ears and noses, to sell anything to the English. Thus the garrison were reduced to the uncleanly diet of horse-flesh, rats, mice, frogs, snakes, and carrion birds. It is said, that they even shot and ate the jackals that descended by night in packs from the woods to devour the bodies of the dead.

Affairs were in this state at Mangalore on the 22nd of

November, when an English squadron appeared off the town. The ships were filled with the troops of General Macleod, who, in his anxiety to co-operate with the native chiefs along the Malabar coast, committed the monstrous absurdity of taking Tippoo's word, and making a fresh agreement about provisions with him; after which he sailed away without landing any supplies. This new agreement was observed like the former one. Instead of permitting the English garrison to purchase wholesome food, Tippoo allowed them to procure nothing but some damaged stores, so fetid and foul that the very dogs would not eat them. General Macleod returned to Mangalore, but it was only to commit a fresh folly in again taking the word of Tippoo. This was on the 31st of December, or about a fortnight after Colonel Fullarton, on the renewed instances of the Madras council, had turned his back upon Seringapatam, and commenced his retrograde movement. Colonel Campbell had soon occasion to acquaint Macleod, that he and his ships were no sooner gone than the Mysorean again began to starve the garrison. The general then sent a letter accusing Tippoo of broken faith. The Mysorean replied in a letter written by one of his Frenchmen—"It is one lie, or mensonge." This fired the blood of the Highlander, and he wrote again—"Permit me to inform you, prince, that this language is not good for you to give, or me to receive; and that if I was alone with you in the desert, you would not dare to say these words to me."

Campbell and his heroic garrison were now suffering the double calamities of disease and famine. Two-thirds of the men were sick and helpless, and those that remained on duty could scarcely drag themselves along under the weight of their muskets and cartouch-boxes. The number of deaths was great for so small a force, and increasing daily. It must have naturally occurred to Colonel Campbell, that there was no use in keeping that single and by no means good position, when all the rest of the coast and country was to be given back to the enemy; and at last, on the 23rd of January, 1784, after sustaining a siege and blockade of more than nine months, he agreed to quit Mangalore upon honourable conditions. Tippoo had lost before those rotten walls, by war, sickness, and desertion, nearly one-half of his army. But the tyrant considered the place as a charm, or talisman, on the possession of which the fortunes

of his house depended, and he was made so happy by entering into it, that for once he kept his engagements, and allowed Colonel Campbell, with his troops and baggage, sick and wounded, to march unmolested to Telicherry. At that place Campbell died soon after, worn out by the fatigues and sufferings he had undergone. Before this time General Mathews, who had capitulated at Bednore, had been deliberately murdered in prison, together with several of his officers.

Mangalore was scarcely evacuated, and Fullarton had not reached the old boundaries, when he received orders from Madras, to prepare for a recommencement of hostilities against Tippoo, and to regain, if possible, possession of Palagatcherry, which had been left in the hands of the Zamorin. But before any succour could be sent to him, that Hindū prince was surrounded by Tippoo's troops, who scared him and his adherents out of the fort, by sacrificing a number of much-venerated Brahmins, and exposing their bleeding heads upon tall poles. Palagatcherry was therefore to be regained only by a fresh siege. Fullarton began immediately to advance with the main body of his army; and he was again flattering himself with the hope of being the conqueror of Seringapatam, when he received intelligence that preliminaries of a peace had been exchanged between the commissioners and Tippoo Sultaun, and along with this intelligence orders from the commissioners to evacuate the country.

The commissioners, the governor and council of Madras, every man in India, knew that there was no confidence to be placed in the faith, humanity, or moderation of the "tiger"—for such, being translated, was the appropriate name of the tyrant—and they must have foreseen the bloodshed and devastation which awaited the wretched Hindūs of Coorg, Canara, and Mysore, whom we had drawn into our alliance—calamities which soon proved to be tenfold more terrible than the expulsion of the Rohillas from Rohilcund, and befalling a people incomparably more gentle and interesting than those robbers and soldiers of fortune; but the negotiations were held to be justified by the tenor of instructions and orders received from the British government, and from the Court of Directors, by the state of our political relations in Europe, and by the impoverished condition of the Company's territories. Yet, most assuredly, France

would not have gone into a new war solely to defend Tippoo; and, as for poverty, Fullarton had shown that an army might be well supported in the enemy's country without money or any further supplies from the Company. The retention of the districts which Fullarton had conquered would, by their revenues alone, have soon paid the expenses of another campaign; and that campaign, if conducted by an officer like Fullarton, must have finished the bloody story of Tippoo Sultaun. It was, however, that tyrant's destiny to be left to scourge his kind, and to renew his contest with the English, when again encouraged by the French.

The treaty of peace was finally concluded on the 11th of March, upon the condition of a restitution by both parties, of all that they had gained in the war. The tales told by the English prisoners of war, whom Tippoo now liberated from his abominable dungeons, excited horror and a lasting indignation, with a desire of vengeance.

The most dishonouring circumstance to us was the abandonment of our friends and allies, the Malabar Hindûs. The cruelties exercised upon those helpless gentle people were continued through several years, and were sharpened and made more dreadful by a mixture of religious fanaticism, which for ages had been rarely known among the Mahometans in India. In 1788, Tippoo paid a visit to Calicut, where he found the natives living peaceably in pleasant and picturesque habitations, scattered over the country, among palm-trees and groves of the tall-growing talipot. He compelled them to quit those habitations and reside in villages of forty houses each. The very next year, he returned to the country with a great army, destroying idols, pagodas, and temples, and threatening to exterminate "the infidels of Malabar." The whole of [that unhappy coast, and all the regions which Fullarton had overrun and conquered, were over-taxed, tormented, and most barbarously oppressed, so long as we remained at peace with Tippoo.

In other respects, and compared with the danger and despondency in the Carnatic at the beginning of the war, or with the result of the national contests in America, even this was a most honourable and advantageous peace. Many errors of judgment were committed in the conduct of the war, and the vices of jealousy, selfishness, and rapacity were too frequently visible both in council and in camp; nevertheless, taken as a whole, the campaigns were highly credit-

able to the abilities, perseverance, and valour of Englishmen. The extent of their operations was something magnificent; it embraced the two sides of the vast triangle of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to the Gulf of Cambay, and inland it nearly traversed the base of the triangle. Countries, hitherto known to us only by name, were penetrated and explored from end to end. Impressions were made that time and partial miscarriages would not obliterate. As Warren Hastings had all along desired, the Indians were convinced that no obstacles were insurmountable to the steady perseverance of the British; and the British learned, for the first time, the entire dependence that might be placed in the constancy and courage of their sepoys.

Thus the East was saved, when our empire in the West was lost. What effect would have been produced in Europe, or what panic, degradation, or despair, would not have been felt in England, if the loss of our Indian empire had been added to that of our thirteen provinces of North America!*

* Colonel Wilks, 'Historical Sketches of the South of India.' Captain Schomberg, 'Naval Chronology.' 'Annual Register,' for the years 1781, 1782, 1783, and 1784. Sir John Barrow, 'Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Macartney.' Colonel Fullarton, 'View of the English Interests in India,' and his 'Account of the Military Operations in the Southern Parts of the Peninsula,' etc. Forbes, 'Oriental Memoirs.' Dubois (l'Abbé), 'Mœurs, Institutions, et Cérémonies des Peuples de l'Inde.' 2 vols. 8vo. *Paris*, 1825. Moor, 'Hindū Pantheon.' For some valuable remarks on our Indian army, read Sir John Malcolm, Appendix to 'The Government of India.' London, 1833.

CHAPTER XVII.

INDIA was saved, and our dominion therein greatly extended. But the expense of the war had, at one time, been tremendous, and the Company being in embarrassments at home, the far greater part of the money could come only from Bengal. Warm as is my admiration for the character of Warren Hastings, with the evidence before me I cannot doubt that he occasionally put some burthen upon his conscience to procure the sinews of war. But, after a long consideration, and a mature reconsideration of this ponderous mass of evidence, and a more familiar acquaintance with some who were most familiar with the great governor-general, and in possession of many of his private and confidential letters, I cannot believe that he was even once guilty of any serious state crime or any act of absolute cruelty. The Carnatic must be rescued, India must be saved, cost what it might. For these great ends, such were the intenseness of purpose and the enthusiasm of the man, Hastings would have coined his own body and soul into rupees, had such a process been practicable, at the moment of crisis, when the Mahrattas, Hyder Ali, and the French had their talons on the Carnatic. He determined that money should be raised by whatever decent means lay in his power.

Some of the neighbouring princes who owed their political existence to English arms, and who were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of great amount. As they would not pay voluntarily, and as no time was to be lost, the governor-general and his council adopted the plan of squeezing them. The first to whom they applied the pressure was Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares, who owed his existence as a prince directly and entirely to Hastings. Francis, Clavering, and Monson had transferred his dominions to the nabob of

Oude, but Hastings had secured him in possession, upon condition of his paying a fixed sum to the Company. At the breaking out of the war, the governor-general demanded more money as an "extraordinary contribution," for which, in due time, allowance was to be made to the rajah. Cheyte Sing (whose dominions and life were surely forfeited if the anti-English coalition succeeded) might have made a much greater advance, but he grudgingly and at intervals paid down only £60,000. The next demand made upon him was not for money, but for troops. The governor-general, lowering his first demand, said he would be satisfied with 1,000 men. Cheyte Sing collected 1,000 ragamuffins. Hastings did not want such fellows; what he wanted was money. At the same critical moment, Cheyte Sing was detected in an insidious correspondence with the enemies of the English, and was observed to assume an air of insolence and independence. "I was resolved," says Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses."*

The governor-general set out for Benares, the capital and residence of Cheyte Sing, and so little did he anticipate danger, that he took with him little more than his usual body-guard, and conducted Mrs. Hastings, who accompanied him, as far as Monghir. Cheyte Sing came eastward as far as Buxar to meet the governor-general, and lay his turban upon his lap, a token of entire submission.† With the rajah in his train, the governor-general entered Benares on the 14th of August, 1781. Cheyte Sing was then taken seriously to account, and, as he replied evasively and somewhat impertinently, Hastings gave Mr. Markham, his resident at Benares, orders to arrest the rajah at an early hour on the morrow. Markham (a son of Dr. Markham, archbishop of York) performed this service with only two companies of sepoy, and without any opposition or outcry. But the arrest kindled a flame, which endangered Hastings, and, in his person, the fortunes of the English in India.

Cheyte Sing had a strong party among his own subjects. Benares was the most holy city of Hindustan, being to the Hindüs what Mecca is to the Mahometans, or what Jerusalem was to the Jews: it contained a great population,

* Mr. Hastings's own 'Narrative of the Transactions at Benares,' etc.

† MS. Correspondence of Sir Elijah Impey, including confidential letters to Sir Elijah from Mr. Warren Hastings.

who pretended to a superior sanctity merely from the place of their residence; it was thronged by santons, fakeers, pilgrims, and devotees from all parts of India. It was this continual concourse of devotees that tended to fill the rajah's treasury. These pilgrims, who had travelled far to wash off their sins in the Ganges where it was holiest, and to offer their prayers and oblations in Benares, resented the insult offered in that sacred city to the acknowledged ruler of it, himself an Hindü of ancient race, and a great frequenter of temples and pagodas. It appears that fakeers and fanatics led the van.

Scarcely had Markham seized the rajah, when there arose from the narrow crowded streets of Benares the roar of tens of thousands of angry voices, and the noise produced by a rushing multitude. The devotees were all armed. The rajah had not been removed from his palace, but left there with only two companies of sepoy placed over him as a guard. Thither the living streams flowed and concentrated from all parts of the city. Such was the security of the English managers, that the sepoy had been left in the palace with their muskets and bayonets, but without any cartridges. When Hastings saw the danger, two other companies were sent to carry ammunition and support them; but this small force got lost and buried in the crowd, and, in attempting to open their way to the palace, they were massacred almost to a man. This over, the furious multitude fell upon the two sepoy companies at the palace, and massacred them likewise. The English officers died, with their swords in their hands; a heap of their assailants were slain, and only a very few of those sepoy escaped. During the confusion Cheyte Sing ran out of the palace by a wicket-gate, which opened on the steep bank of the Ganges, and, letting himself down by a string formed of turbans tied together, he threw himself into a boat and escaped to the opposite side of the river.

If, instead of running away, Rajah Cheyte Sing and his people had fallen upon Hastings, the consequences could scarcely have been doubtful, for at the moment the governor-general had only fifty sepoy at hand for the defence of his house. Hastings himself said afterwards—"If Cheyte Sing's people, after they had effected his rescue, had proceeded to my quarters, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous manner, as they did, in his passage over the river, it is

probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carnage."*

But even when the first fury of the populace was spent, and the rajah had proved by his flight that he was afraid of extreme measures against Hastings, the situation of that small party of English in Benares remained very critical. They were blockaded on all sides, they had scarcely any money with them, and they had not provisions even for a single day. But Hastings's courage, decision, and promptitude never forsook him. The rajah, though still collecting forces on the other side of the Ganges, sent to offer apologies for the slaughter which had occurred. The governor-general did not deign to answer him. In the morning he was joined by a few faithful sepoys, and he called up another small body that were cantoned at Mirzapoor, on the other side of the Ganges, sending them orders to march against the palace of Ramnaghur (just opposite to Benares), in which Cheyte Sing had taken up his temporary abode. In order that his fleet messengers might get through the blockading rabble without losing their despatches, he wrote in the smallest hand on small slips of paper, which were rolled up and put into quills. When these Indians travelled, they were accustomed to lay aside their enormous gold ear-rings, and put quills into the orifices of the ears to prevent their closing up; thus no notice would be taken of the pieces of quills containing the governor-general's earnest calls for immediate succour: for, so little had this storm been apprehended, that Mrs. Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice, and Lady Impey, were travelling up the country to join the governor-general at Benares. It was most fortunate for Hastings that Sir Elijah was on this day at only a short distance from the city; for his life-long friend, besides being an eminent lawyer, was a man of decision and courage, and in possession of great influence with all classes of the natives. Upon receiving *his* quill,† Impey made every possible or imaginary exertion to send sepoys and friends to the rescue. Hastings always acknowledged that he owed his escape chiefly to the prompt measures taken by Sir Elijah;

* 'Narrative.'

† My friend, the late Miss Marion Impey, a daughter of the judge, preserved this quill, and the tiny despatch that was in it, among her Indian relics and mementos.

and Sir Mijah, alluding to these occurrences, was in the habit of quoting,

“ Quod Thebæ cecidere, meum est.”*

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

“ Hathi par houda ! ghora par zeen,
Jaldi jao, jaldi jao, Warren Hasteen ! ”

Which may be translated—

Horse, elephant, houda, set off at full swing,
Run away, ride away, Warren Hasting.†

But Warren Hastings did not run far. It was under cover of night that he fled from Benares, and, with that usual good fortune which is attendant on courage and presence of mind,—“ Virtutis Fortuna comes,” ‡—before day, he reached in safety the strong fortress of Chunar, built on a rock, which rises several hundred feet above the Ganges, and is situated about seventeen miles below Benares. His flight, of course, gave still further encouragement to the insurgents; the enthusiastic fakeers spread themselves over the country, the preaching Brahmins harangued in the temples, the sacred monkeys, swinging in their golden cages, made signs and grimaces prophetic of the triumph of the old religion; the whole of the district rose in arms, people began to flock in from the adjoining territories of Oude and Bahar, vowing that they would protect the rajah and the holy city.

The numbers and the momentary spirit of the Hindūs, who thus surrounded him, animated for a moment the

* ‘Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey,’ by the late Elijah Barwell Impey, and information given by Mr. Impey in ‘Our Indian Empire.’

† ‘Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey,’ p. 234.

‡ The appropriate motto of the Duke of Wellington.

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

Notwithstanding his ingenious precaution, several of Hastings's letters miscarried; but most of them reached their destinations, and were obeyed with that rapidity which the exigencies of the case required. Money was sent to him from Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and troops, quitting their various cantonments, concentrated under the rock of Chunar. At this crisis everything depended on the fidelity of the sepoys, for there were hardly any troops in the country but these; and the sepoys were, for the most part, men of the same race and country as those against whom they were to act, were, many of them, natives of Benares or the surrounding district, and, as such, had been wont to consider Cheyte Sing as their legitimate prince. It is perhaps only in India that the natural sympathies and passions of men have ever been so subjugated by discipline and other artificial means. But the event proved that Hastings was right in relying on their unalterable fidelity to their standard or their salt, and on their attachment to the military point of honour as greater than any they bore for their country or kindred, their native prince, or even their religion. Not a corps showed any reluctance to engage the rajah and the people of Benares, not a single case of desertion occurred; and the insurrection, which might speedily have become a far-reaching revolution, was put down by these sepoys. On the 29th of August, a considerable body of Cheyte Sing's people, who had advanced to a small fort not far from Chunar, were routed and compelled to leave all their rice and baggage behind them; and, on the 3rd of September, a still larger body were defeated with the loss of their artillery; on the 15th other corps were put to flight; and on the 20th the pass of Sukroot and the large and fortified town of Pateeta were forced, cleared, and taken by the sepoys commanded by Major Popham. It has been said that the insurgents fought bravely in some of these affairs; but this was not the case either at Sukroot or Pateeta, in both of which places they were favoured by situation. I have in my possession a note to Mr. Hastings, written in

pencil by Major Popham, on the 20th of September, immediately after the fighting. The major tells the governor-general that two or three rounds fired from a single cannon put them all to flight; that very few of his sepoys had been killed, and not an officer hurt; that the enemy sustained great loss in their flight, &c. In a very short time nothing could be seen of the force, which had been estimated at 30,000 men; "and in a few hours," adds the governor-general, speaking as the servant of kings, "the allegiance of the country was restored as completely, from a state of universal revolt to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it."*

The rajah with his family and a few attendants fled precipitately to Bidjeeghur, the principal stronghold of the Benares princes, and about fifty miles from the capital. To that capital the governor-general returned triumphantly, issuing a proclamation and an amnesty for all except Cheyte Sing and his brother. No time was lost in sending troops to Bidjeeghur. The poor rajah had not courage to await their arrival: he fled in the night to find refuge, and an exile from which he never returned, among the rajahs of Bondileund. In his haste, in his anxiety for his own safety, by means of a flight too rough and rapid for ladies, he left behind him his wives, his mother, and all the females of his family, who were taken prisoners on the 9th of November, when the fort of Bidjeeghur surrendered by capitulation. According to Hastings, the rajah had carried off with him an immense sum of money, besides jewels of great price; but current rupees to the amount of about £250,000 were found in the old castle. This money was appropriated by the troops, who for some five months had received little or no pay.

In the meanwhile the governor-general, considering a puppet rajah necessary at Benares, had selected a young nephew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part. The tribute to the Company was raised to forty lacs of rupees, the governor-general took the entire jurisdiction and management of the city and country into his own hands; even the mint, the last vestige of sovereignty, was taken from this boy-rajah and put under the control of the Company's resident at Benares.

* Rev. G. R. Gleig, 'Memoir of Warren Hastings.' Mr. Hastings's own letters, memoranda, and other papers given in these volumes, are of great value and interest.

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

Asoph-ul-Dowla, nabob of Oude, stood indebted, on the Company's books, in nearly one million and a half sterling. Like Cheyte Sing, the rajah of Benares, he was entirely dependent on the Company, and on the protection of their troops, against the plundering Mahrattas and Rohillas. Nay, without our sepoys he could not have resisted his own disaffected turbulent subjects, nor have collected a rupee of revenue. Instead of paying his debts, he spent his money in luxury and extravagance, and in the erection of gorgeous edifices. The nabob had been repeatedly warned that money must be forthcoming, that without money to sustain the war there would be no safety either for him or for the English. He was journeying between Lucknow and Benares, to meet the governor-general, when he received the startling intelligence that Benares was in a state of insurrection, and that Cheyte Sing was in the field with an army. He did not retrace his steps to Lucknow, as might have been expected, but continued his journey to Chunar, having learned that Hastings was in that fortress, and that the British sepoys had been called thither from all points. It was the cowardice, not the fidelity of the nabob that was suspected; many of his subjects, and even some members of his own family, were assisting Cheyte Sing; but Asoph-ul-Dowla clearly foresaw that, however numerous they might be, the undisciplined insurgents could never make a stand against our faithful and highly-disciplined sepoys. On the rock of Chunar, before his troops came up, and while the furious insurgents were gathering round him, the governor-general calmly negotiated with the nabob. Asoph-ul-Dowla protested that he had no treasure to bestow, but that two great ladies in his dominions had far more money than they ought in justice to be possessed of. These two begums, whose names afterwards so resounded in St. Stephen's Chapel and in Westminster Hall, were, one the mother of the late Nabob Sujah Dowla, the other his wife, and the parent of the reigning nabob. It was said that great doubts might be entertained as to the validity of Sujah Dowla's testamentary bequests; that the will under which the

begums claimed had never been produced; and that the deceased nabob could not lawfully alienate the treasure and territory or jaghires of the state, which of right belonged to his successor on the musnud. It was proved that the two begums had promoted insurrection in Oude, and had encouraged the partisans of Cheyte Sing immediately after the massacre of our sepoys and officers in Benares. Weak detachments of the Company's troops had been attacked by the retainers of the begums. These last facts were sworn to, as well by British officers and other Englishmen as by natives. The facts were indeed, at the time, notorious, although years after they were denied in the British parliament by men who were seeking to ruin Hastings, for the means he had employed to save our Indian empire.*

It was agreed between Asoph-ul-Dowla and Hastings that the two begums should be dispossessed of a portion of their immense estates, and that the nabob should have and hold the jaghires taken from them; that the begums' hidden treasures should be seized, and the money paid over to the Company in partial or entire discharge of the debt which he owed it. The treaty of Chunar was signed on the 19th of September. The nabob charged himself with the execution of the processes for getting the lands for himself, and the rupees for the Company. He returned to Lucknow, his capital, and from that city he presently went to Fyzabad, the residence of the begums. Those two ladies were very tenacious of their money; their servants were uncommunicative—were rigidly secret—the hidden treasure was not to be found! neither promises nor threats had any effect upon the two eunuchs who were in all the begums' secrets, and who were making money by employing their great capital. Severe and unjustifiable measures were resorted to, *not by Hastings, but by Asoph-ul-Dowla*, to extract a confession; and, by slow degrees, money was extorted from the two eunuchs of the household to the amount of about £500,000. As this fell far short of the estimated amount of the treasure, other acts of severity were practised. Although the two begums and their two agents had few virtues and very little claim on the sym-

* 'History of the Trial of Warren Hastings,' 8vo. London, 1796. 'Evidence against and for Warren Hastings on the Commons' Charges of Impeachment,' 9 vols. folio. London, 1786-94. See also 'Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey,' by his son.

pathies of the people of the country, these acts are not to be justified; but it was proved that the reports of them drawn up by the prosecutors of Hastings were monstrously exaggerated. Nearly a quarter of a century after the imprisonments and alleged tortures, in the year 1803, Lord Valentia found, at Lucknow, well, fat, and enormously rich, Almas Ali Khan, on whose sufferings Mr. Burke had been so indignant and so pathetic. After all the cruel plunderings he was said to have undergone, this eunuch was supposed to be worth half a million sterling. He was upwards of eighty years of age, six feet high, and stout in proportion; he had been an active and intriguing courtier, and a rigorous tax-collector; he was now almost in his dotage, and the nabob was eagerly looking for his inheritance. The younger of the two begums, over whom so many tears had been shed in England, was also alive and hearty and—*very rich!* *

Whatever sums were procuring at Fyzabad were remitted by the nabob to Hastings, and were by him immediately applied to the support of the ruinous wars in the Carnatic; to the operations on the side of Bombay, and to subsidies for keeping the Mahrattas quiet. But for the money thus obtained and thus applied, no man in his senses will now doubt that India must have been lost.

The two last years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of the public life of Warren Hastings. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity, which had not been known for some ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Notwithstanding some great exploits, like Rodney's victory and Elliot's defence of Gibraltar, the war had been more dishonourable to England than any in which she had been engaged in modern times; America was lost,—disasters had attended her flag almost everywhere, except in India, where her power and reputation were far greater at the end than they had been at the beginning of hostilities. Nor was it a vain boast in Hastings to say—"This is my work! Whatever else I have done, I have done this—I have rescued the Carnatic when at the last gasp; I have

* See Lord Valentia's 'Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea,' etc.; and 'Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey.'

preserved and extended the British empire in the East!" No one in India, either native or British, doubted the fact. In the supreme council all opposition ceased or became of the mildest kind, and the records and protests of Clavering, Monson, and Francis, were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that, if their schemes had been followed, India would have been lost like America. Yet, at this very time, the vindictive, venomous Francis was preparing, in England, the means of impeaching and ruining the governor-general.

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

As far back as the month of March of the preceding year (1783), which was not only previous to the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill, to which his resignation has sometimes been very erroneously attributed, but even previous to the bringing in of Mr. Fox's bill, the governor-general had requested the Court of Directors to name his successor. Before undertaking his late journey to Lucknow, which was also many months before the news of Pitt's India bill could reach India, he had sent home Mrs. Hastings, whose health was declining; and no one who knew his devotedness to his wife could doubt, that in parting from her, he had fully made up his mind to resign the government, and follow her as soon as possible. He now wrote to inform the directors, that he was coming to England, and that, as a successor had not been appointed by them, his duties would be discharged *pro tempore* by Mr. Macpherson, senior member of council. So soon as it was publicly known that he was about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up, and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the Company, by factors and traders, and by natives of all ranks, as well

as by Europeans. He had been a benefactor to the people of Bengal, who always regarded him with warm good-will, and who had conceived a romantic or superstitious admiration of his prestige, or fortune, of his commanding yet conciliating manners, and of the splendour and pomp with which, for state purposes, he always surrounded himself. The natives, indeed, regarded him in no other light than in that of their sovereign; and not a few shed tears at the thought of losing him. As to the civil servants of the Company, many of them owed to him their appointments or promotions, and all, having been brought frequently into close contact with him, had been impressed by his commanding ability and marvellous rapidity in the despatch of business; but the enthusiastic admiration and affection of the army for a mere civilian was more extraordinary. They had been won by Hastings's original and bold military conceptions at the commencement of the war, by the flattering confidence he always reposed in the troops, and by the honours and distinctions with which he treated them on all proper occasions. Thus, about this time, when the corps of Colonel Pearse, which performed the memorable march from Calcutta to Madras, and which now returned, after an absence of five years, reduced from 5,000 to 2,000 sepoys, he heaped every distinction upon them; he visited them in their camp; he conversed with men and officers; he told them that they had done wonders; he examined their accoutrements and arms, which had been proved in many battles, as well with veteran French as with native Indian troops; and he passed the corps in review. Dressed in a plain blue coat, and with his head uncovered, he rode along the lines, producing as much excitement and enthusiasm as the most successful of generals could have done, though attended by all that dazzles and delights the eyes of soldiers, or all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war." One of his last public acts was the issuing of a general order to the Bengal army, expressing in forcible language his sense of its past services, and affirming (what I have already quoted) that there are no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise is not capable of surmounting. It was this conduct that endeared Hastings as much to the army as to the other branches of the service. The dark faces of the sepoys looked darker at his departure. Veterans scarred with wounds were seen weeping, and voices which meant to shout broke down into

a feeble note and a wailing. When, on the 8th of February, 1785, he delivered up the keys of office, and walked down a private man to the place of embarkation, his friends and admirers formed a complete avenue from the palace to the water side, standing on either side of his path; many barges escorted him far down the Hooghly, and some reluctant friends did not leave him until the pilot left the ship, far out at sea. During his voyage, which was unusually short for those times, he amused himself with reading and with writing verses. He translated that well-known ode, wherein the Roman poet expresses his philosophic indifference to wealth and worldly grandeur, and his love of an humble retirement, with an ease not to be purchased by jewels nor by gold. And of gold Hastings had comparatively but little. It has been calculated that he might, with ease to himself, have brought home from two to three millions sterling; what he did bring was less than 130,000*l*.—was less than the fortunes which had been made by Mr. Barwell and other members of the council—less than the gleanings of many an inferior servant of the Company—far less than what the *patriotic* Philip Francis had made in six years; and Hastings, who had been thirteen years governor-general, had been altogether more than thirty years in India; nor would he have had even this moderate fortune, if it had not been for the forethought and management of his wife, who accepted presents which he refused, and saved money in private corners, which he would have spent in the public service, or in embellishing the city of Calcutta, or in paying for scientific expeditions to the unknown countries bordering on India, or in supporting the almost regal splendour of his establishments. He landed at Plymouth in the month of June, and posted up to London and to court, confident of a good reception.

He was not disappointed; the king and queen received him and Mrs. Hastings most graciously; the Court of Directors received him in a solemn sitting, and the chairman read a vote of thanks for his great achievements, which had been passed without one dissenting voice. He knew that Francis had been for years plotting, writing, and publishing against him; and he also knew that in the session of parliament which had recently been prorogued, Mr. Burke, who had been completely won over by Francis, had given notice of a motion very hostile to him. But when Lord North, after

a thousand menaces, and at least a hundred set speeches from Burke and Fox, had not been impeached for losing America, was it possible to anticipate that they would impeach him for saving India? He believed that his country would reproach him as little as he was reproached by his own conscience. In a letter two or three months after his arrival in England, he said,—“I find myself everywhere and universally treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country.”*

Yet in the course of the next session of parliament the Commons resolved to impeach both Mr. Warren Hastings and his friend Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice, who had returned to England as far back as the month of June, 1784, and who had not hitherto been molested. Francis had complete possession of Burke's ear; and Francis, ever since his return from the East, in 1781, had devoted his uncommon energy and cunning, the whole of his extraordinary abilities, his whole life and soul, to the blackening of the Indian administration. I assume, as a proven and now altogether indisputable fact, that Sir Philip Francis, and none other, was the author of the notorious “Letters of Junius.” The venom which had been spread in those noisome letters, in former days, when Francis was only a poor clerk in the War Office, over the duke of Grafton, the duke of Bedford, Sir William Draper, the good king, and others, was now all concentrated upon Hastings and Impey. The ex-member of council at Calcutta was impelled, by ambition and revenge, two of the strongest of human passions, and both of them more violent and intense in the heart of Francis than they are often found to be in English human nature. Francis's ambition was to become governor-general of India, and to add to the great wealth which he had already accumulated there. How his demoniacal passion of revenge was excited against Hastings, who, be it remembered, had almost killed him in a duel, has been sufficiently shown; and how that evil passion was roused against Impey, may be explained in a very few words. Sir Elijah, as chief judge, had several times rebuked the fiery spirit of the leader of the factious council, and had, by legal measures, upset some of his daring projects; that Impey had

* Rev. G. R. Gleig, ‘Memoir.’

been the school-fellow, and early friend of Hastings, was by itself enough to make him odious in the eyes of Francis; but, in addition to all these grounds of hostility, there was this memorable circumstance—*Philip Francis, who dearly loved his money, had, during his residence in Calcutta, made himself amenable to a civil prosecution, and it had been the duty of Sir Elijah Impey to pronounce upon him a sentence inflicting heavy damages!* !*

Being heard in his own defence at the bar of the House of Commons, on the 4th of February, 1788, Sir Elijah Impey so completely and triumphantly exculpated himself from the first of the six charges brought against him—the trial and execution of the rajah Nuncomar—that that charge was let drop, and he never heard anything more of the other five charges. Sir Elijah published the speech he had delivered at the bar, in an octavo volume, with a copious appendix of documents and vouchers; and the speech and the publication (which have been scandalously overlooked by various recent writers on Indian history) ought to have given an eternal quietus to at least that section of Francis's malice, and Burke's misapprehension; yet, in spite of both, and in spite of Sir Elijah's acquittal, the Nuncomar charge continued to be pressed against Hastings, who could not be guilty singly, and whose innocence was as completely proved by the triumphant defence at the bar of the house, and by the book, as was the innocence of Sir Elijah himself.

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

He was acquitted: but, if his honour and character were cleared, his purse, in a worse sense, was cleared also; and for some time there seemed a chance of his concluding his eventful career on the debtors' side of some English prison. Besides the enormous expenses of the trial, the sums paid to Law, Plumer, Dallas, and his other lawyers, he had thought himself obliged to incur heavy charges in printing and publishing, and in retaining pam-

* 'Our Indian Empire.'

phleeters and newspaper writers, in order to head the torrent that Francis and his party directed upon him. Several men who had been indebted to Hastings for the means of acquiring the large fortunes they had made in India, basely took money from him for their services in England; and some of them, who lent him money in his hour of need and distress, became importunate, hard-hearted creditors. He, himself, always maintained that his expenses ought to be repaid by the nation; and Mr. Pitt had spoken in the House of Commons about a proper indemnification, if the charges should not be made good. But certain friends, having no confidence in parliamentary generosity in a case like his, applied to the East-India Company; and on the 7th of March, 1796, it was announced at a general court in the East-India House, that the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, had agreed to grant to Mr. Hastings an annuity of £4,000 for twenty-eight years and a half. Nothing was determined respecting the reimbursement of his law expenses: but, in order to relieve him from his embarrassments, a sum of £50,000 was *lent* to him by the Company, for eighteen years, and without interest. He survived his acquittal twenty-four years; and, in his last years, honours and distinctions were showered upon him. The University of Oxford conferred the honorary degree of doctor of laws; the prince regent added his name to the list of privy councillors, and in that same year (1814), the allied sovereigns being in England, the prince presented Mr. Hastings to the emperor of Russia, and to the king of Prussia, as one of the greatest men of this country. In his 82nd year, however, he was again in pecuniary difficulties, for he had outlived the period for which his annuity had been fixed.

Is there no undeciduous boon in store
 T'immortalize the patriot of fourscore?
 Say—from her duty shall the realm recede?
 Reap her son's labours, and withhold the meed?
 Ah! whence, Britannia, whence that grudging hand? *

But the grudging hand of the nation would not be opened, and he who saved and enlarged our Indian empire was obliged to appear before the directors as a

* Elijah Barwell Impey, A.M., student of Christ Church, a 'Gratulatory Poem, suggested by the Commemoration at Oxford,' June 30, 1813.

suitors; and they, after some delay, agreed to continue the annuity for the term of his natural life. He died on the 22nd of August, 1818, in the 86th year of his age.

Among the numerous merits and the great deeds that will preserve his name in the history of British India, and in the history of his own country, must be mentioned the noble encouragement he afforded to liberal studies and scientific researches. As well by his example as by his munificence, he gave an impulse to learning in the indolent atmosphere of Bengal. Every young officer or writer of the Company who successfully applied himself to the studies of the native languages and literatures, or to the geography, or to the natural history of India, found in him a friend and generous patron. He acquired a deep knowledge of Persian and Arabic literature; and though he did not learn that mysterious and jealously-guarded language himself, he was the first that succeeded in gaining the confidence of the pundits, or hereditary priests of India, whereby he obtained, for other English scholars and students, the key to Sanscrit, and to the secrets of the ancient Brahminical theology and jurisprudence. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal commenced its career; and it was during his administration that Englishmen really began to acquire that knowledge of India, and the character, habits, and institutions of the people, without which our anomalous empire could not have been maintained for any length of time.*

* Rev. G. R. Gleig, 'Memoirs.' James Mills, 'History of British India,' as edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson. London, 1840. Professor Wilson's notes, and his numerous corrections of Mr. Mills's text, are particularly recommended to the attention of the student.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PREVIOUSLY to the return of Warren Hastings from India, very material changes had been made in the Company's charter, and in the rules and regulations for governing our Eastern dominions. In 1783, Mr. Fox brought in his famous, but unfortunate East-India bill, which would have placed nearly all the patronage of the Company in the hands of the ministers of the crown; that is, in the hands of any government that could command parliamentary majorities; and such vast patronage would have given the means of swelling majorities. Had Mr. Fox's bill been passed, the coalition ministry of that day, unpopular as it was, and unpalatable to the king, might long have retained power; but the bill was lost, and led immediately to the breaking up of that ministry, and to the introduction of Mr. Pitt as premier of a new cabinet. On the 14th of January, 1784, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill "For the better Government and Management of the Affairs of the East-India Company." At its second reading, this bill was also lost. But, on the 25th of March, Pitt, thoroughly supported by the king, dissolved parliament. The general election went greatly in favour of the young prime minister; and, the new parliament, which assembled on the 18th of May, passed Pitt's Indian bill into a law on the 13th of August.

This bill instituted the Board of Control, by which, ever since, the government of India may be said to have been directed. This board of commissioners was invested "with a superintendence and control over all the British territorial possessions in India, and over the affairs of the Company in England."

The bill did not, like Mr. Fox's bill, claim the nomination of the members of this controlling power for the House of Commons, but left it solely to the crown. It did not

abolish the two existing Courts of Directors and Proprietors, as Fox had proposed to do, but it created a secret committee, which was to absorb nearly the whole of the diminished power that was left to the directors, and it greatly curtailed the powers of the Court of Proprietors. It enacted that every individual who had held any office of trust in India should, on his return home, disclose the amount of the fortune he brought with him, and it provided a new tribunal for the trial and punishment of offences liable to be committed in India, or "for the prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment British subjects guilty of extortion, and other misdemeanors, while holding offices in the service of the king or Company, in India."* The Board of Control was to be composed of six commissioners, all members of the privy council, chosen by the king, of whom the chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the principal secretaries of state, were to be two; and, in absence of the chancellor of the Exchequer, and the principal secretary, the senior of the remaining four was to preside.

As neither of the two great functionaries named were ever likely to find time for a constant attendance, the whole business soon rested with that senior, known by the name of the president of the Board of Control, who is, essentially, a secretary of state for the Indian department. In the act, however, the authority was vested in the plural number—in commissioners. These commissioners were not to interfere in commercial matters, but in all other matters their power was most extensive. They were vested with a control and superintendence over all civil, military, and revenue officers of the Company, and the directors were obliged to lay before them all papers relative to the management of their possessions, and to obey all orders which they received from them on points connected with their civil or military government, or the revenues of their territories. The commissioners were obliged to return the copies of papers which they received from the directors, in fourteen days, with their approbation, or to state at large their reasons for disapproving of them; and their despatches, so approved or amended, were to be sent to India, unless the

* This clause, though remodelled and softened, soon became a dead letter. The British subjects in India took the alarm—as well they might—and poured in petitions against it.

commissioners should attend to any representations of the Court of Directors, respecting further alterations in them.

The Court of Directors had no power to send any orders regarding their civil or military government, without the sanction of the commissioners; but these might (if the directors neglected to send true copies of their intended despatches, upon any subject, within fourteen days) send by themselves orders and instructions relative to the civil or military concerns of the Company, to any of the presidencies of India; and these instructions the Court of Directors were, in such case, bound to forward. If the commissioners forwarded any orders to the Court of Directors on points not relating to the civil or military government, or to the revenues of the territorial possessions of the Company, the directors might appeal to the king in council. In all cases of secrecy, and particularly such as related to war or peace with the native powers of India, the commissioners had the power of sending their orders to the local government of India, through a secret committee of the Court of Directors, which committee, by the act, could in this case only be considered as the vehicle of the instructions to the local authorities of India. The chief government in India was to consist of a governor-general, and a council of three, of whom the commander-in-chief of the forces, for the time being, was to be one, and to have a voice and precedence next after the governor-general; but, the said commander-in-chief was not to succeed as governor-general, in the event of a death or vacancy, unless by a special appointment of the Court of Directors.

The constitution of the government of the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay was the same as at Bengal, and at both the governor had, like the governor-general, a casting vote in council. But these two minor presidencies were placed completely under the rule of the governor-general in council, on all points connected with their relations or negotiations with the country powers, peace or war, and the application of their revenues and military forces. These subordinate presidencies were strictly prohibited from making war or peace without orders from the governor-general at Calcutta, or from the Court of Directors, or the secret committee at home, except only in cases of sudden emergency or imminent danger, when it would be ruinous

or unsafe to postpone such hostilities or treaties. The supreme government at Calcutta was to be intrusted with the power of suspending the governors of Madras and Bombay, in case of any disobedience of orders; but the power of war and peace was now to be restrained at Calcutta; it being declared by this act that, as the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour, and the policy of the British nation, it was not lawful for the governor-general in council, without the express authority of the Court of Directors, or of the secret committee, to commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native princes or states in India, or into any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such princes or states, except when hostilities had been commenced, or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the states and princes, whose dominions the British nation was engaged by subsisting treaties to protect and defend. The right of recall was vested in the crown;* the king was to have power to recall the governor-general, or any other officer of the Company; and, if the Court of Directors did not within two months nominate to vacancies which might occur in any of the principal charges or employments, such as governor-general, governor, commander-in-chief,

* The directors were soon made to feel that this right of recall was pretty nearly tantamount to the right of nomination. In the month of October, 1784, before Pitt's bill was two months old, the directors appointed Mr. Holland, an old servant, who had long been at Madras, and was reputed to have ability, integrity, and an extensive knowledge of the country, to succeed Lord Macartney in the government of that part of India, in case of his lordship's resignation, death, or removal. The Board of Control objected to the choice. The Court of Directors persisted in their appointment, and intimated that the Board of Control were meddling in a matter that did not belong to them, inasmuch as by the late act the power of appointing to such places rested with the directors. Hereupon the Board of Control said:—"If the reasons which we have adduced do not satisfy the Court of Directors, we have certainly no right to control their opinion." But at the same time they informed Mr. Holland that if he accepted the appointment, and went to India, he would be recalled the moment he got there. This settled the dispute; and Mr. Dundas was allowed to nominate Sir Archibald Campbell, who, whatever were his other qualifications, had the merit of being Dundas's friend. It was at a period subsequent to this that the power of recall was given also to the Company. How this power was exercised by the board without the consent of ministers, in the case of the earl of Ellenborough, is a recent event, and fresh in public recollection.

or member of council, then the crown became possessed of the right to make such nomination.

The patronage of India, by this bill, was left in the directors, but with material deductions: for the king was to name the commander-in-chief, who was always to be second in council; and the governor-general, governors of Madras and Bombay, and members of all the three councils, were subject to the approbation of the king, who was to have the power of recalling any or all of them. The secret committee was to be chosen by the directors, and not to exceed the number of three. By the clause in which the Board of Control was authorized in all cases requiring secrecy to transmit their orders through this secret committee of three, without communicating them to the Court of Directors, and to receive answers under the same concealment, the Board of Control and the said committee of secrecy could interrupt and suspend, as often as they thought proper, the power of the Court of Directors. In fact, as far as related to all the higher functions of government in India, the Court of Directors was reduced to three, and these three, in conjunction with the president of the Board of Control, formed the executive.*

* Act of Parliament. P. Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Mills, 'History of British India,' Professor Wilson's edition, with notes and corrections.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the departure of Mr. Hastings, in 1785, Mr. Macpherson, senior member of council, acted as governor-general until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. In the interval the Mahrattas, under their great chieftain, Madajee Scindiah, captured the city of Agra.

At this time the fanatical Seiks made overtures for the friendship of the Company. A person, in the character of a merchant, waited upon Mr. Anderson, who was in the Mahratta camp, and after offering to sell him some cloths, represented that he had some jewels to show him in private. On their retiring, the sham merchant discovered himself to be a confidential servant of Dooljah Sing, a great Seik chief, who had lately arrived in the camp. He stated that his master was desirous of forming a friendship and connection with the English, as he entertained great apprehensions of the Mahrattas, and that an armed body of 30,000 Seiks had crossed the Sutlej, and taken up a position between Panniput and Delhi. But Scindiah swore by his sword that he had no intention of war, and the Seik negotiation with the English came to nothing.*

Shortly after this, the Seiks entered into a treaty with Scindiah, and undertook to supply him with 5,000 of their cavalry, to serve in the war which he was determined to wage against Tippoo Sultaun. The Seiks received the promise of a rich jaghire; but, as the war was very unsuccessful, they never got it.

Our knowledge of the vast peninsula over which we were gradually extending our sway, was at first acquired piecemeal, and by slow degrees. During Mr. Macpherson's brief government, two contributions were made to this information.

* Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

Mr. Malet, afterwards Sir Charles Malet, bart., of the Bombay civil service, was selected by the supreme government for the office of resident at Poonah. He received instructions to repair to Calcutta, in order to confer on the general state of Mahratta politics. "Influenced by a desire to extend the geographical knowledge of Hindustan already possessed by the Company, he proceeded by the route of Oojeen, a tract then unknown to European travellers, where he arrived on the 10th of April, having left Bombay on the 27th of January preceding, without encountering any difficulty, or meeting with the slightest impediment; a progress, however, which would be considered somewhat tedious at the present day, for a distance of 479 miles. He described Oojeen as erroneously laid down by Rennell. After giving an account of the fort of Bheroodghur, about two miles distant from Oojeen, he proceeded a mile and a half further, where he discovered a very large gloomy edifice of peculiar strength, and still in very good repair, erected on an artificial island, formed for the purpose by a division of the stream of the Sessera, and connected with the western bank by a bridge of sixteen arches. In the western stream, which he considered to be an artificial one, were a surprising multitude of various apartments, constructed on a level with the water, and in the midst of it, the water being conveyed round them in various channels into reservoirs contrived for its reception, whence it was conveyed by proper inlets from the bed of the river, into which it was again discharged by little artificial cascades. It was stated to have been built by Sultan Nasicul-deen-Gighee, who ascended the throne of Malwa in the year of the Hijrah 905, and reigned eleven years. He was represented as cruel and oppressive; he had contracted an intolerable heat in his habit by eating fixed quicksilver, and found so much relief within these watery abodes, from their coolness, that he spent the whole of his time there, where he also carried on the business of his government. The works were stated to be three hundred years old."*

Mr. Anderson, writing to the council at Calcutta, from Allahabad, described the Company's armies as having for a series of years crossed and re-crossed a canal cut from the Jumna, which includes the town and fortress of Allahabad, without its being known that such a communication existed. "During the last few days I was at that quarter," said he,

* P. Auber.

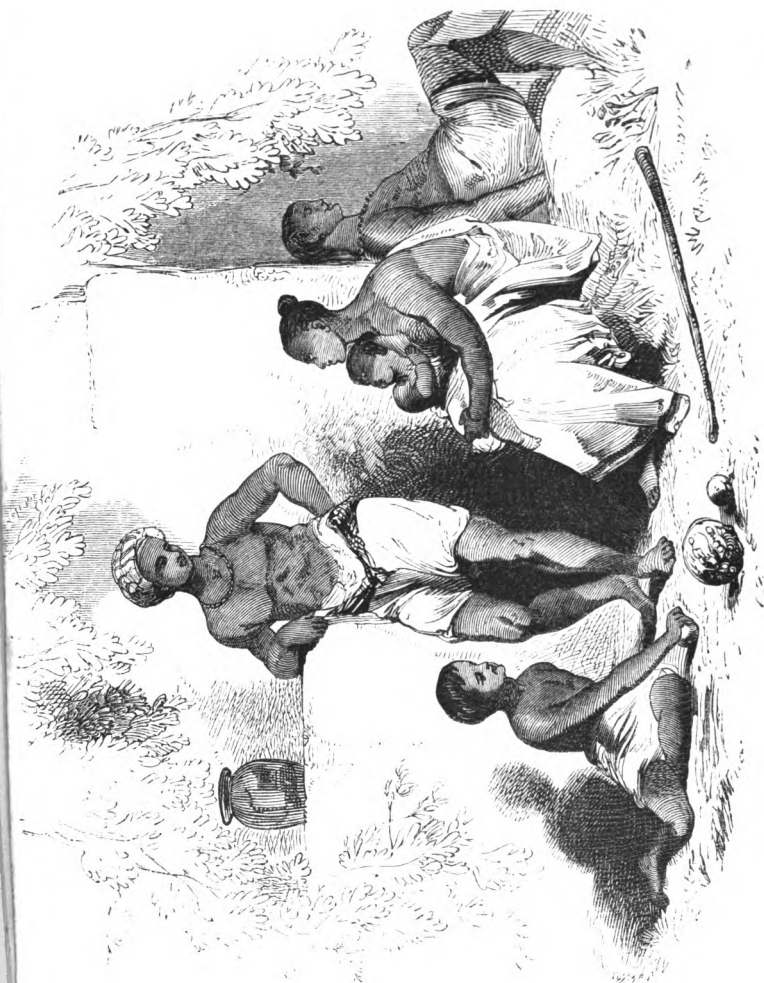
"I casually lit, to my utter astonishment, upon this canal, which Shujah Dowla caused to be excavated in 1764, either to obstruct the enterprises of the approaching English, or to impede the invasion of the Abdallees, of both of which he was then apprehensive. Of all the strongholds I have met with in India, Allahabad appears to be the best calculated for a provisionary magazine, for a military station for our frontier troops, and for their retreat in case of any untoward event. Possessing this, our forces would become little liable to check or repulse."*

Of late, there had been a great number of duels fought in India between officers and civil servants of the Company. These duels were not confined to young men, or to the inferior ranks of the two services; Mr. Hastings had fought Philip Francis, and wounded him; Lord Macartney, governor of Madras, had fought with Mr. Sadlier, a member of council, and had been wounded by him;† and Mr. Macpherson, now acting as governor-general, had been challenged by Major Brown, on the Bengal establishment, for some offence taken at Mr. Macpherson's proceedings in his station as governor-general. The frequency of these events induced the Court of Directors to pass a unanimous resolution, reprobating the practice, and determining to dismiss from the Company's service every party who should presume to challenge a member of the government, or any other officer, on account of matters arising out of the discharge of official duties.

Prince of Wales' Island, in the Straits of Malacca, was taken into our possession during Mr. Macpherson's administration. The necessity of having a port where British ships might meet the Eastern merchants, and the necessity of a windward station for refreshment and the repair of the king's ships, as well as those of the Company, were the principal reasons with the government in obtaining that settlement, through Captain Light. Some reductions were made in the civil service, which had become somewhat over-

* Peter Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

† On his return to England, Lord Macartney had to fight another duel. This was with General Stuart, whose conduct in the Carnatic, and especially at Cuddalore, had been very severely, and, it should appear, very justly criticised. His lordship was again wounded. But this wound, inflicted in a field near Kingston, in Surrey, did not prove that Stuart had done his duty as a soldier and commanding officer at Cuddalore, in the East Indies.



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crowded with writers and young men, who had little to do, and who in many cases were ill qualified to do that little. Measures were taken for the discharge of all arrears to the army; and it was declared to be a leading principle of the Company's government, that the pay of the soldier ought never to be in arrear; while there was a rupee in the treasury, the soldier was to be paid, every other article of expenditure being postponed to that consideration. Regulations were also made for the relief or better maintenance of invalided native officers and sepoy, by allotting to them lands to cultivate, in proportion to their respective ranks, within the districts under Boglepoor. Thus population would be increased, and a considerable portion of those extensive districts brought under cultivation. Other means, well adapted to secure the continuance of the attachment of our native troops to their British officers and to the service, were adopted from time to time. It will not be necessary for me to detail all these. I prefer quoting, for the benefit of our young officers, the following passage, which was written thirty-two years ago, and the truth and value of which have been many times proved during that long interval.

"It is by treating the sepoy with kindness and consideration, by stimulating their pride, and by attending, in the most minute manner, to their feelings and prejudices, that we can command, as has been well observed, 'their lives through the medium of their affections;' and so long as we can, by these means, preserve the fidelity and attachment of that portion of the population of our immense possessions in the East, which we arm to defend the remainder, our empire may be considered as secure."*

Much good had been done during this short administration, and on resigning his functions, at the arrival of the newly appointed governor-general, the unanimous thanks of the Court of Directors were voted to John Macpherson, esq., for his meritorious conduct during the time he had presided in the supreme government, and to the other members of the council at Calcutta.†

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xviii.

† Acts of Parliament. Mills, 'History of British India,' Professor Wilson's edition. Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Peter Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

CHAPTER XX.

LORD CORNWALLIS, the second governor-general of India, and the first who united to his office that of commander-in-chief of the forces, landed at Calcutta on the 12th of September, 1786, and, after taking the usual oaths, assumed charge of the government. Notwithstanding the unfortunate way in which he had ended the American war, his lordship was still considered as an able general; and there seemed to be great advantages to be derived from intrusting the government of India to a tried soldier, and from uniting the highest civil with the highest military power. Lord Cornwallis was high-minded, disinterested in money matters, mild and equitable in temper, anxious to do good and prevent evil, steady and persevering in his application to business, and particularly distinguished by his sincere desire to maintain peace and promote the welfare of our Indian subjects. Both the parliament and the Company had recommended that no more wars should be undertaken for extension of territory, and that leagues and alliances with the restless native powers should be avoided. His lordship himself certainly went to the Ganges with the intention and the hope of avoiding wars of conquest, and of keeping the whole of British India, and the states dependent upon it, in a happy condition of undisturbed peace. It was a pleasant vision; but it soon vanished. His lordship found himself constrained to act, in politics and war, and with reference to the native princes, in much the same manner as Mr. Hastings had acted.

There were, however, several material differences between the present situation of Cornwallis and the late situation of Hastings. Pitt's India bill of 1784 was now in full operation, and it was improved and strengthened by three amending acts passed in 1786, and by the declaratory bill of 1788. These acts did much to set aside the vacillating,

and frequently rash and contradictory policy of the Court of Directors, and to vest the government of British India substantially in the home British government. Pitt's bill gave to the Board of Control the powers of war and peace, and relieved the governor-general from many of those heavy responsibilities under which Hastings had laboured. In some matters, there was still a want of unity of power and intention; but, under the Board of Control, or with the direction of one of the secretaries of state, the correspondence with the governor-general and council, and other authorities in India, became very different from what it had been when directed solely by a few trading directors sitting in Leadenhall-street, as a secret council or committee: it became more clear, more consistent, more honourable, and elevated. In Warren Hastings's time it had often been a dark and disgraceful riddle, difficult to be understood, and easy to be misinterpreted. Moreover, the general situation of affairs in India was infinitely less difficult and perplexing now than it had been, and Hastings, by breaking the only European power capable of contending with us, and by consolidating the empire which the great Clive had founded, had rendered comparatively easy the task of all his successors. The power and prestige of the French in India were annihilated; and although they made some feeble efforts to re-erect the system of M. Bussy, by renewing the struggle in Hindustan, they never again became formidable in that part of the world, their efforts being checked by their great Revolution, and their energy and ambition being employed in other channels by the republican and Bonapartean wars.

By the *three* bills passed in 1786, several parts of that of 1784 were explained and amended, and the powers of the governor-general were at once enlarged, and better defined, than they were in Hastings's time. The governor-general was vested with a discretionary right of acting, in extraordinary cases, without the concurrence of the supreme council at Calcutta, being held solely and personally responsible for any consequences which might ensue from the measures adopted under such circumstances. This went to do away with that divided authority, and that almost constant collision between the governor-general and the council, which had tormented and tortured Hastings, and which, more than once, had placed in jeopardy our dominion in Hindustan.

Under Cornwallis there could be no such men—or, no member of council could do such deeds—as Francis, Clavering, and Monson. The success which attended the new governor-general in India was also promoted by the high consideration he enjoyed in England. “His rank and character, while it placed him above the influence of the ministers of the crown, or the fear of the Court of Directors, commanded a respect from the civil and military servants of the Company, which, added to the increased powers with which he was vested, freed him from every shadow of opposition. He was enabled, from the same causes, to stimulate to exertion, by the distinction which his personal favour bestowed, the first talents in India, and to combine the efforts of every ambitious and honourable mind in the support of the measures of his administration.”

Lord Cornwallis was strengthened in almost every way during three years of tranquillity, and his government in India had acquired consistency and regularity before any serious conflict commenced. The principal event which occurred during his administration, was the war with Tippoo Sultaun. On the 29th of December, 1789, Tippoo stormed the lines of the rajah of Travancore, a prince who was acknowledged to be under the protection of the English government, by the stipulations of the treaty which Tippoo had concluded in 1784. This unprovoked aggression was the origin of the war. Our opposition party did not hesitate to blame Lord Cornwallis, as they had previously censured Warren Hastings, and they took it upon themselves to honour and applaud, and afterwards to commiserate, Tippoo Sultaun, as an inoffensive ruler, sacrificed to our ambition and thirst for conquest. Yet Tippoo, a cruel, faithless, ambitious prince, brought the war upon himself, when Lord Cornwallis was most earnest for peace, and very badly provided with the means of carrying on extensive hostilities.

Anticipating and providing for a grand struggle, Tippoo, assisted by European engineers, chiefly French and Italian, was everywhere strengthening the country of Mysore. Several of the towns besides Seringapatam, the capital, were strongly fortified; and the region abounds in places of great natural strength, affording admirable advantages for a defensive war. Besides European engineers and artillery

officers, he had a considerable number of Europeans to train and discipline his native troops; but these fellows were chiefly common soldiers that had deserted from the Company's service to escape punishment for crimes committed; and, as Tippoo was a bigoted Mussulman, and fond of religious conversion, forced or spontaneous, they had all become renegadoes. He had clothed part of his regulars in uniform resembling that of the sepoys in the English service, and had armed them with French muskets. Their discipline, however, was very far from perfect, and their whole number inconsiderable, not exceeding three or four thousand. The rest of his infantry was a mere rabble, armed with old muskets, matchlocks, pikes, and scimitars. But his principal force was his cavalry, that Mysorean cavalry which had repeatedly rushed through the ghauts like mountain-torrents, and swept the whole of the low country of the Carnatic. Yet the *élite* of this force, the circar or stable horse, who were uniformly clothed and equipped, did not exceed 6,000; all the rest being irregulars, who found their own horses and arms, and who did no military duty, except when called into the field on some emergency, or to make some plundering incursion into the territories of their neighbours. These fellows, however, were bold and clever riders; and the rapidity of their movements often made up for their deficiency in other points. His artillery was more than respectable, the French having furnished him with guns of all calibres, many of which, being larger and longer than any of the guns of Lord Cornwallis, gave him a considerable advantage over the English in this war. He boasted that, in artillery practice, he had left his masters, the Nazarenes, far behind him; "although, like the salamander, they passed their lives in fire." His heavier pieces were all drawn by elephants; and besides 400 trained elephants, the best that could be procured in India, he had an immense train of the finest bullocks. According to a British officer engaged, 100 pieces of ordnance were frequently moved during these campaigns, with a rapidity not easily to be conceived, and far superior to the best speed the English artillery could make; and the velocity with which his large bodies of cavalry changed their situations, and the general rapidity with which his whole movements were executed, gave him another great advantage. When the war was carried into his own

dominions, his irregulars, who had been accustomed to rely only upon plunder for their support and reward, were engaged by what Tippoo called regular pay; but he only engaged them by the month or moon; and Tippoo lengthened months or moons beyond their natural duration, to save his pocket. "Thirty, forty, and even fifty days," says Major Taylor, "constitute their duration; and the state of his treasury, or his own whim, regulates the calendar." But in matters where the advantage is less evident, Tippoo indulged his whims to excess. He was a reformer or innovator of the most persevering kind, changing all old things, and liking nothing but what was new and of his own creation. It seemed as if the soul of a French democrat had been transfused into this Indian despot. He changed the dates of the ancient Mahometan festivals; he changed the name of everything in government, law, and military tactics; he gave new names to the days and months, to weights, measures, coins, forts, towns, offices civil and military; in short, to all things and persons, exhibiting "a singular coincidence at nearly one and the same time, and in distant and unconnected quarters of the globe, between the extremes of unbridled democracy and uncontrolled despotism."* He created a fleet which never existed except upon paper, and made admirals who had never seen the sea. He drew up a commercial code, and considered himself the chief and best merchant in his dominions. He drew up a civil and criminal code, which is said to have been the maddest and worst ever devised by man. And whatever the Tiger once did, he would never allow to be altered. He had a rigid method in all his madness, and he made laws and regulations for almost everything, however trifling. Besides keeping in pay a corps of authors to record his wonderful exploits, he was an author himself, and so busy a one, that when not campaigning or sleeping, the pen was for ever in his hand. His father, Hyder Ali, was accustomed to do wrong among his neighbours without attempting to prove to the world that he was doing right; but Tippoo never executed or meditated an evil deed without writing himself, or causing to be written, some pedantic proclamation, or treatise, or book, to extol his project, and to prove that it was dictated by religion and morality. So long as the Hindūs he had

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

conquered paid their tribute to him, Hyder cared little about their religion, but Tippoo resolved to convert by force all his subjects to the Mahometan faith. In the year 1787, before marching with an army into the country of Calicut, "to improve the *morals* of the people and to *realize* the revenue," he issued a proclamation, stating that unless the poor Malabars renounced their ancient practices, he would keep a vow which he had made and often repeated, and exterminate them or force them to acknowledge his prophet. He described his journey to the Malabar coast as the progress of an angel of light, or envoy of the Almighty; and the butcheries he committed during his residence there as acts of grace and heavenly inspiration. He was "The Shadow of God"—his blood-stained steps were "propitious steps"—he claimed the gratitude of the Hindūs for having slaughtered them or driven them from their country, for having destroyed their temples and burned their gods. On one occasion he surprised 2,000 Nairs with their families, and gave them the alternative of a voluntary profession of his faith with permission to stay in Malabar, or a forcible conversion with deportation from their native land. The unhappy captives chose the latter; the rite of circumcision was instantly performed on all the males, and the individuals of both sexes were compelled to close the ceremony of conversion by eating beef—the very climax of sacrilege and of horror in the eyes of those poor Hindūs. His capricious but fierce persecutions made him for ever odious to that people, who saw no chance of happiness or security except in the Company and the presence of an English force. He sent an embassy to France to ask Louis XVI. for a body of 6,000 Frenchmen, with whose assistance he had engaged to drive the English out of India; and he sent another embassy to Constantinople to request the sultan, as the chief of Mussulman princes, to make common cause with him. This was done, while Tippoo was professing friendship to the Company. When, by overt acts, he threatened the rajah of Travancore and other native princes, whom the Company was bound by treaty to protect, Lord Cornwallis made sundry attempts to negotiate with him; but, upon the failure of these attempts, his lordship declared that no policy would prove so fatal in India as a tame submission to insult or injury at the hands of Tippoo Sultaun.

No sooner had the Mysorean recovered from the losses he

had sustained during the last four years' war with the English, than he began to look round for fresh objects that might increase his revenue, extend his dominions, and aggrandize his fame. The wealthy kingdom of Travancore, bordering on his Malabar possessions, had long excited the cupidity of Tippoo and of his father Hyder. Into that country the destructive inundations of Tamerlane, Aurungzebe, and Nadir Shah never penetrated. Indeed, as the whole kingdom, with a mere trifle of exception, is separated from the adjacent districts, either by deep morasses or by lofty mountains, covered with impenetrable jungle, it seems protected by a peculiar indulgence of nature from such disasters. Happy, too, under a succession of princes mildly reigning in uninterrupted peace, time immemorial; and rendered opulent by the great variety of spice and timber with which their country abounded; that peaceful people did not interfere in the politics of neighbouring princes, much less did they provoke the impending storm.

Mussulman fanaticism contributed also, in a considerable degree, to bring about the rupture. Thence had arisen the incessant persecution of the rajahs, the original, genuine, and true princes of Hindustan, by Hyder and his successor; thence the annihilation of their undisputed chief, on the Malabar coast, the late Zamorin; and thence the present importance of the prince of Travancore, who, from the antiquity of his family, from the wealth that he possessed, and from his close connection with the British nation, was now regarded with great reverence by all the Hindüs of the south.*

The rajah of Travancore, in 1789, was drawn into a negotiation by the Dutch, who offered to sell his highness the two ports of Cranganore and Jaycottah, in the provinces of Malabar and Cochin. The Portuguese were possessed of a fort at Cochin at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and in 1663 the Dutch became possessed of it by right of conquest. When Hyder had overrun the Malabar coast, in 1766, in writing to the government of Bombay, he thanks God he had subdued all the coast, from the Cape Ramus to Ponany. Cochin, in which Cranganore is situated, lies much to the southward of Cape Ponany, and although Tippoo, in his immediate ravages, may have exacted tribute

* Roderick Mackenzie, of the 52nd regiment, 'Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun,' 2 vols. 4to. Calcutta, 1799.

from the province, there is nothing to establish that either Cranganore or Jaycottah were subject to him, or that the Dutch had not the power of parting with possessions they had acquired for upwards of a century before even Hyder, Tippoo's father, had become known as a separate and powerful chief. It was good policy of the Dutch to sell that which they apprehended would be taken from them by Tippoo; but as a matter of discretion on the part of the rajah of Travancore, it might have been prudent to have abstained from any proceeding likely to involve hostilities with Mysore.

The error, if it be one, was committed; it could not be repaired but by an humiliating concession to Tippoo, which, after what had passed, would have involved the character of the British government.*

Tippoo, determined to prevent if possible the offer of the Dutch being accepted by the rajah of Travancore, and regardless of the treaty of 1784, and of the remonstrances of Lord Cornwallis, put his army in motion.

Towards the end of the year 1789, the Mysorean army pitched their tents within two miles of the barrier that originally bounded the conquest of Hyder on the western coast. After a tedious march through a narrow, circuitous, and unfrequented pathway among the jungles, the sultaun, at the head of 10,000 men, on the morning of the 29th December, obtained Sharapootamally, a steep and rugged hill that terminated that barrier to the eastward. From thence his encampment was distant about twelve miles, and as the space that intervened had always been reckoned impenetrable to any body of troops, the few Nairs that were stationed at Sharapootamally were lulled into a security that proved fatal to themselves. Unencumbered by their cannon, the Mysoreans clambered over the brow of the mountain; they doubled the extreme end of the lines, and advancing from within with rapidity towards the centre, they bayoneted whomsoever offered to oppose. Some feeble resistance served only to enrage the Mahometans, and to increase the carnage during a pursuit of several miles. At length, however, a resolute party of Nairs, about 800 in number, formed across an avenue, along which the assailants had to pass, and, with the assistance of a six-pounder that was well

* Peter Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

served with grape, they staggered the troops in advance, and completely checked the pursuit. A Chela battalion that led the enemy, exhausted by fatigue and want of water, could not be prevailed upon to charge this resolute phalanx. Another battalion, and another was still ordered to advance, but the Nairs, by this time, reinforced from Remiseram, stood firm as a rock. The sultaun pressed onward to the front with his best troops, whilst the Gentooes, attracted by the noise of the action, hastened to the support of their friends. The conflict was dreadful. The high-caste Nairs, inflamed by patriotism, Hindū fanaticism, and revenge, fought with rare courage. For some time the beam of success stood horizontal. At length the Mysoreans gave way. A general panic ensued, which, in proportion as it gave rise to confusion amongst the fugitives, increased the courage of the now victorious Nairs. Exasperated by the cruel and unremitting persecution of Hyder and his successors, these warriors continued the pursuit and slaughter for a considerable distance, making dreadful execution with their destructive hatchets. The sultaun, mounted on a white horse, witnessing the discomfiture and disgrace of his troops, exerted every nerve for the recovery of the day. But all was to no purpose, for the Nairs pressed so closely on his rear, that, his horse being shot, he had a narrow escape for his life. The rout was now general and complete.*

Two passages, about twenty feet in width, that had been cut through the ramparts on the advance of the assailants, on purpose to admit their guns, now served essentially in favouring their retreat; still, however, they had another enemy to encounter. The cotton with which the ditch had been filled by themselves, and over which they must of necessity fall back, by some unaccountable accident took fire. This circumstance rendered their situation truly deplorable, and, contributing to the reluctance with which they quitted the lines, they desperately disputed the ground they gave up inch by inch. Their obstinacy availed them nothing. It greatly increased their loss. The carnage continued without intermission until noon. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number slain when an action is fought over such an extent of ground. Of the enemy not less than 1,500 are said to have fallen; whilst forty only were taken

* Roderick Mackenzie, of the 52nd regiment, 'Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun,' etc. Calcutta, 1799.

prisoners. Amongst the dead there were three men of high rank. Tippoo Sultaun did not escape unhurt. He had been obliged to leap from the ramparts of the lines, across the ditch in which the bales of cotton were, and, falling, he was much bruised and otherwise injured. His palanquin was found at the brink of the ditch, and turned out a good prize, for it contained several valuable diamond rings and other jewels in a silver box, his large seal, his fusee and pistols, and likewise his diamond-hilted sword.* During these fierce combats a force of English sepoy remained under arms, but did nothing, as Captain Knox, their commander, had received no orders to act.

Sir Thomas Monro, in a letter written from Amboor, in January, alluded to the transactions, and said,

“A second attack is daily expected, and if the rajah is left alone, all his exertions against a force so superior can delay but for a very short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked: and it is said they have orders not to act, even on the defensive. If such be the case, the rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn. The distinction made between recent acquisitions and ancient territory appears to be a subterfuge of government to cloak their dread of war under a pretended love of peace, for Cranganore was a fair purchase of the Dutch from the rajah of Cochin, subject to an annual tribute of thirty-five rupees. Before we can assemble an army to face the enemy, Tippoo may be in possession of Travancore. We have derived but little benefit from experience and misfortune. The year 1790 sees us as little prepared as that of 1780, and before that war. We shall commence the war under the disadvantage of a want of magazines. The distresses and difficulties which we then encountered from them, has not cured us of the narrow policy of preferring a small present saving to a certain though future great and essential advantage.”†

Every word of this letter was almost prophetic.

Bound by his pacific instructions from home, Lord Cornwallis, through the Madras government, still attempted to negotiate with Tippoo. The Mysorean was told that if his claim to the ports of Cranganore and Jaycottah, which

* Roderick Mackenzie, 52nd regiment, ‘Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun.’ Calcutta, 1793-9.

† Peter Auber, ‘Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.’

the rajah of Travancore had purchased, could be proved to be a just one, those places should be given up to him, but that he must not attempt to seize them by force, or to inflict any injury on the rajah, who was the ally of the English, and who had given him no provocation. Even a flag of truce was sent to him from Madras, and an offer was made to appoint a joint commission of Mysoreans and English to settle amicably the points in contest.* The Tiger set down all these peaceful attempts as a proof that the English were not prepared for war, and were afraid of renewing the contest with him. "To assign the causes that produced an unproclaimed truce, for upwards of two months, between inveterate enemies not five miles asunder, would be to put truth too much to the hazard. It is probable that the wounds or bruises which the sultaun had received, his want of cannon, together with the inequality of the force now under his command to the task that he had undertaken, contributed to his apparent inactivity. During that period, however, he obtained from Mysore and Seringapatam troops, battering-guns, and stores, without molestation; whilst the rajah, on the other hand, making the like use of this interval, through the influence of religion encouraged by a temporary success, assembled about 100,000 Hindüs, all of whom were carefully distributed on the lines."† This force consisted of the not very warlike militia of the country, of polygars, or tributary landlords, who held their estates by a military tenure, and of about 8,000 men, clothed and accoutred like our sepoys, but under little or no discipline. The natural strength of the country was very considerable, but the people of Travancore were totally unaccustomed to war.‡

It was therefore clear that the rajah would be crushed and his fair country ruined, if English aid were not sent to him. Like Hastings, Lord Cornwallis found himself obliged to set up one native power against another, and to court the aid and alliance of the Mahrattas, themselves the most restless and unprincipled of men. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against Tippoo Sultaun was concluded between the English and the peishwa of the Mahrattas, the

* See correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, quoted by R. Mackenzie in 'Sketch of the War,' etc.

† Roderick Mackenzie.

‡ 'Official Correspondence,' quoted by Roderick Mackenzie. Colonel Wilks, 'Sketches of the South of India.'

peishwa engaging to furnish cavalry to serve with our army. But, unhappily, before our forces could reach the field of action, Tippoo beat the rajah of Travancore, and did incalculable mischief to the country. On the 12th of April, after a tremendous cannonade, the Mysorean got possession of the lines of defence. The rajah's host fled in a wild panic, but were protected in their retreat by two battalions of Madras sepoy, under the command of Captain Knox. On the 7th of May, Cranganore, one of the disputed ports, was reduced, Jaycottah, the other disputed port, fell a few days later; and Paroor, Curiapilly, and various other forts, surrendered in rapid succession to the sultaun. The total demolition of the lines was completed by repeated explosions that laid Cranganore in ruins; and a general devastation, as well by fire as by the sword, spread over the whole face of the land. The Nairs betook themselves to their strongholds in the mountains; the Travancorean troops retired to the southern extremity of their kingdom. All cultivation ceased. The country people exchanged their pleasant homes for the innermost recesses of the jungle, preferring the attack of the wolf and the tiger, to the certain and merciless persecution of the Mahometan conqueror.* These were some of the fruits of our peace policy, and of our most unwise economy. Lord Cornwallis felt them at the heart's core. "This ill-judged saving," said he, "may cost to the Company a crore of rupees: besides which, I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice made of the honour of our country, by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the rajah of Travancore, which we were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend."† It was the end of May before General Meadows could take the field. With 16,000 men, that general marched from Tranquebar, to carry the war into Tippoo's own territories. The Tiger would now have consented to negotiate, and affected to believe that there was no war between him and the English. In reply to his letter, General Meadows said—"The English, equally incapable of offering an insult as to submitting to one, have always looked upon war as declared from the moment you attacked their ally the king of Travancore. God does not always give the battle

* R. Mackenzie, 'Sketch of the War,' etc.

† Letter to Mr. E. J. Holland, acting governor of Fort St. George, as quoted by Sir John Malcolm, 'Political History of India.'

have made many long sea voyages since the end of the last century, now show no reluctance to them.*

Not only the cruelly oppressed people of Travancore and the Malabar coast, but also the people dwelling on the frontiers of Tippoo's Mysorean dominions, rejoiced at the prospect of the overthrow of that tyrant, and welcomed the British troops and our docile sepoy. On the advance of a force under Colonel Maxwell into the Barahmahal valley, the fields, covered with plentiful crops, were nowhere abandoned by the peaceful cultivators: the herdsman attended his numerous flocks: the weaver continued at his web; and the avaricious bazar-man exposed his whole stores to the soldiery without apprehension of injustice or violence. "If," says a British officer, "the principles and conduct of Christian governors are less calculated for the happiness of the natives than those of Mahometan or Hindū rulers; if the oppressions and extortions perpetually charged on the servants of the East-India Company have any foundation in truth, it is somewhat remarkable that, on the entrance of our armies into the dominions of an enemy, the inhabitants of the borders should in general seem to discover but little apprehension for the safety of their persons or for the security of their property, and still less concern at a change of masters."†

The discipline maintained in these campaigns reflects the highest credit on the commanding and regimental officers, without whose strenuous and constant exertions it never could have existed in such perfection. The flower of our native army was collected under Cornwallis. The detachments brought round from Bengal were composed chiefly of grenadiers, and, for the number, exceeded in appearance any body of sepoy that had ever taken the field. Nor did their conduct in action discredit that appearance. The Madras sepoy had also some remarkably fine corps, and the whole army was animated by the best spirit and the warmest affection for the noble governor-general and commander-in-chief.‡

By the end of 1790, or early in 1791, our ally, the rajah of Travancore, was re-established in all his dominions, and

* Captain Williams, 'Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry,' etc.

† Roderick Mackenzie, 'Sketch of the War.'

‡ Ibid.

Tippoo was dispossessed of nearly all that he and his father before him had acquired on the Malabar coast. In the month of February, 1791, Lord Cornwallis, who had taken the field himself, laid siege to Bangalore, and took that important place by storm. His lordship then resolved to penetrate into the heart of Mysore, and to dictate his own terms of peace at Seringapatam, the capital of his country and the strongest place which Tippoo held. His lordship commenced his movements in the first days of May. Our native troops, as well as the English soldiers, burned with impatience to take their revenge for the atrocious and brutal degradation to which Tippoo had subjected their brothers in arms during the last war, and even after the conclusion of it. The news of the fall of Bangalore filled the mind of the tyrant with alarm, and induced him to make arrangements for removing from his capital his women and his treasure, and for doing away with sundry evidences in the city of Seringapatam of the brutality which he had exercised against, and of the insupportable insults he had put upon, our nation. As a part of these operations, a number of English prisoners (chiefly youths), who had been detained in violation of the treaty of 1784, were murdered by Abyssinian slaves, in order that they might not reveal the horrible secrets of their prison-house.*

Tippoo, however, took up a strong position, some miles in advance of his capital, behind the deep river Cavery. The march of Cornwallis and of General Abercromby, the second in command, who moved on a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which they were to advance; and for fifty miles and more Abercromby's route was across steep mountains, where the battering-trains, provisions, and stores were moved with the greatest difficulty. They also suffered severely through a want of forage, Tippoo having destroyed all. Moreover, in the latter part of their march, the periodical rains, and bad food, and long fatigue, brought on sickness and disease. Our Mahratta allies, who had solemnly engaged to co-operate with a great army of horse, did not keep their appointment. Lord Cornwallis, however, reached Arikera on the Cavery, and about nine miles from Seringapatam, on the 13th of May; and, crossing the river, he attacked Tippoo,

* Colonel Wilks.

on the 15th, before General Abercromby could join him. In spite of their advantageous position and formidable artillery, the Mysoreans could not stand the charge of the British bayonets; they were driven from mountain to mountain, and were at last obliged to seek shelter under the guns of their capital. The road thither was open to us, the prize seemed within our reach; but in the very hour of victory the English found it necessary to retreat.* The force with Cornwallis, though strong enough to beat Tippoo's army in the field, was not strong enough to invest a well-fortified place like Seringapatam; and they had with them neither provisions nor military stores enough for a long siege. Add to this, the draught-bullocks were dying fast, the camp was half-filled with sick, and the pitiless rains continued. There was nothing for it but a retreat. Abercromby, who was within three marches of Seringapatam, was ordered to retire to the coast; Cornwallis burst the greater part of his battering-guns, having no cattle to drag them off, and he began his mortifying retreat on the 26th of May. Towards the end of his first day's march, some of our Mahratta allies came up to his lordship's aid; but it was now too late. Few retreats have ever been more disastrous: men and cattle perished, tumbrils and provision-waggons were abandoned in the deluged country; and the victory gained by the season was claimed by Tippoo as his own achievement.†

The scrupulous Lord Cornwallis had now recourse to measures almost as summary and bold as some of the most censured acts of Warren Hastings. Finding that the Mahrattas would not keep the field unless they got an immediate and a large subsidy, and having no money in hand that he could spare, his lordship ordered the governor in council of Madras to take the treasure out of our China ships, coin it into rupees, and send it to him without delay.

During the following autumn proper preparations were made for renewing the war in the centre of Mysore. Had we failed to do this, Tippoo would again have recovered the Malabar coast, and have poured his rapid cavalry into the heart of the Carnatic. A fresh battering-train, 100 elephants from Bengal, an immense number of bullocks, a copious supply of stores and provisions of every kind, were

* 'Our Indian Empire,' vol. ii.

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

collected on the Malabar coast. The Company had sent out £500,000 in specie; and the English government had sent out reinforcements to the king's regiments in India, together with some fresh detachments of the royal artillery. The Mahrattas, getting some of the money, were tolerably steady and active in their co-operation, and rendered important services with their light rapid cavalry. The passes which lead from Mysore into the Carnatic were now cleared, and several strong forts which Tippoo had erected in them were taken by storm. Thus the direct road from Madras was opened to an immense convoy, headed by elephants, loaded with treasure, marching two abreast with the British standard displayed. Tippoo's advanced forces threw themselves into a thick forest, faced and flanked by the river Toom and some deep ravines. Soon, however, they were attacked, defeated, and driven out of the forest, by Captain Little, with only 750 men and two guns. General Abercromby, who, since the retreat from the upper country, in the month of May, had occupied cantonments at and round about Tellicherry, began to move again towards Seringapatam early in December; but he was kept waiting by some of the Mahrattas who had gone plundering instead of joining him. Early in January, 1792, Lord Cornwallis united his main army under Ootradroog, where he was kept waiting more than a fortnight by our tardy ally, the nizam of the Deckan, who was to join him with his army at Hyderabad. At last the nizam arrived; and, at the end of January, all the combined forces pressed forward for Seringapatam. On the 5th of February, Cornwallis once more got sight of Tippoo's capital, and saw that the Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. In the night of the 6th of February, Cornwallis led his troops in three columns, right into Tippoo's camp, took several of his redoubts, shattered the tyrant, and committed havoc upon his troops. When morning dawned, Tippoo, advised and assisted by some Frenchmen, made some skilful manœuvres, with the view of enveloping and bearing down, by weight of artillery and force of numbers, one of our three columns; but he failed in the attempt, and lost many of his people. He then fled across the Cadavery river, and threw himself into the great fortress of Seringapatam; and thereupon more than 10,000 of his men deserted him, and fled in a body towards their native woods. Other attempts were, however, made to recover the

redoubts which we had taken; but they were all repulsed with terrible loss. One of these redoubts, called the "Sultaun's redoubt," was held by only 100 Europeans and fifty sepoy, who repulsed thousands after thousands. Our loss during the whole day of this hard fighting amounted to 535, in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of Tippoo was estimated at more than 4,000.

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

The treaty of peace which the Tiger of Mysore was thus forced to accept, contained the following articles:—1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the English and their allies; 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees* to cover the expenses of the war, &c.; 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from the time of Hyder; 4. That he should deliver up, as hostages for the due performance of the treaty, two of his eldest sons.

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

Sir John Kennaway, who was appointed to conclude the definitive treaty, encountered much slowness and many difficulties on the part of Tippoo's vakeels. The sultaun

* Nearly £3,500,000 sterling.

particularly objected to restoring to the rajah of Coorg the dominions which he had taken from him. But as the rajah had risen in arms at our invitation, and had very materially assisted the English and their allies, Lord Cornwallis was determined not to abandon him. There had been but too much of this bad, base work in 1784, at the time of the peace of Mangalore; and frightful had been the sufferings of those we then abandoned! Tippoo now repaired his damaged walls, and intimated that he would break the treaty. Lord Cornwallis issued orders—orders most welcome to the troops—to recommence the cannonade, and sent off the two children for Bangalore. This brought Tippoo to his senses; his vakeels assured Sir John Kenna-way that he would agree to all that had been demanded. Cornwallis agreed to suspend operations for *one* day, and recalled Tippoo's sons, who, on the 19th of March, presented to his lordship the definitive treaty signed by their father, and brought into camp by his vakeels. By this treaty the English obtained all the dominions of Tippoo on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnatic, including the Barahmahal and the lower ghauts; the Mahrattas (for all three allies shared, and about equally, in the dismemberment of the sultaun's dominions) recovered possession of the country as far as the river Toombudra, which had been their frontier line; and the nizam got all the country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, including the forts of Gungecottah and Cuddapa. The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnatic against invasion, as affording excellent land communications, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce, and to the extension of that influence at which we aimed. The Nairs, and other Hindü people that occupied the coast of Malabar, were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their old customs.

To soothe the troops for the disappointment of their expectations of booty in the storming of Seringapatam, and to reward them for their excellent conduct and rare exertions during the whole of the war, the commander-in-chief, upon his own responsibility, made them a gift, equal to six

months' batta, out of the money paid by Tippoo; and both he himself and General Medows, his second in command, resigned their large shares, that the soldiers might have the more. The army returned to the Company's territories, good care being taken to place respectable garrisons in the districts ceded, and particularly in the towns on the Malabar coast, where hitherto we had scarcely had a footing.*

Ragojee Bonalah, a powerful Mahratta chief, who held the important province of Cuttack and other territories, was conciliated by the diplomacy of the governor-general, who deputed an English resident to his court. But other Mahratta leaders continued to give uneasiness and trouble, and convinced his lordship that a general Mahratta war was not a remote contingency.

The nabob of the Carnatic, whose dominions were held by our troops, was very irregular in the payment of his subsidies. Acting as Hastings would have done, Lord Cornwallis, during the war with Tippoo, seized upon the nabob's revenues, and appointed his own officers to collect them and pay them into the Company's treasury. But for this measure the war could not have been conducted to a successful termination. The accounts which had arrived in India a short time previously to the conclusion of the treaty, left little doubt that England would soon be involved in another war with France; and this was certainly a strong inducement for Cornwallis to bring the war with Tippoo to a termination, so that he might be prepared to repel any attack of the French, and direct the efforts of our arms against the settlements in India which had been restored to France by the peace of 1782. When the account of war between France and England reached him at Calcutta, Lord Cornwallis hastened to Madras to take the command of the army; but before he could reach that coast, Pondicherry, the French metropolis in India, was attacked and taken by that army from Fort St. George, under the command of Major-General Brathwaite. All the French factories were seized without any difficulty; but it was not found possible to

* Colonel Wilks, 'Sketches of the South of India.' Roderick Mackenzie, 'Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun.' Peter Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Major Taylor, 'Travels overland to India,' 'Our Indian Empire.' Moor, 'Narrative of Operations against Tippoo Sultaun,' etc. London, 1794.