

shut out all the adventurers of that bold and adventurous nation.

The course of events, and absolute necessity, had forced the pacifically-disposed Lord Cornwallis into the war with Tippoe Sultaun, and into a series of measures very contrary to the wishes, the policy, and the system of non-interference and non-aggrandizement of the British legislature and government. But it had been well remarked that this self-evident necessity was not followed by the conclusion that the same causes might again produce the same effects; and that a general impression was made in England, that his lordship had placed the affairs of the Company on the true footing of security and strength, which had been so long desired—that, for the future, nothing would be requisite but mild, moderate, and conciliatory councils in the governor-general and the local authorities, to secure the lasting tranquillity and prosperity of the British empire in India. This capital mistake must indeed appear the most extraordinary, if we reflect upon the actual condition and increasing power of the always restless Mahratta princes, the weakness of the rulers of Oude and the Carnatic, and all the allies of the English, not one of whom could be left exposed to invasion and conquest without exposing either the trade or the dominions of the Company to serious loss, if not to absolute ruin. Nor could one of those allies be abandoned without loss of credit, influence, and honour to the Company. Our territories were greatly increased, and our political relations much extended during Lord Cornwallis's administration. His *great* efforts had all been attended with extraordinary success.* If in minor matters some of his attempted reforms were failures, he yet left behind him, among the natives, a good name, and the enviable reputation of having always entertained the best intentions. Some great reforms and changes he certainly effected both in the military and in the civil establishments of India, being aided therein by the new acts of parliament and by the possession of that unity of power, and that absolute control over the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, which Hastings had never possessed; and it is asserted, by a very competent authority, that the system of internal

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch.' Peter Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.' Two unpublished letters of Mr. Warren Hastings in my possession.

rule which he introduced into the provinces of Bengal and Bahar will ever reflect the highest honour on his name.* That opposition party in parliament which had extolled the virtues and deplored the misfortunes of the Tiger of Mysore, were not sparing of their criticism and censures: but when his lordship returned to England at the end of 1793, they did not venture to try to impeach him. The king, in acknowledgment of his important services, raised him to the rank of marquis, and he was appointed master-general of the ordnance.†

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

† 'Our Indian Empire.'

Interesting information about Lord Cornwallis's war with Tippoo will be found in Major Dirom's 'Narrative,' and in E. Moor's 'Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Mahratta army against the Nawab Tippoo Sultaun Bahadur.'

CHAPTER XXI.

SIR JOHN SHORE (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), the friend of Warren Hastings, the bosom friend and afterwards biographer of Sir William Jones, and a most respectable civil servant of the Company, who had resided long in India, and had rendered important services there, was appointed to succeed Lord Cornwallis as governor-general. Sir John had abundant local knowledge and industry. He was particularly skilled in the revenue system of India, and was of very pacific habits; and it appears to have been expected that all those great advantages which Lord Cornwallis had obtained would be confirmed and improved, without any risk of war, or extension of political connections by a governor possessed of these qualities. It was laid down to him as a rule, that the dictates of justice, no less than the dictates of *economy*, prescribed to the Company a system of non-interference with the internal affairs or mutual differences of the native states; *unless* when interference should be required by the paramount duty of preserving the tranquillity and integrity of the Company's own dominions.

About the same time that Shore became the real ruler of Bengal, the nominal sovereign of that country, the nabob Muharek-ul-Dowla, died, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him twelve sons and thirteen daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Uzeer-ul-Dowla, who was solemnly proclaimed at Calcutta, on the 28th of September, 1793.

Sir John Shore entered upon the duties of government on the 28th of October, 1793, on which day Major-General Sir Robert Abercromby assumed the office of commander-in-chief, under the court's appointment of September, 1792. As Sir John was no soldier, the separation of the two offices was a matter of necessity.

To Mr. Burke, who had urged the Company to postpone the appointment, the chairman and deputy-chairman had replied—that Sir John Shore had been selected for his high honour and probity, and his peculiar fitness; the court had appointed him, on these grounds, to the arduous and responsible office; and to that appointment they adhered.

Notwithstanding the disturbed state of affairs in Europe, there was every appearance of peace in India, where the sovereignty was exercised by the Mahrattas, Tippoo Sultaun, the nizam, and the English.

The Mahratta powers comprehended the peishwa, Scindiah, Holkar, and the rajah of Berar. The latter chief had less interest and concern in their general politics; he carried on his administration independently, although he had received the confirmation of his succession, with the insignia of his investiture, from the peishwa. But the Mahrattas, to whom a French force of two brigades, under General de Boigne, was attached, were deemed sufficiently formidable without the rajah of Berar. The nature of the Mahratta government was avaricious, grasping, and ambitious, never neglecting any opportunity of extending its power or aggrandizing its wealth, indifferent as to the means by which it attained those objects.

It was justly felt with regard to all the powers in India, that our great security was in our strength.*

The situation of affairs did not promise, to those who were acquainted with the temper of the Mahrattas, any very long exemption from hostilities; but, on the other hand, the Company was, in every respect, free from any immediate danger. The English government had at no period been so strong in actual military force and resources. Its principal enemy, Tippoo, was much reduced; its principal ally, the nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, seemed firm to his engagements. But those jealousies which had broken out between the nizam and the Mahrattas before Lord Cornwallis quitted the country, were now threatening wars and convulsions. Being justified in so doing by his treaty of alliance, the nizam, threatened with invasion, applied to the new governor-general for assistance. This assistance was refused by the pacific Sir John Shore, whose wishes accorded with the neutrality-system instructions he received

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

from home, and who was loth to incur any hazard of giving offence to the Mahrattas. When this refusal was made, it was notorious that the nizam entertained the most friendly dispositions towards the British government, and rejoiced at the recent successes of Cornwallis, which had established our great ascendancy in the political scale of India; while the Mahrattas viewed the success of the English with alarm, and contemplated their power with a degree of jealousy, which almost amounted to hostility. The wily Mahrattas very soon concluded that Sir John Shore, in his anxiety to remain neutral, would not aid the nizam by any other means than those of diplomacy and mediatory negotiation, and as soon as they made this discovery, they despised the diplomacy, they resolved to reject the mediation, and began to beat their kettle-drums, collect their war-horses, and sharpen their spear-heads. At this critical moment, Madhajee Scindiah, who had given such growth and increase to the Mahratta power, died, and left his vast resources and territories to his nephew Doulut Rao Scindiah, a much younger and much more active and daring chief; who hastened to assemble his army from the remotest quarters of Hindustan, with the double view of strengthening his personal authority, and of acquiring an ascendancy in the confederacy forming against the nizam.

It was rumoured that Tippoo Sultaun was again preparing for war, and that he would attack the nizam conjointly with the Mahrattas. The Mysorean, however, remained quiet for the present.

The people of the Deckan, who had recently seen how Lord Cornwallis had behaved when an ally of the Company had been attacked, could not believe that so important and so faithful an ally as the nizam could possibly be abandoned by the English. And, indeed, we could not leave the nizam to his fate without weakening that force of opinion which, more than arms, had made us what we were in India. By resenting the attack of Tippoo upon our ally, the rajah of Travancore, Lord Cornwallis had gained the confidence and affection of other allies, and had established the British reputation for good faith, justice, and firmness. Could so recent an example be overruled? Could our reputation for good faith towards our allies be sacrificed at the moment when it was highest? Looking at his pacific instructions, and consulting his own feelings, Sir John Shore thought that

it might. It is, however, doubted whether a more spirited course of policy would not have intimidated the Mahrattas and prevented all war whatever. Sir John Malcolm was decidedly of opinion, that while the impressions which had been made on all the native powers, by the wise councils and military success of Cornwallis, were yet in full force, any spirited interference of the British government would have deterred the Mahrattas from an attack on the Deccan.*

In the month of February, 1795, the advanced corps of the Mahratta army, under Doulut Rao Scindiah, marched against the nizam; and on the 11th of March, a battle was fought near the town of Beeder, the capital of a province of that name in the Deccan. Both armies fell into confusion, neither of them obtaining any considerable advantage, both indeed, appeared upon the point of running away at one and the same moment; but the nizam ran first, for he had brought his women with him to the field, and these inmates of the zenana, being sadly frightened by the noise of the guns, imparted their fears to their never courageous lord, and he and they quitted the field and fled by night to the small fort of Kurdlah. Here he was presently surrounded by the Mahrattas, who starved him into a disgraceful capitulation. After remaining some weeks in the fort, the nizam agreed to give to his enemies an extensive tract of country, rendering thirty-five lacs of annual revenue, and including the celebrated fortress of Dowletabad, or Deoghiri, the strongest place in his dominions; to pay three crores of rupees, one-third immediately, the remainder by instalments; and to give up, as a hostage, his prime minister Azeem-ul-Omrah, the zealous friend of the English, and the decided opponent of the Mahrattas. This delivering up of an able and honest minister was almost as dishonourable to the English as it was injurious to their abandoned ally the nizam, whose throne had been supported by the abilities and rare virtues of Azeem-ul-Omrah. At the time there were two battalions of British troops in the Deccan: if these had been present at the battle of Beeder, the total defeat of the Mahrattas would have been certain; if they had marched to the relief of Kurdlah, the nizam might have been extricated without signing the disgraceful treaty; but the English officer in command, obedient to the orders of

* Malcolm, 'Political History of India.'

the governor-general, refused to stir a step. After the convention of Kurdlah was settled, the nizam returned to Hyderabad, and strongly intimated his desire that the Company would recall their two battalions, as the pay and maintenance of troops that would do nothing for him was very unprofitable and burdensome. The two battalions were soon recalled.

The Mahrattas had scarcely returned from the Deckan to their own country, when two unexpected events occurred—the sudden death of the young peishwa, Madhoo Rao, and the rebellion of Ali Jah, the eldest son of the nizam. The death of Madhoo Rao introduced fierce dissensions among the Mahratta chiefs, who had been so recently leagued together. Nanah Furnavese was determined to place upon the vacant throne an infant prince, in whose name he himself might rule and reign. His great rival, Doulut Rao Scindiah, supported the claims of the son of Ragoba, who would have been the undoubted heir of the throne if the Mahrattas had recognized the European law of succession and primogeniture. Nanah Furnavese, chancing to be at Poonah, the capital or aulic city of the Mahratta confederacy, had at first several advantages. He liberated the nizam's minister, Azeem-ul-Omrah, and agreed to purchase the nizam's alliance by rescinding the convention of Kurdlah, and by giving up all claims to the territory and the money which the nizam had agreed to yield and pay. A treaty was concluded upon these conditions; but before it could take effect, Scindiah marched upon Poonah, with an army which his rival was unable to oppose; Nanah Furnavese was driven out of the city, and Bajee Rao, the son of Ragoba, was placed upon the musnud. In order to prevent the nizam from aiding Nanah Furnavese, Scindiah now concluded a treaty with that prince, promising to rest satisfied with one-fourth of the territory and money which had been stipulated in the convention of Kurdlah.

As Sir John Shore would not allow him the aid of the Company's troops, the ruler of the Deckan very naturally endeavoured to raise and discipline troops of his own for the protection of his country. Since the time of the gallant M. Bussy, the Deckan had never been without some French officers. The nizam had at present a considerable number of these officers, the chief of them being one M. Raymond, who had commenced his military career in India at an early

age, under the rash and unfortunate Lally. These Frenchmen had disciplined various corps of sepoys. After the departure of our two battalions, the nizam ordered new levies for these corps, and assigned an extensive territory for their regular payment and support. No sooner was this done than the jealousy, misgiving, and fears of the governor-general were awakened. Sir John Shore would neither protect the nizam nor allow him to protect himself. He threatened the ruler of the Deckan with an instant invasion of his territories unless he removed his Frenchmen and disciplined sepoys a long way from the Company's frontiers. Resenting his abandonment by the English in the late Mahratta invasion, and complaining that they had broken their treaty with him, the nizam persisted in keeping his troops where they were; being encouraged in this course by M. Raymond and his comrades, who assured him that the omnipotent French republic, which was giving liberty to all the nations in Europe, would soon overthrow the tyranny of the English, and release the princes of India from their thralldom. At this moment it was seriously apprehended that the French would make some attempt upon the northern Circars, and that, if they came in any force, the nizam would co-operate with them.* One thing was quite certain, the influence which Lord Cornwallis had established in the court of Hyderabad was completely lost, when two unexpected events contributed to restore that influence.

Just at this moment, on the 28th of June, 1795, the nizam's son, Ali Jah, fled from Hyderabad and openly raised the standard of rebellion against his father. Filled with alarm, the nizam pressed the instant return of the English subsidiary force to his country, and humbly and earnestly supplicated for the renewal of that friendship and alliance which he had so recently, and not without reason, slighted. Sir John Shore saw the advantages which fortune had thrown in his way. He directed the two English battalions to march back to the nizam's territory with all possible expedition. But before our troops could arrive, M. Raymond's battalions defeated and captured the young rebel. Our battalions, however, remained in the country, and assisted in restoring tranquillity.

* See letters of the governor-general (who became Lord Teignmouth), in 'Life of Lord Teignmouth,' by his son. 'Memoir of Lord Teignmouth,' by the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks.

Ali Jah died, or was murdered, soon after he was made prisoner, but in the course of a few months another rebellion broke out, headed by a nephew of the nizam, one Darah Jah, who succeeded in collecting great bodies of troops. This time the English subsidiary force did all the fighting for the nizam. Under their able commander, Captain James Dalrymple, the two battalions gained a splendid victory, and reduced the strong fort of Rachore, of which the rebels had gained possession. The nizam acknowledged his great obligations, and professed much gratitude, but he still feared that Sir John Shore would not send him sufficient aid in case of his being again attacked by the Mahrattas, and he still entertained an affection for M. Raymond, and a reliance upon his brilliant promises. Under these influences he increased the numbers and appointments of his disciplined sepoys, and gave M. Raymond additional lands to insure their regular payment. Thus favoured and honoured, that French officer improved the discipline of his battalions, and strengthened himself by forming connections with the chief men of the court, and by intriguing against all such as leaned towards the English interest. He took no care to conceal his hostility or the hopes he entertained of the future; he intended to play over again, and on a wider stage, the part of M. Bussy, and to revive the projects of M. Dupleix. The English, to a man, were to be expelled from the great peninsula of India, and the dominion of that country was to be wholly transferred to the French republic. His battalions carried the tri-coloured flag, and the cap of liberty was engraved on the buttons of their clothing. His officers sang the *Ça Ira* and danced the Carmagnole in the gilded halls of Hyderabad. He encouraged desertions from the sepoys in the English service, and, through the intrigues of his officers, who commanded the detachment of his corps which was stationed near the British frontier, a partial mutiny was excited in a battalion of sepoys on the Madras establishment, and two native commissioned officers, and a number of privates, deserted their colours and went over to the French party.

To rival the French tacticians and drill-masters, Sir John Shore encouraged a set of English adventurers to go to Hyderabad to offer their services to the nizam. These adventurers were received at that court, and were countenanced by the English resident, but none of them possessed

either the professional skill or the political address of M. Raymond, and the corps they attempted to discipline remained but as an awkward squad compared with the battalions the Frenchmen had trained. But these battalions were now becoming so formidable, that the nizam began to fear that all the actual power and resources of his government might pass rapidly into the hands of the French faction. He solicited the British government to enter into such engagements with him as would prevent the necessity of his having recourse to such dangerous means of defence against the Mahrattas. He even offered to dismiss all the French corps as soon as the British detachment in the Deckan should be increased. But Sir John Shore, though jealous of the French, was still more jealous of giving any offence to Scindiah and the great Mahratta confederacy; he conceived that to accede to the conditions proposed by the nizam, and to send an army into the Deckan, would be to provoke a Mahratta war, and to depart from that neutrality system which his employers were still constantly recommending to his attention; and therefore he took no decisive steps.

The tranquillity of Oude was greatly disturbed during Sir John Shore's administration. In 1794, upon the death of Fyzoola Khan, the great Rohilla chief, that turbulent tribe of Afghans, whose character and habits had been so grossly misrepresented by the English persecutors of Warren Hastings, began a bloody war among themselves to settle which of the sons of Fyzoola Khan should be his successor. The eldest son, Ali Khan, was killed by his brother, Gholam Khan, who, after other butcheries, got possession of the jaghire, and endeavoured to obtain the sanction of his suzerain, the nabob-vizier of Oude. The nabob-vizier would have recognized the murderer, but the English government, who had guaranteed that corner of Rohilcund to the Afghan family of Fyzoola, by whom it had been held under the nabob-vizier, resolved to punish the rebels and expel the family of Fyzoola Khan altogether. But before Sir John Shore's instructions to this effect could reach Sir Robert Abercromby in Oude, that general, after chastising the Rohilla insolence in a general battle, and reducing them to complete submission, had agreed to restore the inheritance of the family, under the guarantee of the Company, to Achmed Ali Khan, the infant son of Ali Khan, who had been slain by his brother Gholam. This settlement restored complete tranquillity

to Rohileund and Oude, and the supreme government was subsequently induced to acquiesce in the arrangement which Sir Robert Abercromby had made. In 1797, the nabob-vizier, Asoph-ul-Dowla, with whom Hastings had had so many dealings, departed this life, and was succeeded by his presumptive heir, Vizier Ali, who had been acknowledged as his son by the deceased prince. Though generally known to have been of spurious birth, though there were other claimants who pleaded their legitimacy, Vizier Ali was supported by a strong party at Lucknow, and his right was formally acknowledged by the British government at Calcutta, to whom Saadut Ali, the eldest surviving brother of Asoph-ul-Dowla, had made an appeal. Sir John Shore, however, soon stated that he had decided against the claim of Saadut Ali, not without great hesitation; that he found it impossible to divest himself of the impression, excited by universal belief and assertion of the spurious origin of Vizier Ali, or of the apprehension that the justice and reputation of the Company might suffer an imputation for the decision he had given in favour of that doubtful personage. It would have been better not to decide at all, than so speedily to revoke a decision. With these impressions upon his mind, Sir John Shore determined to travel to Lucknow.

On approaching that capital, Sir John was met by the prime minister, who assured him that Vizier Ali, as well as the other reputed sons of Asoph-ul-Dowla, were all spurious, that the right of succession indubitably belonged to Saadut Ali, and that the people were astonished and disappointed at seeing Vizier Ali raised to the musnud by the governor-general. At Lucknow, Sir John found himself involved in a scene of intrigue, perplexity, and profligacy. The old begum, from whom Warren Hastings had extorted some of her treasures, was now in the city, recommending another claimant to the inheritance. After many delays and many changes of purpose, Sir John Shore resolved to dethrone Vizier Ali, and set up Saadut Ali; but only upon condition of Saadut's signing a treaty very advantageous to the Company. Accordingly, on the 21st of January, 1798, Saadut Ali was proclaimed sovereign of Oude; and Vizier Ali, whose title Sir John had recognized, was sent down to Benares, there to be kept under surveillance. The treaty with Saadut Ali was now somewhat modified. It was finally settled that the annual subsidy to

the Company should be raised from fifty-six lacs to seventy-six lacs of rupees; that the fortress of Allahabad, and the ghauts immediately dependent on the fort, should be made over in perpetuity to the English; that the Company's forces stationed in Oude, should never be less than 10,000 men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, &c.; that if at any time the amount should exceed 18,000 men, the expense of all the supernumerary troops should be defrayed by the nabob. The nabob-vizier further agreed to pay the sum of twelve lacs of rupees to the Company, as a reimbursement for the trouble and expense incurred in placing him upon the throne. He also pledged himself never to hold communication with any foreign state, to employ no French or other Europeans in his service, and to permit no Europeans to settle in his dominions, without the consent, in each and every case, of the Company. Finally, he agreed to allow a lac and a half of rupees per annum as a pension to the deposed Vizier Ali, who was removed to Benares; and to afford a suitable maintenance to the rest of the reputed children of his brother, the deceased nabob. The pecuniary gain to the Company was very considerable. Sir John Shore received the thanks of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control.

In the year 1796, while the governor-general was cherishing the neutrality system, and, apparently, the belief that the peace of all India might be preserved without putting British armies into the field, those fierce and warlike Afghan tribes, who had so often devastated the peninsula, descended once more from Cabul and Candahar. Under Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul, they advanced to Lahore, and threatened to visit Delhi. On the frontiers of Oude, the fierce Rohillas—themselves an Afghan tribe—who had been left in possession of Rampore, were ready to enlist for plunder or to join the king of Cabul on his advance. On another side, the Patans were on tiptoe for booty and revenge. Whether the Mahrattas who occupied Delhi would be able to defend that city, and prevent these destructive Afghans from descending into the valley of the Ganges, was exceedingly problematical. Sir John Shore therefore found himself under the necessity of ordering the British troops in Oude to go into camp and hold themselves in readiness to meet the invaders. If the Afghans had advanced, our forces might have been found insufficient to drive them back. But, while Zemaun Shah was moving from Lahore towards Delhi, a

rebellion, headed by his own brother, broke out in his own dominions, and compelled him to retrace his steps to Cabul. In the year 1787, and again in 1788, there were loud rumours of a fresh invasion; and, indeed, down to the end of his administration, Sir John Shore continued to be disquieted by the Afghans. At the same time he professed himself averse from any extensive measures of military preparations. Most happily for us, and for the people of India, Zemaun Shah, and the other Afghan chiefs, continued to find occupation at home, or in other quarters still farther from the frontiers of Hindustan.

During this peaceful administration, the people of the Carnatic suffered as much from tax-gatherers, publicans, and sinners, as they might have done from war and an invasion. The old nabob, Mohammed Ali Khan—commonly called in England the nabob of Arcot—died in October, 1795, and was succeeded by his son Omdut-ul-Omrah. The enormous debts which the father had left behind him were rapidly increased by the son, who found himself completely in the hands of usurers and mortgagees. In these circumstances the ryots, or cultivators of the soil, were over-taxed and cruelly oppressed, population was fearfully decreased, and, more than once, there was famine in the land. To some sweeping administrative changes in the Carnatic, proposed by Lord Hobart, governor of Madras, Sir John Shore raised unqualified objections. Nothing was done to improve the condition of the suffering people, until the arrival of a more energetic governor-general. Had that arrival been delayed a few years longer, the Carnatic must have been converted into an unpeopled waste.

Though no conquests or annexations were attempted in Hindustan during this pacific administration, several important conquests were effected over the eastern settlements of the European enemies of Great Britain, by expeditions that were all fitted out from Madras under the immediate direction of Lord Hobart. All the old Dutch settlements in Ceylon and Malacca were reduced, and the valuable Dutch islands of Banda and Amboyna were captured. A more formidable armament was fully prepared for the reduction of the Spanish colony of Manilla, when the suspicious attitude of Tippoo Sulthan caused the abandonment of that easy enterprise.

In 1794, the two young hostages, Tippoo's sons, were

restored to their father. The Indian government, in announcing this event to the authorities at home, expressed their belief that Tippoo would embrace the first opportunity to recover the dominions which Lord Cornwallis had taken from him, and thereby retrieve his reputation in the eyes of the native states.* Yet, during the four following years that Sir John Shore remained in India, no valid efforts, of any kind, were made to repress the aspirations of the Mysorean; and the tyrant, during that period, was allowed, in many instances, to gratify his passion for revenge upon poor people who had aided Lord Cornwallis in humiliating and reducing his too great power.

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

In the month of March, 1798, Sir John Shore, who had been previously raised to the Irish peerage, by the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the government of India, and sailed for England. He was a man possessed of many merits, if not of any high quality or genius, and he had been a patient [and obedient servant of the Company; but it seemed strange in the eyes of the old Anglo-Indians that he, who had done so little, should receive titles, honours, and eulogiums, from a government which had suffered the great Hastings to be vilipended, impeached, and beggared.

The period at which Lord Teignmouth left India, though a season of peace for the country, is said to have been regarded by no person in India, who had the slightest knowledge of the subject, as a season of security. Though the British strength was not diminished, the power and resources of the other states of India had increased. The confidence and attachment of our allies were much shaken, and their feelings, and the presumption and hostile disposition of the principal native powers, clearly showed—that they might have been clearly foreseen—that they attributed the neutral course which had been pursued by the British, not to moderation and the desire of general good, but to weakness or to selfish policy. A power like that of our Indian empire can be preserved only by the means with which it was first acquired: it cannot be strictly stationary; it must

* Peter Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'
Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.'

advance or recede; and the moment it attempts to come to a dead stop, it must fall back, or fall prostrate. It was proved that no ground of advantage could be abandoned, without being instantly occupied by an enemy; that to cease to interfere, was to cease to exercise influence; and that to resign influence was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands naturally hostile to the English interests.*

There were some who alleged that Lord Teignmouth's conduct in Oude, with his setting up and then pulling down Vizier Ali, was as bad as any that had been attributed to Warren Hastings, and was, at the same time, very vacillating, and very unwise, as policy. His lordship was threatened with a parliamentary impeachment; but he was supported by the government, by Mr. Wilberforce, who had arrayed himself against Hastings, and by the whole strength of what was called the religious world, and no proceedings were ever commenced against him. It had taken all the energy and genius of two wonderful men—Lord Clive and Warren Hastings—to make our Indian empire, which would have been unmade by two such governors-general as Lord Teignmouth, coming one in succession to the other. But the successor, who was now on his way to Calcutta, was a man of another stamp.†

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

† 'Our Indian Empire,' vol. ii. Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch.' Mills, 'History of British India,' as edited and corrected by Professor Wilson.

CHAPTER XXII.

At the request of the Court of Directors, Lord, now Marquis Cornwallis, had consented to return to India, and for some time it was expected that he would be Lord Teignmouth's successor as governor-general. But the nobleman ultimately fixed upon to fill the high and arduous post was the elder brother of the illustrious duke of Wellington, the earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley.

His lordship's education at Eton was superintended by Archbishop Cornwallis, with whom he constantly passed the holidays at Lambeth Palace, from 1771 to 1779, and there he became intimately acquainted with Earl Cornwallis, and the several members of his lordship's family.

When Lord Cornwallis proceeded to India as governor-general, in 1786, Lord Wellesley evinced a decided taste for the study of Indian history, and zealously applied himself to the acquisition of an intimate knowledge of its early government, and of the various matters that had of late occupied so much of the attention of parliament and of the country.* After Lord Cornwallis's departure, he continued to apply his brilliant abilities to the study of Indian affairs. He publicly displayed the extent of his information on these matters in a great speech delivered in parliament in defence of Mr. Hastings. In 1796, he was appointed lord of the treasury and a member of the Board of Control, and thus had excellent opportunities for adding to his amount of practical knowledge. His lordship was in the very prime of life, his manners were captivating, he had energy, wonderful activity, and a faculty of imparting his energy to other men. With the exception of some few of the old Anglo-Indians, who thought him too young, nearly every Englishman in the country, or interested in its concerns, hailed his appointment with joy and hope.

Lord Mornington arrived in Madras Roads on the 22nd

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

of May, 1798, "a day ever to be remembered in the annals of British India, because we date from it a new and splendid era in our history."* His lordship remained some time at Madras, in order to acquaint himself with the real condition of that presidency and of the Carnatic, and to concert measures for defending these countries against any irruption of the Mahrattas, or of the Mysoreans under Tippoo, who, under the late governor-general, had prepared for hostilities. Our forces on the Madras establishment had been much reduced in number by the expeditions to Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, and Amboyna; they were scattered in different cantonments; no bullocks had been provided for conveying their baggage and *matériel* of war; no stores had been collected, no magazines had been formed; in short, there was danger, and no adequate preparation to meet it. His lordship consulted with General Harris, who was now governor and commander-in-chief at Madras, and instantly took measures for strengthening that army and putting it into a condition to take the field at the shortest notice.

Beginning at the right end, Lord Mornington negotiated with some of the native powers, in order to re-establish by peaceful means our political influence, and to brace up the ties of alliance, which had been so seriously relaxed under the government of Sir John Shore. By this time, M. Raymond's disciplined force in the Deekan rather exceeded than fell short of 14,000 sepoys; and he, his French officers, and their party disposed of nearly all the resources of the country. Luckily their power, being accompanied by insolence, wholly estranged the nizam and his minister, Azeem-ul-Omrah, who confessed that the French prepotency was no longer to be borne, and immediately assented to a negotiation for disbanding the French corps and increasing the English subsidiary forces in his dominions. While the negotiations were pending, M. Raymond died, and was succeeded by a very inferior person, named Piron, who had little influence over the troops, and no influence at all at court or among the great men of the Deekan. The nizam soon agreed to admit four more of our battalions, and to pay for our entire force of sepoys in the country 2,417,100 rupees per annum; to disband all the French corps, and to deliver over

* 'Life and Services of General Lord Harris, during his Campaigns in India,' &c., by the Right Hon. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, private secretary to Lord Harris, and late governor of Madras.

all the French officers to the British government ; and the British government agreed to defend the nizam against the Mahrattas, and to render him other services. But, as the nizam had not strength or courage enough to proceed by himself, our battalions marched into the country, and threatened the French camp. Hereupon a proclamation was issued by the nabob to inform the troops under the French officers that their lawful sovereign had dismissed those officers from his service ; that they were released from their obedience to them, and that if they attempted to support them they would be punished as traitors. The force collected in that camp was greatly superior in number to the English who were threatening them, and was well provided with artillery, while our sepoy, who had advanced both secretly and rapidly, had hardly a gun with them. But it would appear that these French adventurers had not conciliated the affections of the native troops, as M. Bussy and his companions had formerly done in this same country, and that they were under serious apprehensions of being massacred by their own people ; for they promptly signified to the English resident at Hyderabad that they were ready to comply with the orders of the nizam, and that they much wished to be received under the protection of the English nation.*

After their French officers had quitted them and taken shelter in our camp, the nizam's sepoy, mutinied about arrears of pay, but the mutiny was put down, and the sepoy, were all disarmed by our battalions and some of the nizam's cavalry, commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm and Colonel Roberts, without shedding one drop of blood. The wisdom with which this great political measure was planned, and the promptness and vigour displayed in the execution, carried alarm to the enemies of the British government, and diffused joy and confidence among the subjects and allies of the English ; and these impressions greatly promoted our future success.

But there yet remained another nucleus of French power in India. M. Perron was at the head of a disciplined force in the Mahratta territories, and the peishwa, or Scindiah, who acted for him, would neither disband this force nor allow the English to mediate between the Mahrattas and the nizam of the Deckan. More ; at this critical moment

* Sir John Malcolm.

the peishwa received ambassadors from Tippoo Sultaun. The British government had therefore to proceed against the sultaun without any satisfactory settlement with the Mah-rattas; and there was good ground for suspecting that Scindiah inclined to take an active part with our enemy, and that M. Perron, with his French officers and disciplined corps, would endeavour to join the Frenchmen in Tippoo's service, and more especially if a French armament from Europe, from the Mauritius, or by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, should effect a landing on the coast. The dangers to be apprehended from Tippoo's position, temper, and views, were apparent to every European in the country, and were deeply felt by the government at home, when it was ascertained that Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt with a large army.

Ever since the treaty of Seringapatam, Tippoo had shown a sullen vindictive temper, an irreconcilable enmity, an impatience to grasp at every chance of renewing the war with some prospect of success. His envoys made their appearance wherever there existed enemies to the British power. Their voices were heard and the effects of their intrigues were felt at Cabul, in Persia, at Constantinople, at Paris, in the Isle of France. Much of this was known to Lord Mornington on his first arrival, and more became known ere his lordship had been a month in the country. Early in June, 1798, his lordship received the copy of a proclamation which had been issued by the French governor of the Mauritius or Isle of France, together with information of enlistments making in that island for the service of the Mysorean sultaun. This proclamation stated that Tippoo Sultaun, the great monarch of Mysore, had, through two ambassadors despatched for the purpose, addressed letters to the colonial assembly of the Isle of France, to all the generals employed there, and to the French Directory at Paris; and that the said letters contained the following clauses:— I. That he, Tippoo Sultaun, desired to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France; and offered to maintain at his own expense, during the continuance of the war in India, whatever troops should be furnished by the French; and to supply (with the exception of certain stores) every necessary for carrying on the war. II. That he had given assurances that all his preparations were already completed; and that the generals and officers would find everything

necessary for carrying on a species of warfare to which Europeans had not been accustomed in their contests with the native powers in India. III. That he only waited for the succour of France to declare war against the English; and that it was his ardent desire to expel the English from India.* Upon the ground of these facts, the French proclamation recommended a levy of men for the service of Tippoo Sultaan.

On the 18th of June, or nearly at the very moment in which Lord Mornington received the copy of the proclamation and other intelligence from the Isle of France, the secret committee of the Court of Directors, wrote from London, to inform him that a large French armament had sailed from Toulon, on the 13th of May; and that it was conceived to be not impossible that India might be the object of attack by way of the Red Sea, after the conquest of Egypt. The secret committee further told his lordship, that ministers had informed them that immediate measures would be taken for a considerable augmentation of the European troops in India. But long before this despatch of the secret committee could reach the governor-general, he received through the overland channel, positive information of the landing of Bonaparte and the French army in Egypt. Moreover, as soon as Bonaparte arrived in the valley of the Nile, he despatched a letter to Tippoo, requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the *liberation* of India; and this letter was intercepted by the English, and sent to Lord Mornington.

In the meanwhile—as early as the 20th of June—some people from the Isle of France had joined Tippoo in his camp.

As M. Malartie, the governor of the Isle of France, could spare no troops, he forwarded Tippoo's letters to Paris, and aided and assisted his two ambassadors in raising men in that island. These men turned out to be "the refuse of the lowest class of the democratic rabble," some of whom were taken from the prisons and forcibly embarked. When the moment of sailing arrived, nearly one-half of the volunteers refused to go to conquer India. Some 150 of them, however, arrived at Mangalore, and thence proceeded to

* Marquis Wellesley's Despatches.

camp, and to Tippoo's capital, where one of their first operations was to set up a tree of liberty, surmounted by the red nightcap of liberty and equality. They next organized a Jacobin club in Seringapatam. The club was distinguished by this peculiarity,—the members were required to swear hatred to tyranny, love of liberty, and destruction to all kings and sovereigns, *except* the good and faithful ally of the French Republic, *Citizen Sultaun Tippoo*.

At the end of October, Lord Mornington received intelligence of the destruction of Bonaparte's fleet by Nelson, at the mouth of the Nile. But it was not upon that fleet in the Mediterranean that the French could have depended for their passage down the Red Sea, and across the Indian Ocean; and, notwithstanding the great naval event, his lordship did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under his orders. He was still uncertain as to the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been intended to co-operate with it in India, by embarking in another fleet, and taking the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope. That French army, it must be remembered, kept its ground in Egypt for three whole years, in spite of the loss of their fleet, and in spite of all the efforts made by the English, the Turks, and the Mamelukes to dispossess them. Even though the French should not proceed from Egypt to India, or come to India round the Cape, they would still derive immense advantages from fomenting a war in that country against the power of Great Britain. Nor could it be yet known what additional forces might get to Seringapatam from the Isle of France. The things which were perfectly well known at the moment were these—the Mahrattas were faithless, and eager for conquest or plunder. M. Perron, with his numerous disciplined troops, was every day gaining strength in the Mahratta country, and was looking forward for chances and combinations which might enable him to re-establish the French supremacy in India. Every one felt that with or without the arrival of a French armament on the coast, the implacable Mysorean had ample means of making himself dangerous, and would never cease caballing and agitating the country against the English. He had on foot an army of 76,600 men, of whom nearly 40,000 were disciplined.

Our forces in the Carnatic were not all concentrated

until the beginning of November; and until that army was ready for the field, it would have been an imbecile act to threaten or remonstrate with Tippoo. When that army was quite ready, explanations were demanded, which Tippoo would not give. In order to be near the scene of negotiation or military operations, and to give to the public service his own quick spirit, and the advantages of a prompt decision upon every question, the governor-general quitted the ease and splendour of Calcutta, and returned to Madras. Tippoo now declared that he was anxious for peace, and had never entertained intentions hostile to the English; but he evasively refused to receive Major Doveton as an envoy from his lordship. The governor-general hereupon wrote another letter, recapitulating all the proceedings of the embassy to the Isle of France, and the other causes of offence and jealousy, which the sultaun had given to the English; declaring that he had by his conduct compelled the English and their allies to seek relief from the ambiguous and anxious state in which they had been kept for years past; and that the English and their allies could no longer suffer those constant preparations for war, and those intrigues and hostile negotiations with their enemies, which exposed them, during a period of supposed peace, to all the solicitude and hazard, and to much of the expense of actual war. His lordship again entreated the sultaun to receive Major Doveton. This letter was despatched on the 9th of January, 1799, and it reached Tippoo about the 24th of that month. No reply was, however, received until about a month after it had been handed to Tippoo; and then—on the 13th of February—the answer came in the shape of a short and insolent note, in which the sultaun said that he was going upon a hunting excursion, and that Major Doveton might be sent after him slightly attended.

But ten days before this tardy note reached him, Lord Mornington had put his armies in motion. The delay of Tippoo had been considered as part of his design to procrastinate till the favourable season for the attack of his capital should be passed; and, in the interval, it had been ascertained, that he had despatched another embassy to the French, repeating that he was quite ready for the war, and calling upon them to hasten the equipment and sailing of an armament.

On the 3rd of February, the governor-general had

directed the British army under General Harris, and the nizam's army under Meer Alum, to advance against Mysore. His lordship addressed a letter to the sultaun offering moderate terms of accommodation and peace; but he instructed General Harris to raise the terms in proportion to the sultaun's obstinacy and the progress of our armies. The presence at Madras of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, a younger brother of the governor-general, and now the time-honoured DUKE OF WELLINGTON, had contributed very materially to change the feelings and opinions of the leading men in that presidency, where the majority had, at first, deprecated the war, not because they thought it unjust or unnecessary, but because they dreaded the expense and doubted its success. Colonel Wellesley, who had arrived in India more than a year before his brother the governor-general, had also studied the country and the means of carrying on war in it, and had paid great attention to the native troops, and to the means of improving the discipline of the whole army. He was at the head of his own regiment, the brave 33rd. That regiment was now attached to the nizam's force, and the general command of that force was given to Colonel Wellesley.

As early as the end of February, General Harris joined his army, which was then nearly all assembled in the vicinity of Vellore. A finer army, and one more perfect in all points, had never taken the field in India. It consisted of 4,608 British infantry; 11,061 native infantry; 912 European cavalry; 1,766 native cavalry; 576 European artillery; 2,726 gun-lascars and pioneers; forming altogether a force of 21,649 men, with sixty field-pieces, and forty heavy guns for battering. The nizam's contingent, under Colonel Wellesley, who was to advance with General Harris, amounted to 20,000 men, including the 33rd regiment, 6,500 of our thoroughly disciplined sepoys, and a large body of well-mounted cavalry from the Deckan. In addition to these forces, General Stuart was advancing from the Malabar coast, with a Bombay army of 6,100 fighting men, whereof 1,600 were Europeans: and another and smaller force under Colonels Read and T. Brown, was gathering in the productive country of the Barahmahal, in order to co-operate on the enemy's flank, and to secure the bringing up of supplies to General Harris's grand army through the Caverypooram pass.

General Harris began his march from Vellore on the 11th of February; and on the 18th he was joined by Colonel Wellesley with the nizam's army. The movements were impeded by want of good bullocks; but on the 5th of March, General Harris crossed Tippoo's frontiers, and commenced hostilities by reducing several hill forts.

Instead of advancing towards the Coromandel coast to meet the grand army under Harris and Wellesley, Tippoo and his "tigers of war," marched towards the Malabar coast to encounter the small army of Bombay, before they should get clear of the jungles of Coorg; and, on the 6th of March, a battle took place in that wooded country, between the van of the Bombay army and Tippoo's forces. Three of our battalions of Bombay sepoys, under Colonel Montresor, though taken by surprise and at a distance from their main body, sufficed to keep the Mysoreans at bay from an early hour in the morning until half-past two in the afternoon. Then General Stuart came up with the main body of the Bombay army, and completely defeated Tippoo, who fled to Periapatam, whence he marched, not without confusion, to Seringapatam.

It was not until the 26th of March, that Tippoo descended towards the Coromandel coast, and showed his whole army in General Harris's front. A battle was now expected, but the Mysorean glided off in the direction of Mallavelly. But Tippoo endeavoured to stop the high-road; and on the 27th of March, a battle was fought on ground of his own choosing between Sultaunpet and Mallavelly. The British army under General Harris formed our right wing; the nizam's army, with the 33rd regiment, under Colonel Wellesley, formed the left. The affair began with a hot fire of artillery from the Mysorean's numerous and well-served parks, and ended with a bayonet charge by the 33rd. The loss of Tippoo, in killed and wounded, was estimated at nearly 2,000; but this battle of Mallavelly cost us no more than sixty-six men, in killed, wounded, and missing. The efficient state of the Mysore gun-cattle, and the miserable condition of our Carnatic bullocks, precluded all idea of a successful pursuit.

Though sadly daunted, Tippoo prepared to obstruct the advance of the invading army, which was now little more than thirty miles from Seringapatam; but he committed the serious mistake of believing that General Harris would take the same road which Lord Cornwallis had taken in 1792.

But Harris chose a very different and a much better route, and moving with great secrecy, he got across the Cavery river and on another road, while Tippoo, completely at fault, was looking for him on the direct road to Seringapatam. After committing some other mistakes, the Mysorean threw himself into his capital, and manned the lines in front of it. By the 5th of April, General Harris was encamped on the ground which had been occupied by Abercromby, in 1792, and the fine fortress, the white walls, the domes and minarets of Seringapatam, were once more in full view of our troops. Many alterations and additions had been made to the works since the English last lay under them; for 6,000 men had been constantly at work on the fortifications during six years. There was some hard fighting in the lines and at the outward defences—in a night attack, Colonel Wellesley had a very narrow escape from death—but the Mysoreans were driven in, our approaches were pushed with vigour, and by the 20th of April, our last parallel was completed by General Harris, who, by this time, had been joined by the Bombay army, under General Stuart. A close breaching-battery was opened upon the fortress on the morning of the 30th. On the 2nd of May, a second breaching-battery began its work of demolition. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of May, Colonel Wellesley, who was commanding in the trenches, reported that the breach was practicable. On the following morning the troops destined for the assault were got into the trenches; and at the hour of noon they rushed into the breach, and took Seringapatam by storm, in an incredibly short space of time.* Tippoo Sultaun, pierced with four wounds, was found dead under a dark gateway of the fortress, where his flight had been stopped by a part of our 12th regiment.

During the whole of the siege and assault, from the 4th of April to the 4th of May inclusive, twenty-two officers were killed, and forty-five wounded; 181 British soldiers were killed, and 622 wounded; while the loss of our native troops was 119 killed, and 420 wounded. On the 4th of May, when the storm was made, Tippoo's forces consisted of

* When the assault commenced, Tippoo was closeted with his priests, conjurers, and astrologers. "I will go," said Seyed Ghoffar, "and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded. I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment!" He was going to the sultaun, when a cannon-ball killed him.

48,000 men, of whom about 22,000 were either in the fort or in the dependent intrenchments of Seringapatam. Counting natives and all classes of troops, General Harris had never more than 20,000 men actually occupied in the siege; and the two divisions which carried the place did not count many more than 4,000 men.

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

The body of Tippoo Sultaun was buried, with military honours, on the 5th of May, the day after his death, in the superb mausoleum of Lall Bang, which he had erected to his father, Hyder Ali. A violent storm of thunder and lightning, which killed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to these last and solemn rites.* A cauzee, or ulema, chanted some verses from the Koran, which were repeated by the attendants. The British grenadiers formed a street, and presented arms. The burial service having been performed, a keeraut, or charitable gift of 5,000 rupees, was distributed by the cauzee to the fakeers and the poor who attended the funeral.† This was all strictly conformable to the Mahometan religion; and, monster though he had been, Tippoo had ever professed himself a devout Mus-

* Lushington. Colonel Beatson. † Beatson.

sulman, and had ever been most scrupulous in outward observances. No doubt was left as to his having inhumanly murdered some English prisoners taken on the night of the unfortunate affair in which Colonel Wellesley was so near perishing. A peon having undertaken to show where these poor fellows were buried, Colonel Wellesley sent some of the officers of his regiment to the spot; and, upon the exhumation of one of the bodies, it was identified by these officers as that of one of the grenadiers of the 33rd. It appears that these unfortunate captives had been murdered at night in parties of two or three; and that the mode of killing them had been by twisting their heads round their shoulders, and thus breaking their necks. Black as was the deed, it was merciful in comparison with some which he had committed on the English fifteen years ago. Everywhere within and about the palace, evidence met the eye or ear of his depraved and sanguinary tastes. His name meant tiger; he called his soldiers his tigers of war; and the tigers of the Indian jungles were his pets, and often his executioners—for the attendant that offended him, or the prisoner that was brought into his presence, was not unfrequently turned into a barred room, or large cage, where the savage animals were let loose upon him. Near the door of his treasury an enormous tiger had been found chained. There were other tigers in the edifice, and so numerous as to give some trouble to Colonel Wellesley.* The history and character of the son of Hyder were, in a manner, told by the barbarous big toy which was invented for his amusement, which was found in his palace, and which may now be seen in the library of the East-India House, Leadenhall-street. This rude automaton is a tiger killing and about to devour a European, who lies prostrate under the savage beast. In the interior of the tiger there is a rude kind of organ, played upon by turning a handle, like our street hand-organs; and the notes produced are intended to represent the growls of the tiger and the moans of the dying man.† Other toys, indica-

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

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

† By the frequent grinding of the curious, this Mysorean instrument

tive of the same tastes, were found in Tippoo's dwelling; and, in nearly every ornament the figure of the tiger was represented. Upon his harem being told off, it was found to contain no fewer than 600 women.*

The treasure discovered amounted, in specie and jewels, to about one million sterling, the whole of which was, by order of the governor-general and council, distributed to the army. All the members of the sultaun's family were very soon in the hands of the conquerors, although several of them were not within the walls of Seringapatam at the time of the storm. On the day after the capture of the place, Abdal Khalif, one of the two princes who had formerly been hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered at our outposts, imploring protection. A passport was sent out for Futteh Ali, another of the princes, who was invited to join his brothers. Kereen Saheb, a brother of Tippoo's, sought present refuge with our ally the nizam. Most of the sultaun's principal officers came in voluntarily in the course of a few days, and submitted to the English, without any other condition than that they should be preserved in their lives, titles, and estates. Most of Tippoo's Frenchmen were made prisoners.†

In the meanwhile, Colonel Wellesley had exerted himself to the utmost to put an end to those excesses which almost invariably and unavoidably attend the capture of a place by storm. Four marauders were brought to a drum-head trial, and handed over to the provost-marshal. These examples, and the personal activity and incessant care of Wellesley, who went to the houses of the principal inhabitants and himself placed guards at their doors, soon inspired a general confidence. People returned to their habitations and ordinary occupations: the bazars, stored with all sorts of provisions and merchandize, were re-opened; and the native traders found a ready and profitable sale, as the conquering army was in want of almost everything, and paid for all they took. Three days after the capture of the fortress,—

has been sadly deranged, and almost worn out. The tiger no longer growls as it used to do, and the man moans but very feebly, as the paw of the beast is alternately placed on his mouth and removed from it, by the internal mechanism put in motion by turning the handle.

* 'Our Indian Empire.'

† Letters, memorandums, &c. of General Harris, in Life, by the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington. Marquis Wellesley, 'Indian Despatches.'

thanks to the exertions and personal influence of the noble commandant,—the main streets of Seringapatam were so crowded, as to be almost impassable, and exhibited rather the appearance of a fair, than that of a town just taken by assault. General Harris could not do less than appoint Colonel Wellesley permanent commandant of a regular permanent garrison for the place. The sudden and complete dissolution of Tippoo's government, and the dispersion of all the public functionaries, required that the governor of Seringapatam should be a good administrator, and as much a statesman as soldier. There were men much older and higher in military rank than he, but there was not a man in the army so qualified for the double capacity as was Arthur Wellesley.

Even before the reduction of Tippoo's capital, the greater part of his inferior fortresses were taken by Generals Harris and Stuart, or by the corps under Colonels Read and Brown. In every part of Mysore, or of the countries which had been united into one kingdom by Hyder Ali, the Hindū population was very numerous, and exceedingly well affected to the English, well knowing that, under our rule, they would be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Even the Mahometan portion of the inhabitants submitted tranquilly to their destiny, and to the conquerors.

The empire which Hyder Ali had erected was now thrown to the ground ; but, restricted by parliamentary declarations and orders from home, which forbade wars of conquest, the governor-general could not, as he ought to have done, take immediate sovereignty over the whole of this empire. He therefore determined to dismember the dominions ; to retain in his own hands those districts which lay along the seashore, or which interrupted in any way the communication between different provinces already subject to the Company ; to make over a second portion to the nizam of the Deccan ; to offer, upon certain conditions, a third portion to the peishwa ; and to raise to the government of the fourth and smallest portion a descendant of that ancient line of Hindū rajahs which Hyder Ali had set aside by right of force or conquest. In pursuance of this plan, the district of Canara, including the whole line of coast contiguous to the Company's possessions in Malabar and the Carnatic, the fortresses and posts at the head of the different ghauts or passes which lead into Mysore, as well as the fortress of

Seringapatam, were all committed to the English; the tracts of country bordering upon his own dominions, became the property of the nizam of the Deckan; and Harponelly and various other provinces and districts were to be made over to the Mahrattas. But, regarding the last clause, seeing that the Mahrattas did not comply with the stipulated conditions, the governor-general determined that it should form the basis of some new treaty with the Mahrattas, and that, in the mean time, occupation should remain with the Company.* Maharajah Krishna Oudawer, a child of six years old, the lineal representative of the ancient Hindū dynasty or family of Mysore, whom Tippoo's father, Hyder Ali, had forcibly dispossessed, was raised to the throne of a principality neither less extensive nor less powerful, in spite of recent events, than that over which his forefathers had reigned. The entire superintendence of his affairs was, at the same time, committed to Purneah, a Brahmin of great ability and reputation, who, entering into treaties with the English, confirmed the arrangement made in favour of the confederates, agreed to settle a pension on the children of Tippoo, and accepted a modified subsidiary alliance, which, while it secured to the rajah the benefit of English protection, placed the whole strength of his country at the disposal of the Company. By this latter arrangement it was agreed that the English should maintain a force expressly for the defence of the new sovereignty, and place garrisons in such strongholds as they might desire to occupy, while the rajah paid an annual tribute in liquidation of the expenses thereby incurred. Finally, the sons of Tippoo, on whom a liberal pension was settled, set out under a military escort to Vellore, where, though kept under surveillance, they lived in luxury and splendour, and were treated with great kindness. Strong considerations of policy forbade even a partial re-elevation of the family of Hyder Ali. They had all been brought up in hereditary hatred of the English, and they could not, under any arrangement, be expected to forget the high power and independence from which they had fallen. "Nor does it seem unreasonable to suppose," wrote the governor-general, "that the heir of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Suldaun, animated by the implacable spirit of his parents, and accustomed to the splendour of military glory, might

* Rev. G. R. Gleig, 'History of the British Empire in India.'

deliberately hazard the remnant of his hereditary possessions in pursuit of so proud an object as the recovery of that vast and powerful empire, which, for many years, had rendered his ancestors the scourge of the Carnatic, and the terror of this quarter of India."*

On the other hand, the indignities which the family of the ancient Hindū rajahs of the country had suffered, especially during the cruel and tyrannical reign of Tippoo, and the state of degradation and misery to which they had been reduced, might naturally be expected to excite a sentiment of gratitude and attachment in their minds towards that power which should not only deliver them from oppression, but also raise them to a state of considerable affluence and distinction. Between the British government and this family an intercourse of friendship and kindness had once subsisted; and in the most desperate crisis of their fortune they had formed no connection with the French or with any of our enemies. Under the pacific, the friendly, and dependent representative of the old Hindū line of princes, the interest and resources of the country might be absolutely identified with our own; and the kingdom of Mysore, so long the source of calamity or alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier for our defence, and might supply fresh means of wealth and strength to the Company, their subjects and allies. The territory ceded to Maharajah Krishna yielded thirteen lacs of pagodas, a revenue greater than that of the ancient rajahship of Mysore. It was completely surrounded by the districts and fortresses which the English took to themselves, and which were garrisoned by British troops, and by sepoys in the pay of the Company. One strong line of forts protected the rajahship from the Mahrattas, whose incursions were most to be apprehended. But in matter of fact the sovereignty of the rajahship, equally with its defence, was vested in the Company. It was provided by treaty that the whole of the military force in the country should be English; that the rajah should pay annually seven lacs of pagodas; that in case of war, any larger sum might be exacted which should be deemed proportionate to the resources of the rajah or of the country; and that, in case of any misgovernment by the rajah, the British government might interfere. The city of Mysore,

* Marquis Wellesley, 'India Despatches.'

the ancient capital of the country, which Tippoo had dismantled in order to give strength, extension, and magnificence to Seringapatam, was fixed upon for the residence of the infant rajah and his court. A curious example was given of vicissitude in human affairs. Tippoo, in 1784, had levelled with the ground an ancient fort at Mysore, and had carried away the materials to build a new fort, which he named "Nezerbâr," or "the place visited by the eye of the Almighty:" now this fort was destroyed in its turn, and the materials were carried back to the town of Mysore, to rebuild the old fort.*

The territory conquered from Tippoo, and annexed, covertly or openly, to the Company, exceeded in dimension 20,000 square miles. The revenue immediately obtained by the Company was very large, and was chiefly drawn from countries which wanted nothing but tranquillity and security to be enabled to pay, with perfect ease, taxes far more considerable than those they now paid.†

The annexation gave an entirely new form and consistency to our empire in the south of India, with a degree of security which we had not previously possessed. There were sixty ghauts or passes through the mountains, several of which were practicable for armies, and two-thirds of which were sufficiently open to allow the incursions of cavalry.‡ By occupying these passes, all the Carnatic was secured against those ruinous irruptions from which it had so often suffered in the days of Hyder and his son, and the low country on the Malabar coast was rendered equally safe.

Instead of being our most dangerous enemies, the Mysoreans soon became our best friends, and recruited our sepoy battalions with some of their bravest men. As soon as a band of robbers, headed by the famous Dhoondiah Waugh, and joined by some of Tippoo's disbanded cavalry, had been cut up or driven out of the country, a most perfect tranquillity was established everywhere. On leaving the command of all the troops in Mysore and its dependencies, and on hastening back to Madras to meet the governor-general, who had remained at that presidency to be near at hand as long as the war lasted, General Harris wrote to a friend:—

"In seven months' absence from Madras, we not only took

* Colonel Wilks.

† Marquis Wellesley, 'Despatches,' &c.

‡ Colonel Beatson.

the capital of that enemy, who, as you observe, should never have been left the power of being troublesome, but marched to the northern extent of his empire, and left it in so settled a state that I journeyed from the banks of the Toombudra, 300 miles across, in my palanquin, without a single soldier as escort, except, indeed, at many places, the polygars and peons of the country, who insisted on being my guard through their respective districts. This was a kind of triumphal journey I did not dream of when setting off. A conquest so complete in all its effects has seldom been known.”*

Having thus satisfactorily arranged the affairs of Mysore, Lord Mornington directed his attention to those of the Deckan, where the well-known imbecility of the nizam rendered him liable, at any time, to be made the tool of the Mahrattas or of any persons more subtle and enterprising than himself. Hitherto, our subsidiary force in the Deckan had been maintained by a monthly stipend from the nizam, of which the payment was very irregular, and always liable to interruption by treachery or by the improvidence of the Hyderabad government. It was the object of his lordship to obtain a commutation of the stipend in the shape of estates and districts—a system which had been adopted by the nizam, and other native princes, in regard to the French officers who raised and disciplined troops for them; and without this system (seeing the constant irregularity of all money payments from these eastern princes), neither M. Perron, nor M. Bussy, would have remained in their service, or have been in a condition to keep up a disciplined army for them. The governor-general also wished, by a general revision of the terms of our alliance, to render the Deckan more dependent than it was upon the Company, and to check that rapacity and misrule which kept the people poor when they ought to be prosperous. By firmness and address, his lordship brought his scheme to a satisfactory conclusion. By the treaty of October the 12th, 1800, the nizam of the Deckan ceded to the English all the territory which he had acquired by Lord Cornwallis's pacification in 1792, and by the arrangements after the capture of Seringapatam in 1799. He received in exchange, a discharge from the payment of his monthly subsidies, a

* Right Hon. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, ‘Life of Gen. Lord Harris.’

great [increase, both in infantry and cavalry, to the troops previously lent to him, and assurance of protection against every external enemy, and a guarantee for the tranquil enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and territories which the treaty left in his possession.

The Mahrattas, though duly invited, refused to negotiate with the governor-general. Some of them would have gladly embraced his lordship's amicable propositions, which were accompanied by an offer of such considerable territories; but the great Scindiah, all powerful at the peishwa's court, partly guided by his own prejudices, partly swayed by the counsels of his French officers, steadily resisted all approach to intimacy with the English; and, hereupon, the governor-general divided that portion of Tippoo's late dominions which had been intended for the Mahrattas, between the English and the nizam of the Deckan.

Other treaties were effected with the rajah of Tanjore and various native princes, all having for their object the removal of political power from the hands of those who could not wield it wisely or well, into the hands of the Company. In these states the entire administration of government and revenue was now vested in the Company, without causing any dissatisfaction to the native populations. "As for the wishes of the people in this country," said Colonel Wellesley, "I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with—if indifference constitutes that character."* But the great soldier and administrator might have added—as he subsequently did—that in every instance the people were great gainers by the change, being no longer oppressed by *irregular* taxation—the *worst* taxation of all,—no longer harassed by internal feuds and civil wars, and being seldom exposed even to the chance of foreign invasion. In many of these districts a few English civilians, unsupported by any military force, and often at great distances from any post or garrison-town, ruled the tranquil natives, and were held in reverence by them.

* Letter to Major Monro, dated 20th Aug., 1800, in 'Wellington Despatches.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

WHILE Colonel Wellesley, who had been left at Seringapatam as governor of Mysore, was displaying administrative talents of the most valuable kind, and getting that country into perfect order, he was called into the field by the return of the robber Dhoondiah Waugh, who had collected an enormous force. This freebooter, a Mahratta or Patan by lineage, though born within the territory of Mysore, had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. He had deserted the Mysoreans during their war with Lord Cornwallis, and had placed himself at the head of a fierce and numerous body of banditti in the wild country near the Toombudra river. By stratagem Tippoo had caught him, and he was immured in one of the dungeons of Seringapatam, and strongly chained to the wall like a wild beast, when we stormed and took the citadel. Pitying all the tyrant's prisoners, and knowing nothing of the fellow's history, some of our soldiers instantly set him free. He was soon at the head of such a force, and was so rapid in his movements, that it had taken Colonel Stevenson no small trouble to drive him out of the country in the preceding month of August. Early in this year, Dhoondiah threatened the frontier of Mysore with 5,000 horse, and took to himself the title of the "King of the Two Worlds." With a weak enemy to contend with, Dhoondiah, like Hyder, might have founded a royal dynasty. His destruction was absolutely necessary for our tranquillity.* Dhoondiah had an asylum in the Mahratta country. Colonel Wellesley recommended that the English should go along with the business until that man was killed, captured, or given up, even though it should be found necessary to cross the Mahratta frontier in pursuit of him, which could scarcely be done without risking a quarrel with the Mahrattas. His brother, the governor-general, authorized him

* 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. i.

to enter the Mahratta territory, it being evident that the peishwa was either unable or unwilling to put down the great depredator. Part of our army at Mysore had been already collected on the Toombudra. Towards the end of June, Wellesley joined these troops, crossed the river, and proceeded in person against the army of robbers, who were nearly all well mounted. Some of the Mahratta chiefs, instead of resenting the infringement of their frontiers, took the field to co-operate with the English; and one of them, being too eager in the pursuit, got defeated and killed by Dhoondiah, a few days after. Though a campaign, in regard to the forces employed and the object to be obtained, the operations of Wellesley were like a hunting-match, or a long-continued chase, and as such they are described in his own despatches, and not without humour and hilarity. He followed up the robbers across the river Werdah, across other streams, through woods and over mountains; he chased them to all the cardinal points of the compass, he drove them up the Malpoorba, and down that river, and he gave them a famous run between the Malpoorba and the Gutpoorba. He surprised some of their encampments, and took some fortified towns in which they had deposited their plunder; but weeks, months elapsed before he could come up with the main body of these nimble thieves. At last, on the 9th of September, Dhoondiah Waugh got into an awkward position by coming too near to Colonel Wellesley, who had left his infantry far behind, and was pursuing only with cavalry. As the colonel's horses were much fatigued and the night was a bad one, the attack was not made until the following morning. The chief huntsman has himself described the end of the chase, in a letter dated from camp, at Yepulpurry.

"After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning and met the 'King of the World' with his army, about 5,000 horse, at a village called Conahgull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night, and had thought that I was at Chinnoor. He was marching to the westward, with the intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me; and the 'victorious army' stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of

cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, etc., etc., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock; and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the rebellious army.

"Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest killadar of Chinnoor had written to the 'King of the World,' by a regular tappal, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Nowly on the 8th, and at Chinnoor on the 9th. His majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer to me than he expected. The honest killadar did all he could to detain me at Chinnoor, but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop; and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place." *

Many of the marauders and Dhoondiah himself were killed.† The remnants of their formidable bands were entirely cut up by Colonel Stevenson, as they were attempting to pass the Kistna river. Tranquillity was soon restored to Mysore and the whole of the Malabar country, and no more robberies and murders were heard of, except such as were occasionally committed by the inscrutable thugs. It was the flourishing state of Mysore, and the facility with which its supplies and resources were brought forward for the use of the British armies, that soon afterwards enabled Lake and Wellesley to carry on the war against Scindiah, with so much spirit and success. The province of Bullum had never been effectually conquered; the authority of Hyder Ali and of Tippoo had there been precarious, and the presence of an army had always been necessary to enforce the payment of the revenue. But in the course of 1801, military roads were opened through the forest towns by Wellesley, and from that time no part of Mysore has been more tranquil than Bullum.

Soon after the annihilation of the "King of the Two

* 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. i.

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

Worlds," which happened in September, 1800, Colonel Wellesley was removed from Mysore, and sent with an expedition to the island of Ceylon. The object of this expedition was wholly different, and its destination was strictly confined by his superiors in command, when the duplicate of a despatch from London reached him at Trincomalee, announcing the novel and bold plan of the British ministry to send an expedition from India, by the Red Sea, to support the expedition sent out from England, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, against the French in Egypt. Upon reading this despatch, Wellesley instantly made up his mind, and knowing that his was the only disposable force in India, without orders or instructions, he proceeded to act on his own responsibility, and to remove the troops under his command at once from Ceylon to Bombay, where they would be some thousand miles nearer to the Red Sea and Egypt. It appears that he fully expected to have the command of this Anglo-Indian expedition to the land of the Pharaohs; but upon arriving at Bombay, he found it was confided to his senior, Major-General Sir David Baird. He did not accompany Baird, but he gave him a copy of memoranda, which he had drawn up on the operations to be pursued on the coast of the Red Sea and in Egypt—a truly remarkable paper, proving the minute attention he had paid to those subjects, and showing beyond the reach of a doubt, that he had already within him the foresight, sagacity, and every other quality of a great general.*

It was honourable to the administration of the governor-general, that he should be enabled, so soon after an expensive war, and with the almost immediate prospect of another war in India, to send such an armament to the Red Sea. Major-General Baird took with him 2,800 British troops, 2,000 sepoys, 450 of the Company's best artillery-men; and this force was well supplied from the Company's arsenals and magazines. Sir David reached Jeddah, on the Red Sea, on the 17th of May, 1801, and was there joined by an English expedition from the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of the 61st regiment, some squadrons of light horse, and a strong detachment of artillery. On the 8th of June, he reached Cossier, and began landing his troops; but it was the month of July before his van division began to cross the

* See 'Wellington Despatches,' vol. i.

burning deserts which lie between the Red Sea and Egypt; and before he could unite his forces at Cairo. Menou, who had been left in command of the French, capitulated to General Lord Hutchinson.* But these joint expeditions from Europe, from Africa, and from India, and the way in which highly-disciplined native troops were moved from Bombay, and put in the field in Egypt, contributed greatly to raise our reputation, and to impress the nations of Europe with a sense of the military power and energy of England.

In looking at the sculptures of ancient Egypt, our sepoys could not but be struck with the many traits of resemblance those effigies bore to themselves. After an interval of three thousand years, our sepoys were, in many respects, like what the Egyptians had been.

Notwithstanding his exertions and outlay for the Red Sea expedition, the governor-general found the means of sending other troops to Ceylon, where they were very soon wanted; as the Cingalese who dwelt in the interior, and who were in fact masters of all the island, except some strips along the coast, proved desperate, and for a time dangerous, enemies to the British. The settlements which had been torn from the Portuguese by the Dutch, were taken from the Dutch by the English, during the time that Lord Hobart was governor of Madras. For a time they were allowed to form an appendage to the Madras presidency, and the Company considered that they were to enjoy the same sovereignty in Ceylon as they enjoyed in India; but Mr. Pitt's government very soon placed the Ceylon settlements under the direct administration of the crown, and appointed a governor who was to be altogether independent of the authority of the Company. As Ceylon is divided from the Coromandel coast only by a narrow strait; as the Company's troops and money had been employed in making the conquests in the island; and as a close intercourse and

* Sir Robert Wilson, 'History of the British Expedition to Egypt,' &c. Æneas Anderson, lieut. 40th regiment, 'Journal of the Forces, &c., and of the Transactions of the Army under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby.' Le Comte de Noé, 'Mémoires relatifs à l'Expédition Anglaise partie du Bengale en 1800,' &c.

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

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

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

* Marquis Wellesley, 'Indian Despatches,' Letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, dated May 10th, 1801.

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

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

His lordship's opinions varied upon this particular point; but at last he declared himself to be perfectly convinced, that the most effectual mode of rendering Ceylon a valuable addition to British India, and an efficient augmentation of our military and political power, would be to annex it as a province to the supreme government of Bengal. His representations, however, were overlooked by the home-government, and that beautiful island continued to be separate, and also to be—in too many instances—woefully misgoverned. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the natives of Ceylon have ever been treated so gently and kindly by king's officers, and by governors appointed by the Colonial office, as the natives of the neighbouring continent have been and are treated by the officers and civil servants of the Company. Nor can it be said that the service in Ceylon has been distinguished by the production of eminent men; while in this respect, the service of the Company has undeniably been exceedingly productive. For the present, the wars against the Cingalese were miserably conducted, grave errors were committed by the king's governor, and the king's officers commanding in the island, and some shameful reverses were sustained by the English troops in Ceylon, during the war against the Mahrattas and their allies, which was carried on with such brilliant success on the continent by the governor-general, and his Indian-trained officers.

* 'Wellesley, 'Indian Despatches,' &c. Letter to Lord Hobart, then president of the Board of Control, dated Nov. 30, 1803.

Soon after giving up the command of his troops to Sir David Baird, Colonel Wellesley returned into Mysore, and during a command of two years, he carried out the immense improvements which he had formerly begun, and endeared himself in a wonderful measure to the people of the country.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE settlement which Sir John Shore had made in Oude had given satisfaction to no party, and in reality had settled nothing. His recognizing the title of Vizier Ali in one month and dethroning him in the next had produced a very injurious effect. The people believed it all to have been a jobbery and a trick; the prince, expelled from Lucknow, was incensed to the utmost degree of fury; and Saadut Ali, who had been placed upon the musnud, complained of the terms and conditions, and was not very grateful to those to whom he was indebted for his elevation. Saadut had allowed his payments to the Company to fall into arrears, and he was owing more than eighteen lacs of rupees, when Lord Mornington first assumed the government of India. The Court of Directors became clamorous for payment. At the same time, Zemaun Shah, the terrible king of Cabul, was preparing for another invasion of Upper India. It was expected that the Afghans would be soon on the frontiers of Oude. It was known that Tippoo Sultaun was corresponding with Zemaun Shah, and that the Mahometan army of the Mysoreans would unite with their co-religionists the Afghans, if the latter could make good their descent. The governor-general reinforced our troops in Oude to the very highest point allowed by the treaty between Sir John Shore and Saadut Ali; two regiments of native infantry were added to that army; five companies of native invalids were sent to station themselves on the famous rock of Chunar, five other companies of native invalids were sent to Allahabad, a considerable force was collected to cover the holy and wealthy city of Benares; and troops were cantoned in the upper provinces to oppose the Afghans. Those daring tribes advanced as far as Lahore, while Lord Mornington was at Madras busied in those preparations which ended in the total overthrow of Tippoo. But again was the sovereign of Cabul recalled to

his own states by rebellion and civil war. But as the visit of the Afghans might be repeated in the following year, the governor-general endeavoured to find them occupation which would keep them at home and diminish their capability of being mischievous in India.*

The Persians and the Afghans were old foes. Baba Khan, the present king of Persia, had espoused the cause of Zemaun Shah's rebellious brother Mahmood, and had made an inroad into the province of Khorassan, on the western frontier of Afghanistan. Bring the Persians back to that quarter, and Zemaun Shah and his Afghans would be kept very far from the frontiers of Oude, and far from Lahore and the Sutlej. At first an intercourse was opened with the Persian court by means of one or two Persian merchants who traded with India. But, on the 29th of September, 1799, Captain Sir John Malcolm was despatched from Bombay on an embassy to the Persian court. The embassy was "in a style of splendour corresponding to the character of the monarch and the manners of the nation to whom it was sent, and to the wealth and power of that state from which it proceeded."† It was completely successful in all its objects. Baba Khan not only agreed to renew his attack upon Khorassan, but also entered into treaties of political and commercial alliance with the British government. The engaging manners and the conspicuous ability of Malcolm, the negotiator, were seconded by Nelson's grand battle of the Nile, the news of which produced a wondrous effect all through Asia Minor and Persia. The shah contumeliously expelled from his dominions an embassy which the French had sent to win him over to their nation and their views upon India. Threatened by the Persians in his own territories, Zemaun Shah could not repeat his visit to Lahore; and in the year 1801 he was defeated in battle, and made prisoner by his rebellious brother Mahmood, who found it so difficult to retain his seat on the slippery throne of Cabul, that he had not time to bestow a thought upon plans of conquest or invasion in India.

When Zemaun Shah was last at Lahore, Vizier Ali, the nabob of Oude, whom Sir John Shore had deposed, increased the number of his armed retainers, and engaged some of

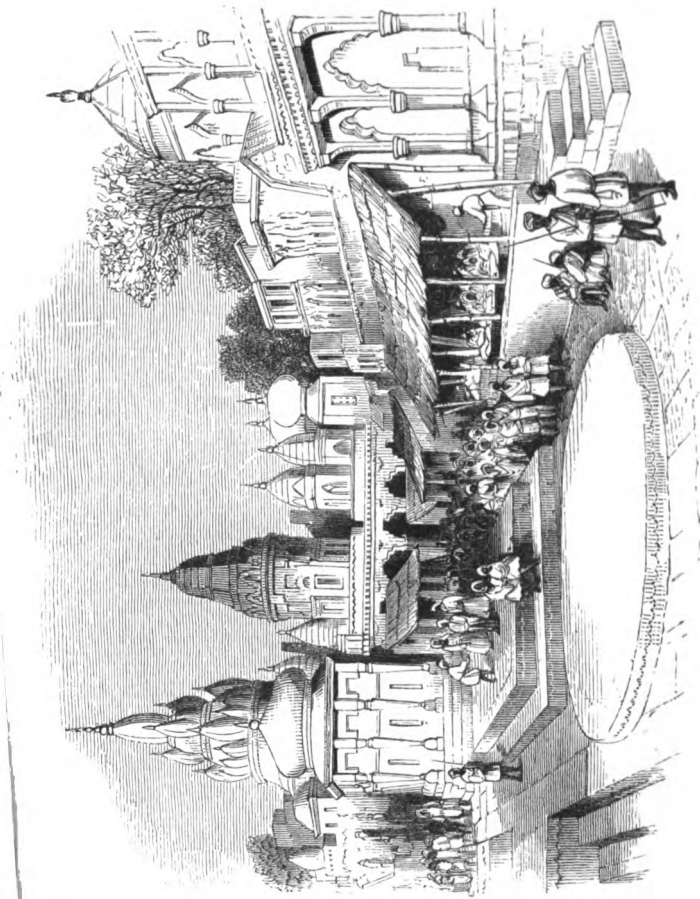
* Marquis Wellesley, 'Indian Despatches.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Political History of India.'

† Sir John Malcolm, 'Political History of India.'

the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection so soon as the Afghans should approach the frontiers of Oude. When it was ascertained by Lord Mornington that Vizier Ali had sent an agent to Zemaun Shah and was giving countenance to all those who sighed for the arrival of the Afghans, and thirsted for the blood of the English, instructions were sent to Mr. Cherry, our resident, to remove the dangerous dethroned man from Benares to Calcutta. This order ought to have been kept secret, but it was not. As soon as it reached the ear of Vizier Ali, he went as mad as a Malay running a muck. Pretending a complimentary visit, he gained entrance into the house of our resident, with some of his followers, and treacherously and barbarously murdered Mr. Cherry, his private secretary, and Captain Conway. The assassins, now swelled into a numerous gang, went next to the house of Mr. Davis, the judge of the district, and were prevented from murdering him and his family only by his presence of mind and a narrow winding staircase, which he defended with wonderful skill and courage. With no other weapon than an Indian pike or spear, which happened to be upstairs, and with not a soul to help him, this brave civilian defended himself and family, like a valiant soldier, for the space of an hour and a half, and made good the narrow staircase until troops from camp came to his rescue.* Vizier Ali and his desperadoes went to plunder and murder at other English houses; but General Erskine soon came up with a respectable force of cavalry. After wounding some of our troopers and suffering some wounds themselves, the rabble rout took to flight. Vizier Ali with his immediate adherents retired towards his fortified palace, and strongly-walled garden, where, it was thought, a desperate resistance might be attempted. In marching

* A most interesting sketch of this episode will be found in—'Vizier Ali Khan; or, the Massacre of Benares, a Chapter in British Indian History.' This little volume is the production of Sir J. F. Davis, son of Mr. Davis, the brave judge, and author of the best book in any language upon China. He has recently been governor of Hong-Kong.

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



through one of the suburbs of Benares, our troopers suffered considerably by a fire of matchlocks, opened upon them from the houses. Both of General Erskine's orderlies were shot at his side. On reaching the nabob's strong palace, some field-pieces which had come up with our cavalry were directed against it, and the gate was presently blown open and an entrance made. But it was vain to seek within the palace for the dastardly assassin; Vizier Ali had fled northwards towards Betail, accompanied by all his well-mounted horsemen. Most happily the business was finished before the sun set. If the contest had lasted until dark, a frightful massacre would have been committed, and the holy city of Benares would have been pillaged by the Santons, fakeers, dervishes, fanatics, adventurers, bankas, and banditti, assembled within its precincts. The English inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood gratefully acknowledged that the hour and a half, during which that stout-hearted judge, Mr. Davis, had kept the assassins at bay, had been the means of their salvation, by enabling some of them to conceal themselves, and others to escape to our camp.*

As he fled up the country, Vizier Ali must have received the news of the retreat of the Afghans from Lahore, but early in his flight he halted to address a letter to the rajah of Benares, urging him to rise against the English. Instead of being conveyed to the rajah, this epistle was delivered to Mr. Davis.

Our main army of Oude, under the command of Sir James Craig, was far away to the westward; but, on the retreat of the Afghans from Lahore, it left the frontiers and moved towards the capital of Oude, whither an English battalion from Cawnpore had been brought up immediately after the unexpected outbreak.

Saadut Ali is described, by one who knew him well in the early part of his reign, as a man of sense, who kept up a degree of dignity and decorum in his court, to which it had

* Besides the soldiers and the three gentlemen who had perished at the residency, Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, and Mr. Hill, a trader in the city, were butchered by the insurgents.

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

long been a stranger, and who, in his regular habits and application to business, was more like an English gentleman than most natives. His vice was hard drinking, but he indulged only at night. "He had good reason to be apprehensive of revolt, for his reign was new, and his natural parsimony, with the strict order and economy which he endeavoured to introduce into his provinces, were unfavourably contrasted with the profusion of his predecessors." * It appears that he was timid as well as parsimonious; for when called upon to join the British forces with his own troops, in the pursuit of Vizier Ali and his partisans, he earnestly implored to be excused, upon the ground that he could not trust his own soldiers; and all that he did was to issue orders that Vizier Ali should be seized if he attempted to enter the territory of Oude.

In the course of the inquiries, instituted by Mr. Davis and other servants of the Company, it was very clearly proved that not only a good number of Mahometan chiefs, but also a considerable number of Hindū baboos or nobles had promised assistance to the frantic Vizier Ali. "It is well known," wrote Mr. Davis to General Erskine, "that this city abounds with armed adventurers, who are ever ready to enter into any service at a moment's notice. There are in the district persons of rank who live and maintain their own guards without any limitation from government." The worst of the guards were composed of a set of bravos, called bankas, who were leagued together as a sect. These bankas are men of all castes; they affect a peculiar way of dressing, half bully and half dandy, strut and swagger about the streets, and are always ready to pick a quarrel or engage in any crime. . . The term banka, by which this sect is distinguished, is derived from the peculiar movement of their swords, in the exercise of which they are proficient. This class of people formerly abounded in Benares, and were the terror of the wealthy and timid, on whose contributions, to avert enmity or secure regard, they were supposed chiefly to subsist.†

It was now resolved by the supreme government of Calcutta that an end should be put to this system; and instructions were sent to Mr. Davis to secure the persons of some of the nobles known to have been concerned in the

* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, as quoted by Sir J. F. Davis.

† Sir J. F. Davis.

late insurrection. It was not very easy to execute this last order, without making a *fracas*, which it was desirable to avoid. The baboos occupied great houses that were fortified like castles, and three of them resided together in the fortress of Pinderah, about fourteen miles from Benares. But excellent measures were adopted by General Erskine and Judge Davis, and the execution of them was intrusted to able men, who did their business with rapidity and the least possible noise.

The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who has since risen to such high distinction in the Indian service, but who was then a very young man, and assistant to the judge of Benares, was furnished with four companies of infantry and twenty-four troopers to assist him in capturing the baboos in the fort of Pinderah. At the dawn of day Elphinstone reached the fort, and surrounded it so as to prevent any escape. The fort was then entered, and every part of it searched except the *zenana*, or women's apartments. The retainers declared that the baboos went out hunting two days before, and had not yet returned. A guard was placed over the *zenana*, but it ultimately proved that the baboos were not there. They had fled the country. Only baboo Sheonath, who occupied a strong house in the city of Benares, made any resistance. Though deprived of food and water, he held out a whole day and night, during which time he received repeated assurances, both verbal and written, that no personal violence or disgrace would be inflicted if he quietly surrendered. He at length rushed out and attacked the soldiers with fury, apparently hoping to take them by surprise and cut his way through. In the fierce conflict the baboo and one of his bankas were slain, but not before his party had killed or wounded several of the soldiers and native police. Some more of the baboos concealed themselves or fled to other lands. Only two of them were brought to trial and condemned to death, and of these only one—Bowannee Sunker—was executed. The sentence of his companion, Juggut Sing, was commuted to transportation. He was sent down the Ganges to be embarked, but when he approached the sea he took poison and died, and thus escaped the loss of caste and the other degradations which he had expected to suffer.*

* "Juggut Sing," says Mr. Davis, "was a man of some talent, but of inordinate vanity. He possessed an excellent Persian library, and was

Subsequently other measures were taken to break up the feudal-like bands of retainers, and to scatter those desperate bravos, the bankas, who had so long disturbed the tranquillity of Benares. In the meanwhile Vizier Ali had sought refuge among the forests on the first range of the Hémalaya mountains. There he was joined by freebooters and adventurers of all kinds. With lawless bands, amounting to some thousands of men, he soon descended into the eastern district of Oude, and threw the reigning nabob-vizier and the whole of that kingdom into alarm. But, before he could do much mischief, a British force was upon him, and he was driven back with loss towards the mountain forests. Abandoned by most of his people, he fled into Rajpootana, and took refuge with the rajah of Jypoor, who, after many scruples, the laws of hospitality being held as sacred among the rajpoots, delivered him up to the English, upon condition that they should neither put him to death nor put him in irons or fetters. Vizier Ali was carried through the city of Benares as a prisoner, on the first anniversary of his insurrection and murders. Being conveyed down to Calcutta, he was lodged in Fort William, in a bomb-proof chamber, divided by strong iron gratings into three parts. The largest part, in the centre, was occupied by the nabob, and the other two parts were occupied night and day by sentinels, one English and one native. After a long captivity, in this dull cage, he was transferred to a more comfortable prison in the palace built for Tippoo Suldaun's family in the fort of Vellore. There the females of his family joined him, and there he died not many years ago.*

The occurrences at Benares and in Oude, Saadut Ali's confession of entire want of confidence in his troops, the invasion of his territory by Vizier Ali, and the constant dread entertained of the Afghans, all concurred in fixing the resolution of the governor-general to reduce the mutinous and useless

proud of his poetical compositions in that language, which Mussulmans only could appreciate. This was not unlikely to have influenced him in relying on a chief of that religion for his aggrandizement. His delight was to repeat a compliment that had been paid him by a former nabob, who called him 'the nightingale of India.' "

* 'Vizier Ali Khan, or the Massacre of Benares.' Sir J. F. Davis, by publishing this little volume, has discharged a duty of filial piety, and has done honour to his father's memory. We wish that other sons would follow his example, instead of destroying, or altogether neglecting, family papers and documents.

military establishment of the nabob-vizier, and at the same time to increase still further the efficient force which the Company maintained for the defence of that prince's dominions. Saadut Ali, fully sensible of the dangers to which he was exposed from internal insurrection and from foreign attack, would gladly have received the additional troops of the Company, but, being as fond of money as of wine, the additional pay which was demanded greatly distressed him, and he shuffled and equivocated, like an Indian prince.

Hereupon Lord Mornington ordered the additional force to march into the country, and sent his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley,* to Lucknow, to conclude a treaty by which a territorial cession should be made to the Company, equal to the payment of the increased subsidiary force. Unable any longer to evade compliance, Saadut Ali signed the treaty, allotted some fertile districts, welcomed the new battalions, and disbanded the rabble rout which had been called his army. By this cession, the territories of the Company were interposed as a barrier between the dominions of the vizier and his foreign enemies; and, although the Company may, by an improved system of management and a better secured tranquillity, have raised the value of the districts ceded, the actual net receipts of that prince's treasury from these districts was not more than the amount which he had before paid to the Company as a fixed subsidy, and much less than he had become liable to pay under the treaty concluded with Sir John Shore. In the present treaty, negotiated by the governor-general's brother, and dated in November, 1801, Saadut Ali agreed to introduce, by means of his own officers, into the extensive territories which remained to him, such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to the security of the lives and property of all the inhabitants. This treaty was final as an arrangement, and productive of great good to both contracting parties. It closed all irritating questions between them; and it fully provided, under every contingency, for the defence of the territories of Oude, for, with fourteen or fifteen thousand disciplined troops, there was little to fear from any enemy that could approach the frontiers, and nothing to apprehend from internal plots or tumults. The country advanced rapidly in prospe-

* The late Lord Cowley.

rity, and, gratified in his love of money by an increase of revenue, the nabob-vizier became contented and grateful, proving by actions, as well as by professions, his attachment to the British government. When the war with the Maharrattas commenced, the governor-general had the satisfaction of receiving the voluntary aid of this prince. Saadut Ali sent as a present a number of fine horses from his stud, sufficient to mount a regiment of dragoons, and contributed, by large loans from his treasury, to the general success of that expensive and extensive war.

The Hon. Henry Wellesley, after concluding this treaty of Lucknow, proceeded to take charge of the provinces yielded to us, as lieutenant-governor, in order to effect a settlement of their boundaries and revenues; an arduous labour, which he performed in a manner as honourable to his own character as it was advantageous to the public interest and to the prosperity of the native populations. The gross revenue derivable from the territories ceded to us, estimated at one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees in the treaty of Lucknow, was soon raised considerably, and by means which relieved rather than distressed the people.*

In India the sword of the warrior and the skill of the diplomatist did only half the work. When the sword was sheathed and the treaties concluded, there remained the more laborious, and, in many instances, the much more difficult task of getting our conquest or diplomatic acquisitions into such order as to render them profitable to the Company, popular with the natives, and endurable and strong as possessions. Here great caution and circumspection, an unwearying assiduity, a thorough acquaintance with the languages and dialects, the habits, feelings, prejudices, and capabilities of the natives, a constant intercourse with the people, and administrative abilities of the highest order, were required. Most happily for the Company at this moment, and later, such administrators were always found among its civil servants at the moment they were needed; and, most fortunately for Marquis Wellesley and for his brother, who had to put his annexations in order, he had at his command such men as Sir George Barlow, and others who are long since dead, and Thomas Twining, Esq.,

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Marquis Wellesley, 'India Despatches.' Auber, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

who yet survives, and retains at a very advanced age the faculties of a man of business and of a thorough Indian administrator and statesman.* May such men not fail us in the days we live in, or in the times that are to come ! Without them diplomacy will be a waste of paper, time, and ingenuity, and conquest an empty triumph.

In the Carnatic, as in Oude, affairs could not remain on the footing on which they had been left by Sir John Shore. The nabob, Omdut-ul-Omrah, to obtain money for his own lavish expenses, and his rapacious creditors and mortgagees, to obtain their enormous interests upon the loans they had made to him, were still oppressing and depopulating the Carnatic. Moreover, the most satisfactory evidence was produced to show that Omdut-ul-Omrah, whose conduct during our siege of Seringapatam was very equivocal, had long maintained a secret correspondence in cipher† with Tippoo Sulatun, with objects most hostile to the English ; Lord Clive,‡ the son of the real founder of our Indian empire, was now governor of Madras, and he was authorized by Lord Mornington to institute a searching inquiry. The result of this was a decided conviction in Lord Clive's mind that Omdut-ul-Omrah, who owed his throne entirely to us, ought to be deposed. His lordship wrote to the governor-general :—

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

“ On these grounds, I have no hesitation in recommending

* It will give some notion of the extent of the labours of the civil servants employed in organizing the territories annexed by the Marquis Wellesley, to state that Mr. Twining had at one time under his charge 11,000 native towns and villages.

† It was discovered by the key to the cipher that the English were designated by the name of “taza wareeds,” or new-comers ; the nizams by that of “fleech,” or, nothing ; and the Mahrattas by that of “pooch,” or, contemptible.

‡ The late Earl Powis.

to your lordship the immediate assumption of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, under such provisions as your lordship may be pleased to authorize for his highness the nabob, his highness's family, and the principal officers of his government."

These also were the decided opinions of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors in England; and, not long after the perusal of Lord Clive's letter, the governor-general was in possession of instructions from home, authorizing the proceedings he and Lord Clive had contemplated.

Some delays took place through the attention required by Oude, the affairs of which were not yet settled; and during this delay the condition of the Carnatic became worse and worse, the nabob's creditors and officials grinding the faces of the poor inhabitants. On the 28th of May, however, decisive instructions were sent to Lord Clive, who shortly afterwards ordered a detachment of the Company's troops to occupy the chief entrance into the nabob's palace, to preserve order and tranquillity, and to guard against the seizure of any treasure or property—for Omdut-ul-Omrah was now sick and believed to be dying, and various members of his family were anticipating a scramble for his property, if not for his musnud as well. The old nabob expressed his satisfaction at the presence of the Company's troops, without which his dying moments would have been disturbed by scenes of violence and bloodshed. He expired on the 15th of July, 1801, and thus escaped deposition. Upon certain conditions the musnud was offered to his reputed son Hoosseim Ali, who absolutely refused it. It was then offered, under the same conditions, to Azeem-ul-Dowlah. But that prince was kept in a most rigorous confinement by the great khans; and these noblemen, evincing a contempt of the Company's authority, privately placed Hoosseim Ali on the musnud (of course without our conditions), and prepared to proclaim him publicly. Upon this contumacy, Lord Clive gave immediate orders to the Company's troops to take instant possession of the palace, and remove all the khans and the guards of the late nabob. The valour of the khans evaporated in a moment. No resistance was offered; every part of the palace was occupied; the nabob's guards quietly withdrew; Azeem-ul-Dowlah was liberated from his confinement, and conducted with a guard of honour to Ameer Bayh, another of the nabob's palaces. The liberated prince

was grateful and submissive; and on the 25th of July, he agreed to all the conditions demanded by the Company, and concluded a treaty with Colonel Close and Mr. Webb, who acted for Lord Clive and the governor-general.

By this treaty all the powers of government were delivered over in perpetuity to the Honourable East-India Company, and were totally and for ever renounced by the nabob. Including all his allowances, nearly one-fifth of the revenues of the Carnatic was made over to the nabob; and he was relieved from the crushing weight of debt which had been created by his predecessors, which had encumbered the revenues of the country, and which was rapidly destroying all classes of the inhabitants. The Company engaged to liquidate, by degrees, all such portions of this great debt as should be proved to be just.*

An end was thus put to that divided rule which, in the Carnatic, as elsewhere, had proved so great a curse; and the nabob was limited to that sort of life for which alone nabobs were fit—a life of form, ceremony, and silver maces; of indolence, show, and parade. Ever since the conquests of the first and great Lord Clive, the rulers of the Carnatic, like those of Bengal and other countries, were virtually nothing but vassals and dependants on the English, without whose aid not one of them could have kept his seat on the musnud, or could have defended his country either from intestine troubles or from foreign invasion. In this light, and in none other, were they considered by their own subjects, and by all their neighbours, their territories were substantially territories conquered by the sword and by policy, although the English chose to exercise the rights of conquest with gentleness and forbearance, and to cover over the real condition of the nabobs with strange metaphysical distinctions and refinements. Out of these quibbles sprang innumerable difficulties and embarrassments to our governors-general, to our judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and to other functionaries; as well as many woes and long-sufferings to the oppressed and distracted natives, who were often driven to despair by their mock rulers or nabobs, while the real sovereign power, the Company, merely looked on. If the rights of sovereignty had been frankly assumed at the beginning—if the Company or British nation had openly

* Treaties published by the East-India Company. 'Marquis Wellesley's Despatches.' Sir John Malcolm, 'Political History of India.'

proclaimed themselves *de jure*, what they were *de facto*, the lords and rulers of Bengal, Oude, the Carnatic, etc.,—many evils might have been avoided;—if when, by arms or by policy, the English first obtained dominion over these principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of calling themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries, and the like (with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia), the great Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and the Marquis Wellesley himself, would have been relieved from many false positions, and political actions, not always warranted by their *nominal* relations with the native princes, would have been reconcilable to the law of nations.* It was not the fault of these illustrious men that a bad system was not altered; the blame lay at home with the Company, the Court of Directors, and, in the later stages, still more with the Board of Control, the king's government, and most of all, with orators, and mistaken philanthropists in parliament, who were perpetually decrying as tyrannical and inhuman the very measures which were best calculated to give peace and happiness to the people of India.

Tanjore has been mentioned as one of the regions which Lord Mornington improved by taking the administration out of the hands of a nabob. In another and distant quarter, a dependent and almost fictitious government was broken up. The nabob of Surat had long owed his political existence to the presidency of Bombay, who had garrisoned the castle of Surat, and had, by money and by other means, sustained and defended him. His arrears of debt were so great, that before Lord Mornington assumed the supreme government in India, the Court of Directors had impatiently called for a settlement, and demanded that the nabob should disband his own undisciplined and mutinous soldiery, and assign to the Company, funds sufficient to maintain three battalions of sepoys. Before any settlement could be made, this nabob died, leaving only an infant son, who followed him to the grave in a few weeks. Then there arose a disputed succession, and but for the presence of our troops, the different claimants would have made a civil war. Under the mixed rule, which I have condemned, the district had been kept in a hapless condition; and the people of Surat

* 'Our Indian Empire.'

had repeatedly applied to the Bombay government for protection against their native rulers, and for security to their property and trade. This was not a place to be left to the misrule and confusion which inseparably accompany a double or divided rule. Though declined from its ancient magnificence, Surat, the capital of Guzerat, was still one of the most populous cities in all India. It was inhabited by Mussulmans, Hindüs, Parsees, Jews, Armenians, and Boras, and was frequented, for trade, by people of other religions; and to preserve tranquillity by checking the fanatical ebullitions of the followers of so many hostile creeds was a task which had far exceeded the power and faculties of the nabobs. Surat had been for many years the head-quarters of a multiform fanaticism, of anarchy, and of assassination. In 1795, the Mahometan and Hindü inhabitants waged a bloody war upon one another in the streets, and committed atrocities which scared away many of the more pacific denizens and foreign visitors, upon whose industry and trade the prosperity of the city mainly depended. There was no police, no law, no regularity in the collection of the taxes and port duties, no redress for any grievances, except, occasionally, by appeal to the British resident or to the presidency of Bombay. In fact, as the governor-general said, the nabobs had proved themselves as incompetent to conduct the internal affairs of the city as to provide for its external defence. On the 10th of March, 1800, the best of the claimants was set aside, with a liberal allowance, and the government and revenues of Surat were assumed by the Company. The change was universally felt by the people as a blessing.

And if the ancient prosperity of Surat has not been restored under the rule of the Company, it has been owing to geographical situation, to vast changes in manufactures and the lines of trade, and to other accidents, which frequently—and in other countries besides India—depress one city and district to raise up another. But by the Company's assumption, the reign of law and a good police were established; and now the Hindü performs his religious rites and kneels in his pagoda, the Mussulman calls to prayers from the minaret and prays in his mosque, and the Parsee, the disciple of Zoroaster, worships the Almighty power in the rising and the setting sun, without shedding each other's blood. The Boras, a mysterious sect, believed

by some to be a remnant of the old sect of Assassins, of whom and its chief, the Old Man of the Mountain, so much was heard in Europe during the crusades, and the Parsees, who had been most obnoxious to all other sects, and most frequently persecuted, are now the most thriving people in the country, and possess between them the proprietorship of most of the houses in Surat. The Boras have at present nothing of the sanguinary temper which, in the middle ages, distinguished the followers of the "old man of the mountain." They are in general, like the Parsees, very peaceable and orderly merchants and tradesmen, and have considerable influence and privileges in most of the cities of Central India. At a subsequent period, Surat was greatly indebted to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone.*

* Bishop Heber, 'Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India,' &c.

For curious information about the Assassins, the student is referred to O. C. Wood, 'History of the Assassins, translated from the German of Von Hammer,' 12mo. Lond. 1835; and, 'The Dabistan, or School of Manners, translated from the Persian, by David Shea, of the Oriental Department in the Hon. East-India Company's College.' Published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE imminency of a Mahratta war had been apparent ever since the arrival of the Marquis Wellesley in India—and, indeed, long before that period. With the aid of the French, they had attained to a height of military power which was altogether incompatible with the existence of security and tranquillity in the neighbouring states, and which would have been eminently perilous to our Eastern empire if Bonaparte could at any time have sent a strong armament to India. The fleets of France and Spain had not yet been destroyed at Trafalgar; Bonaparte could as yet dispose of great naval means and resources, and as he had what has been called “an Oriental twist in the imagination,” and always an eye to the East, it was to be apprehended, any time between the years 1799 and 1805, that he might make a daring attempt in that direction—an attempt which would be greatly favoured by his continued possession of the Isle of France.

It has been seen that the great Mahratta chief Scindiah rejected all overtures of friendship with the English, and kept his own sovereign, the peishwa, in a state of miserable subjection, through the great military force he possessed in M. Perron’s disciplined troops. Not satisfied with the submissiveness of his sovereign, and with the vast power he himself possessed, Scindiah made war upon the poor peishwa, and, with the help of M. Perron and his battalions and formidable artillery, he drove him out of Poonah, his capital. The dispossessed peishwa applied for assistance to the English, and, escaping to the coast, he put himself under our protection. The moment had now come for breaking up that too great power of the Mahratta confederacy.

The governor-general had three great objects in view—to restore the comparatively pacific and friendly peishwa—to destroy or dissipate the disciplined forces which Perron had

raised as a match for our own sepoys—and to defeat Scindiah's vast plans of encroachment and aggrandizement, which were threatening to convulse the whole of India. Hordes of banditti had been for some time daily pouring in from Malwa and Hindustan, to enrol themselves at Poonah, under the banners of Scindiah, who promised them plunder as well as pay. It was impossible that these devouring armies should limit their operations to the Mahratta states or to the contest for the sovereignty of those countries: they must be early forced by want, if not invited by policy, to invade the richer territories of the British government, or the territories of our allies, which were defended only by British arms. Moreover, the powerful rajah of Berar united his forces to those of Scindiah, and other Hindū chiefs engaged to make common cause with him. The scene, too, was now becoming open to French intrigue, and the artful influences of Bonaparte. The governor-general had received intelligence of the peace of Amiens, which would allow the French to revisit India as friends, and then to renew their correspondence and connections with all the enemies of the English. As a statesman, Lord Wellesley knew that that hollow peace could not be lasting; but he also knew that it might give time to the French to mature plans for the renewal of the war on the soil of India. If Scindiah were allowed to establish a complete ascendancy over the Mahratta empire, from the banks of the Ganges to the Sea of Malabar—and this he would have done had he been left unmolested—there could be little doubt in the mind of any man acquainted with the constitution of the army of that chief, and the influence and authority of the French officers by whom it was commanded, that the French nation might in a very few years aid him to the consolidation of a military power which would have struck at the very existence of the British government in India. Scindiah, and his father before him, had owed their power to French officers, to French arms, and to French counsels. The present ruler was so familiarized to their systems, manners, and feelings, as to be almost half a Frenchman himself.

The peishwa, in imploring for English assistance, had engaged to receive a subsidiary English force, and to cede, for its subsistence and pay, territories rendering an annual revenue of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The peishwa at the same time engaged to identify his interests with those of

the Company, and to conclude a defensive alliance on the basis of the treaty of Hyderabad, which Lord Wellesley had concluded with the nizam of the Deckan.

In the treaty of Bassein, as finally concluded on the 31st of December, 1802, these conditions were inserted. Moreover the peishwa renounced all claims to Surat and to the other districts in Guzerat which had recently been assumed by the Company; he agreed to abide by the arbitration of the Company in all its unsettled disputes with the nizam; and he also engaged to discharge from his service any Europeans that belonged to nations hostile to the English, or that were discovered meditating injury or carrying on intrigues injurious to the interests of the English. In return, the English government bound itself to furnish to the peishwa a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, with a complement of field-pieces and European artillerymen. The treaty of Bassein was confirmed by the governor-general on the 11th of February, 1803.

By the treaty of Amiens, Pondicherry and their other factories had been restored to the French. In taking repossession of Pondicherry, the officers of that nation acted with consummate imprudence, betraying the intentions of their master to make that city the centre of political intrigue, to sap the power of the Company while the peace lasted, and on the renewal of war to contend once more with the English for dominion over the East.*

* The views of the French government in resuming these Indian possessions under the treaty of Amiens, were fully developed in a memoir drawn up by Monsieur Lefebvre, an officer attached to the staff that was formed for Pondicherry. It pointed out the possibility of a French army reaching India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea. While the English would be directing all their attention to defeat the advance of this armament from the west, one secret expedition could be prepared to proceed from Spain by way of Mexico to Manilla; and another secret expedition, to be provided by the Dutch, could proceed by the Cape of Good Hope to the Spanish islands in the Indian Ocean, and from thence to Trincomalee, in Ceylon, a port of the greatest importance to the English navy. It was calculated that these three joint expeditions, aided by the Mah-rattas and other native powers inimical to the English, must inflict an irreparable blow on the interests of Great Britain in India; and that, if those interests were once destroyed, the invasion and conquest of England would be easy achievements. According to M. Lefebvre's *projet*, the French and their auxiliaries, on arriving in Hindustan, were to declare that they came to give liberty and independence to the native princes, to liberate the Great Mogul from thralldom, and to reconstruct the once magnificent empire of Timour.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of Bassein, the Madras army, under General Stuart, was ordered to advance into the Mahratta territory for the purpose of re-instituting the peishwa, and the governor-general's brother, who had been advanced to the rank of major-general, was appointed to command a select corps in advance, with which he was to make a dash upon Poonah. Having received, on the road, information that it was intended to burn Poonah on the approach of the English, General Wellesley, leaving his infantry behind, pushed on with his cavalry, and, performing a march of sixty miles in thirty hours, reached that town on the 20th of April, and saved it from destruction. The French disciplined battalions were at a distance, the Mahrattas hostile to their prince retired without fighting, those well-disposed towards him welcomed the English, and, in the following month of May, our ally the peishwa re-entered his capital.

It was in this beginning of the Mahratta campaigns, and through means which will afterwards be explained, that General Wellesley, by his astonishingly rapid movements, made a new era in our Indian warfare. To use his own words—

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

After some very fruitless negotiations with Scindiah, General Wellesley marched from Poonah to the north, and took by escalade the strong town of Ahmednughur. Nearly at the same time General Lake, in command of a part of the Bengal army, marched towards Delhi, and other forces were advancing from different points against the Mahrattas. As in the days of Warren Hastings, immense tracts of country

* ‘Wellington Despatches.’

were traversed by our different columns, and combined movements were executed with far more precision and rapidity. With great wisdom the governor-general had given to Lake in Hindustan, and to General Wellesley in the Deckan, most ample political, as well as military power. They could fight or negotiate as they chose.

On the 21st of August, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery river, and entered Aurungabad on the 29th. The enemy manifested an intention to cross the river to the eastward, and steal a march upon Hyderabad, the capital of our ally the nizam, which had been left rather bare of troops; but they were prevented by Wellesley rapidly marching along the left bank of the river, and placing himself between them and that city.

Scindiah, who had an immense mass of irregular cavalry, and whose infantry were very lightly equipped—while both horse and foot lived only on plunder, and carried no magazines with them—was enabled, for more than a month, to avoid a general engagement. He dreaded the name of Wellesley and the discipline of our troops; and he only thought of carrying on a predatory warfare, supporting his men at the expense of the subjects of the nizam and other allies of the English, and wearing out our troops by continual marches and partial affrays.

About the middle of September General Wellesley learned that the Mahratta leader had been reinforced by sixteen battalions of regular infantry, commanded by French officers, and a large train of artillery, and that the whole of his force was assembled near the banks of the Kaitna river. On the 21st of September, Wellesley had a conference with Colonel Stevenson, who had come up with the nizam's auxiliary force, now (thanks to the governor-general's arrangements) almost entirely composed of our disciplined, faithful, and brave sepoys. A combined attack on the enemy was at once concerted.

On the 22nd Colonel Stevenson took the western route, and Wellesley the eastern, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna. They expected to join forces and attack the enemy early on the morning of the 24th. But on the 23rd the general received a report that Scindiah and the rajah of Berar had moved off that morning with their myriads of horse, and that their infantry were about to follow, but were as yet in camp, at the distance of about six

miles from him. General Wellesley therefore determined to march upon the infantry and engage it at once. He sent a messenger to Colonel Stevenson, who was at the moment about eight miles off on his left, to acquaint him with his intention and to direct his advance with all possible rapidity; he then moved forward with the 19th light dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry to reconnoitre. His infantry, consisting of only two British and five sepoy battalions, followed with all their speed. After he had ridden about four miles, Wellesley, from an elevated plain, saw not only the infantry, but the whole Mahratta force, consisting of about 50,000 men, encamped on the north side of the Kaitna, where the banks of that river were very steep and rocky. Their right, consisting of cavalry, extended to Bokerdon; their left, consisting of infantry, with ninety pieces of artillery, lay near the fortified village of Assaye, which has given its name to the memorable battle. No thought of retreat was entertained. Wellesley resolved to attack the infantry on its left and rear, and for that purpose he moved his little army to a ford a little beyond the enemy's left, leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the Mahratta cavalry, and crossing the river only with his regular horse and infantry. He passed the ford, ascended the steep bank, and formed his men in three lines, two of infantry and the third of horse. This was effected under a brisk cannonade from the enemy's artillery. Scindiah, or the European officer who directed his movements, promptly made a corresponding change in his line, giving a new front to his infantry, which was now made to rest its right on the river and its left upon the village of Assaye and the Juah stream, which flowed in a parallel direction with the Kaitna. Scindiah's numerous and well-served cannon did terrible execution among Wellesley's advancing lines, killing men and bullocks, and drowning the weak sound of his scanty artillery. At one moment such a gap was made by a cannon-ball in the English right that some of the Mahratta cavalry attempted to charge through it; but the British cavalry in the third line came up and drove the Mahrattas back with great slaughter. Finding his artillery of little or no use (the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks), General Wellesley gave orders to leave it in the rear, and bade the infantry charge with the bayonet. His steady, resolute advance in the teeth of their guns had already awed the

Mahrattas, who would not stand to meet the collision of the bright English steel: their infantry gave way and abandoned their terrible guns. One body of them formed again, and presented a bold front; but Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell charged them with the British cavalry, broke and dispersed them, and was killed in the moment of victory. Wellesley's sepoy having proceeded too far in pursuit, many of Scindiah's artillerymen, who had thrown themselves down among the carriages of their guns as though they were dead, got to their feet again and turned their pieces against the rear of the advancing sepoy; and at the same time the Mahratta cavalry, which had been hovering round throughout the battle, were still near. But Maxwell's exploit speedily led to the silencing of this straggling artillery fire, and to the headlong flight of Scindiah's disciplined infantry, who went off, and left ninety pieces of cannon, nearly all brass and of the proper calibres, in the hands of the conqueror. General Wellesley led the 78th British infantry in person against the village of Assaye, which was not cleared without a desperate combat. It was near dark night when the firing ceased.

The splendid victory cost General Wellesley twenty-two officers and 386 men killed, and fifty-seven officers and 1,526 men wounded: excluding the irregular cavalry which remained on the other side of the river, and had not been engaged, the total number of killed and wounded amounted to nearly one-third of his force. The general himself had two horses killed under him, one shot and the other piked; every one of his staff-officers had one or two horses killed, and his orderly's head was knocked off by a cannon-ball as he rode close by his side. The enemy, who fled towards the Adjunttee ghaut, through which they had passed into the Deckan, left 1,200 dead, and a great number badly wounded, on the field of battle.* Great was the increase of fame to the Company's troops.

The native cavalry of Fort St. George emulated the bravery and stamina of that splendid regiment the 19th light dragoons. At the most critical moment of the battle, which still ranks amongst the hardest fought of those that have been gained by the illustrious Wellington, the British dragoons, when making their extremest efforts, saw their

* 'Wellington Despatches.'

Asiatic fellow-soldiers "keep pace for pace and blow for every blow."*

Colonel Stevenson, who had encountered some unexpected obstacles on his route, arrived at Assaye early on the 24th, and was immediately despatched after the flying enemy.

While these things were doing in the south, General Lake continued both his advance upon Delhi and a correspondence, which had been commenced with M. Perron, who was now finding that his troops were dispirited and disaffected. Yet the garrison of Alighur, the ordinary residence of Perron, and his principal military depôt, made a desperate resistance, and did not yield the fort to Lake (on the 4th of September) until 2,000 of them had perished. On the very same day five companies of Lake's sepoy, who had been left with only one gun to occupy a distant position, were surrounded by a cloud of cavalry, commanded by a Frenchman of the name of Fleury, and were compelled, after consuming their ammunition, to surrender to the said Fleury, who instantly disappeared with them in the wild country behind the Jumna. On the fall of Alighur, M. Perron made good terms with General Lake, quitted the service of Scindiah, and retired with his family and effects to Lucknow, declaring that the treachery of the Mahrattas and the ingratitude of his European officers had convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless. The governor-general attached great importance to the withdrawing of this very able French adventurer.

On the 11th of September General Lake, who had resumed his march upon Delhi, was informed that the army, which had belonged to Perron, and which was now commanded by another Frenchman, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi, under cover of night, with the intention of fighting a battle for the defence of the ancient capital of the Great Moguls, but which was now the prison of Shah Alum, the feeble representative of those Mussulman monarchs and conquerors. Lake's troops were fatigued with a long march, and oppressed by the excessive heat of the weather, when they reached their ground of encampment, about six miles from Delhi; and they had scarcely pitched their tents before they were attacked by some of the Frenchman's powerful squadron. This officer, named Louis Bourquieu, had 19,000 men under his com-

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xviii.

mand; and he had posted his main body on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, so that it was only his front which could be attacked, and that front was defended by a line of intrenchments and almost as many guns as were turned against Wellesley at Assaye. Lake had only 4,500 men. By some ingenious movements he tempted the enemy from their heights and intrenchments down to the plain; and, when they thought he was about to fly from the field, he turned short upon them with one volley, and then with the bayonet. They could not stand the charge: they ran towards their guns, which they had brought down to the plain, and which opened a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. But another volley and another bayonet-charge drove them from their now exposed pieces; a charge of Lake's cavalry, and some rounds from his flying artillery, completed the *débâcle*; and the enemy fled beyond the Jumna, leaving behind them 3,000 or 4,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, sixty-eight cannon, a great quantity of ammunition, and their military chest. While it lasted, the affair was very hot: General Lake had his horse shot under him, and nearly 400 of his people were laid low by the grape and chain shot.

On the next morning Lake encamped opposite the city of Delhi, which, together with the fortress, was evacuated by those who held the Mogul in thralldom. On the 14th of September, Louis Bourquieu and four other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war in the British camp. On the 16th General Lake paid a visit to Shah Alum, who had first come upon the stage in the time of the great Lord Clive. The Mogul, who was now old, and blind, and miserably poor, received Lake as a deliverer, and gave him, which was about all he could give, a series of sounding oriental titles; as, "The Sword of the State," "The Hero of the Land," "The Lord of the Age," and "The Victorious in War." The descendant of the great Timour had some reason to rejoice at being received into British protection; Scindiah had tyrannized over him in the most barbarous manner, and before Scindiah had gotten possession of his person and dominions, a chief named Gholaum Khadur had struck out one of his eyes with his own dagger.

Another of the French adventurers surrendered, and now no man of any military note or ability, of that nation, remained in this part of India.

From Delhi General Lake marched on to Agra, where he arrived on the 4th of October. On the 17th the fortress of Agra was surrendered to him.

So vast were the resources of Scindiah that he had been enabled to send seventeen disciplined battalions and more than 4,000 horse to endeavour to regain possession of Delhi, while he was engaged in besieging the fortress of Agra. On the 27th of October, when we had garrisoned and secured that fortress, Lake started in quest of this new enemy. The rains were falling heavily, the roads were in a wretched state, and at some points they were inundated by the Mahrattas, who had cut the embankments of great reservoirs; but speed was necessary, and both British and native troops exerted themselves to the utmost, and, having the rest of his forces behind him, Lake, on getting near the Mahrattas, pushed forward with his cavalry alone, and marched from midnight on the 31st of October, till seven o'clock the next morning. Then he found the enemy well posted, with their right upon a stream, their left on the village of Laswaree, and with their front garnished with seventy-two pieces of artillery. Lake's foremost brigade came in contact with the enemy's left, and drove it in and penetrated into the village of Laswaree, which has given its name to the battle.* But in the village they were exposed to a terrible fire of artillery and musketry; Colonel Vandeleur fell, and Lake thought it prudent to draw off the brigade. Other brigades, who had attacked at other points, were also obliged to fall back, but they carried away with them several of the Mahratta guns.

Our infantry and artillery, which Lake had left behind, had started on his track three hours after midnight, and had continued to march with such spirit, that they made twenty-five miles in less than eight hours, and joined him and his cavalry a little before eleven o'clock in the day. At their appearance the enemy offered, upon certain conditions, to surrender their guns and retire. Lake, anxious to stop the effusion of blood, granted the conditions, but, seeing that the Mahrattas hesitated, he gave them one hour to decide whether they would accept the terms or fight. The hour expired, and then the real battle began.

On the side of the British the brunt was borne by the

* At first this affair was called the battle of Cassowly. See 'Wellington Despatches.'

king's 76th regiment and a battalion and five companies of sepoys, who had to sustain a tremendous fire of canister shot, and a massive charge of cavalry. "This handful of heroes," as Lake called them, though thinned by the enemy's artillery, stood firm, and repulsed the Mahratta horse. Then Major Griffiths was sent at the head of the 29th dragoons to sweep away that numerous cavalry, a duty which he performed thoroughly, but not without losing his own life, being struck by a cannon-ball. Then followed the terrible bayonet-charge of the British infantry, the right wing of which was led by Major-General Ware, until his head was carried off by another cannon-shot. For a time the enemy disputed every point foot by foot, only giving way when the bayonets were at their breast, and their own captured guns were turned against them. The Mahratta infantry fought really like disciplined soldiers, and did honour to M. Perron, who had the training of them. Even when borne down, they attempted to make a retreat in good order; but this attempt was frustrated by a brilliant charge made by the 27th dragoons and one of our regiments of native cavalry. This charge finished the affair. The mass of the enemy either fled from the field or cried for quarter and surrendered; and all the artillery, all the baggage, and nearly everything belonging to them, fell into the hands of the victors. With the exception of 2,000, who surrendered, their seventeen disciplined battalions were destroyed. So perished the Mahratta "Invincibles of the Deccan." * It was calculated that the dead alone on the field did not fall short of 7,000. Except a portion of their cavalry and some broken infantry, who concealed themselves among the bazar people, none of Scindiah's Mahrattas escaped. The English loss amounted to 172 killed, 652 wounded. General Lake, who had personally led the charge of cavalry in the morning before the infantry came up, who had afterwards led on the

* "The seventeen battalions annihilated at Laswarree were called the 'Deccan Invincibles,' and were considered as the flower of Scindiah's army, which altogether had made immense and rapid strides towards the point of perfection of the best of European troops. Throughout this eventful Mahratta war every conflict gave evidence of this improvement, which was attributable to the connection of the natives with the French, whose energies, address, and abilities were exerted to the utmost in exasperating the chiefs against the English, and in forming their subjects into hardy and disciplined soldiers, with the view of thereby overthrowing our dominion in the East."—Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War,' &c.

76th, and who had conducted nearly every operation of the day, had two horses shot under him, and saw his son, acting as his aide-de-camp, badly wounded by his side.*

But Lake had now defeated, routed, and annihilated that army of Perron which had caused the governor-general such great and reasonable alarm; he had placed in the hands of the English nearly all the extensive territories watered by the Jumna; and between his exertions and those of General Wellesley, the power of Scindiah was utterly shattered before the end of the year.

Shortly after his splendid victory at Assaye, Wellesley re-opened his campaign with vigour, and Scindiah's towns, castles, and fortified posts fell, one by one, into his hands, in the course of October and November. Towards the end of November Scindiah prayed for and obtained a truce; but his ally, the rajah of Berar, still kept the field in great force, and it was suspected, or rather it was known, that Scindiah was negotiating only to gain time for bringing up more troops. Under these circumstances, General Wellesley determined to bring on, if possible, a second decisive battle. Effecting a junction with Colonel Stevenson, who was close to the heels of the Berar army, on the 28th of November, he advanced in full force against the enemy, who retreated before him, covering their rear with their innumerable irregular cavalry. These movements were continued on the 29th, Wellesley's Mysore cavalry driving the Mahrattas before them; but having arrived within a short distance of Argam (a small village in the province of Berar), our troops were ordered to halt, and they were beginning to encamp, when a report came in that the enemy's cavalry was vastly increased, and that our Mysoreans in front were giving ground. A support was at once ordered out, and, proceeding at its head, General Wellesley soon beheld, not the army of Berar alone, but the united armies of Scindiah and the Berar rajah. Although the day was far spent, our general determined to attack on the instant. The British line advanced in the best order. A large body of Persian mercenaries in the service of the rajah attacked our

* Major William Thorn, captain 25th light dragoons, 'Memoir of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake, Commander-in-Chief, and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), from its commencement in 1803, to its Termination in 1806, on the Banks of the Hyphasis,' &c.

74th and 78th regiments, and, by so doing, were entirely destroyed; Scindiah's cavalry charged one of our sepoy regiments, and was repulsed; and then the whole Mahratta line retired in disorder, leaving thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition on the field. The British cavalry pursued the enemy for several miles, taking many elephants, camels, and much baggage. In this victory of Argaum, gained on the 29th of November, our loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was about 400. On this day General Wellesley was on horseback from six in the morning till nearly twelve at night.*

That indefatigable commander now determined to lose no time in commencing the siege of Gawil-Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India, situated on a lofty rock, in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee. The chief management of the siege was intrusted to Colonel Stevenson, the general covering the operations with his own division and all the cavalry. It took Stevenson from the 7th of December to the 12th to reach the ground; and during those five days the troops went through a series of laborious services, such as nobody with the army had ever witnessed before. The heavy ordnance and stores were dragged by hand over mountains and through ravines for nearly the whole distance, by roads or tracks, which it had been previously necessary for the soldiers to cut and make for themselves. Yet our people displayed the utmost cheerfulness as well as perseverance.

I have endeavoured to do justice to the like exertions when made by Colonel Fullerton's army in the Malabar country, and here, in the same spirit, I call attention to the following tribute of praise:—"We have been accustomed to read with wonder the surprising efforts made by Napoleon and his troops in their campaigns when advancing towards Italy; but, whilst the astonishment caused by contemplating such persevering exertions is by no means lessened, feelings of equal, if not of increased surprise, are created, when we

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

In a private letter to his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, the general said:—"From unavoidable circumstances we did not begin the action till late in the day, and not more than twenty minutes' sun remained, when I led on the British cavalry to the charge. But they made up for it by continuing the pursuit by moonlight; and all the troops were under arms till a very late hour in the night."

reflect that the efforts of which we are now speaking were made by Europeans in an eastern climate, and by natives whose bodily strength and moral courage were far inferior; in the face, too, of an enemy sometimes strongly intrenched, and during heat so excessive as to render the fatigue of such labour almost insupportable. These are some of the unheeded toils and exertions by which our empire has been acquired, and from whence such wealth has been derived."*

After all these toils, there was that of breaking ground before the formidable fortress. But by the 12th December, at night, ground was broken and two batteries were erected in front of the north face of the fort of Gawil-Ghur. The enemy's garrison was numerous: it consisted of Rajpoots, and of a great body of regular infantry, who had escaped from the battle of Afgaum, and who were all well armed with English muskets and bayonets; but on the 15th, some breaches being made, and the outer walls carried by storm, the light infantry of the 94th regiment, headed by Captain Campbell, fixed their ladders against the inner fort, in which no breach whatever had been made, gallantly escalated the high wall, and opened the gate for the storming party, who, in a trice, were entire masters of every part of the fortress. Vast numbers of the garrison were killed, particularly at the different gateways: their general or commander, Beny Sing, and his killadar, were found buried, like Tippoo at Seringapatam, amidst a heap of slain near a gateway; and some of the Rajpoot chiefs, according to the custom of their country, had put their wives and daughters to death before going out to meet their own.† On the 17th of December, or two days after the fall of Gawil-Ghur, the rajah of Berar signed the conditions of peace which Wellesley dictated, ceding to the Company the important province of Cuttack, with the district of Balasore, and dismissing all the French or other European officers in his service. Before the rajah ratified the treaty, General Wellesley had made three marches towards Nagpoor, "in order to keep alive the impression under which it was evident that the treaty had been concluded." As soon as Scindiah found that the rajah had made peace, he began to be alarmed, and to implore to be allowed to negotiate; and, on the 30th

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

† 'Wellington Despatches,' and Journal of Major-General Sir Jasper Nicholls, as quoted by Colonel Gurwood.

of December, he signed a treaty of peace, by which he yielded to the Company all the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, besides numerous forts, territories, rights, and interests; engaging to conform to the treaties which the Company had made with the peishwa, to recognize the right of the peishwa to the territories which the Company had put him in possession of, and, in case of any difference afterwards between him and the peishwa, to admit the mediation, arbitration, and final decision of the Company. Scindiah also agreed to dismiss such European officers as he yet had, and (as the rajah of Berar had also done) "never to take or retain in his service any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power, the government of which may be at war with the British government; or any British subject, whether European or native of India, without the consent of the British government." *

In the course of these widely-extending campaigns, our separate co-operating corps had been moved with a rare regularity and intelligence; the staff officers had surveyed the country with a much improved skill; the armies made no blunders through that want of proper information which had so often been felt elsewhere; the marches had been more rapid as well as more certain; and, altogether, there was visible an immense improvement, which few or none will dispute was mainly due to the military genius of Arthur Wellesley.

In a private letter to one of his brothers, the great and accomplished soldier said at the time—"The operations of this war have afforded numerous instances of improvement in our means of communication, of obtaining intelligence, and, above all, of movement. Marches such as I have made in this war were never known or thought of before. In the last eight days of the month of October, I marched above 120 miles, and passed through two ghauts with heavy guns, and all the equipments of the troops, and this without injury to the efficiency of the army; and in the few days previous to this battle (Argaum), when I had determined to go into Berar, I never moved less than between seventeen and twenty miles, and I marched twenty-six miles on the day on which it was fought." †

The Mahrattas and their allies were rapid foes. Nearly

* 'Treaties of the East-India Company with Native Powers,' &c.

† 'Wellington Despatches.'

everything had depended upon our being quick enough to keep pace with them. The great danger in Indian warfare is that of not being able to bring the enemy to action. Hyder Ali well knew the advantages of this Parthian mode. When an English commander, weary of pursuing him, reproached him for flying before so small a force, Hyder replied,—“You will understand my mode of war in time. Shall I risk my cavalry, which cost 1,000 rupees a horse, against your cannon-balls that cost two pice? No; I will march your troops till their legs shall become the size of their bodies. You shall not have a blade of grass or a drop of water. I shall hear you every time your drum beats, but you shall not know where I am once a month. I will give your army battle; but it must be when I please, and not when you desire it.”* Hyder Ali kept his word; and Scindiah’s army, abounding in cavalry and in transport cattle, seemed disposed to act upon this system. But the active mind of the English general had long been intent on the means of improving the cattle of his army, without which there could be no rapid movements. Fastidious and inferior intellects had despised such subjects; but his talk and his thoughts had long been about oxen. Like his then commander-in-chief, General Harris, he had grieved over the miserable slow marches of the army in the last campaign against Tippoo. This slow progress was entirely owing to the bad system then in force for the draught and carriage departments. This defect in the organization of our Indian army had been seriously felt and complained of by every succeeding commander-in-chief, from the time of Sir Eyre Coote to that of Lord Cornwallis; but nothing had been done to remedy it. Sir Eyre Coote had said, after the battle of Cuddalore, “If Hyder Ali, buoyed up with former success, had not come to seek us, I could not have moved the army to follow him; and this is a situation so trying to the responsible military commander, that an officer of character shudders at the idea of being placed in such a predicament.” With every new war the wild and small cattle of the Carnatic were to be purchased, at whatever price, and attached to the guns without previous training or experienced drivers; and it was chiefly owing to this wretched system, and to the great superiority of the Mysore

* Southey, in ‘Quarterly Review,’ No. xxv.

cattle, that Hyder and his son had defeated every attempt made by our commanders to overtake them in the field. This most serious defect was effectually removed after the capture of Seringapatam, for General Harris immediately recommended the use and protection of Tippoo's admirable establishment of cattle, which was unequalled in India; and General Wellesley joined in sending urgent representations to his brother the governor-general, and in making every possible effort to keep up and increase the breed, and to give the animals proper training and proper drivers. "It was this establishment which enabled Hyder Ali to march 100 miles in two days and a half, to the relief of Chillumbrum, and, after every defeat, to draw off his guns in face of his enemies; which enabled Tippoo Sultaun to cross the peninsula in one month for the recovery of Bednore, and to march sixty-three miles in two days before General Medows.

It was also this establishment which enabled General Wellesley to effect those movements of unexampled rapidity which are the admiration of every military man." * When the war was over, and when General Wellesley was about to return to England, he most earnestly recommended the breeding establishment in Mysore to the commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Stuart; and from this time the breed of cattle began to be not only prodigiously increased, but greatly improved.

"The cattle of this establishment are as different from all other Indian cattle, as the Arab is from the country horse; and as superior to them not merely in their blood and configuration, but their strength and energy, their quick step, power of endurance, and of keeping their condition under great privation. Heavier and larger cattle may be found, perhaps, better calculated for the slow movement of heavy ordnance, but none that can be compared to them in spirit and activity, that, like them, would make forced marches with troops, withstand all changes of weather, or be so fresh at the end of a campaign. This breed is peculiar to Mysore, and takes its name from the village of Hagglewaddy. Its origin is beyond tradition, but it has ever been in the hands of the ruling power, on account of its superior qualities.

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

These cattle, by the regulations of the Indian government, are at the disposal of the commander-in-chief for the time being, and their distribution rests with him. The advantage of possessing such an establishment, in time of war, is beyond all calculation, and has often been felt at critical moments. It was owing to the superb bullocks furnished by it, that Major-General Pritzler was in a condition to march 346 miles in twenty-five days, in pursuit of the Mahrattas, in the war of 1817; and that Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell was enabled, after the failure of his Bengal equipments, to advance upon Ava in 1825, and bring that very trying war to a favourable termination.”*

Equal care was bestowed by General Wellesley on the commissariat departments, and these had been managed better than they had ever been before in an English army, whether in Europe, Asia, or America, since the days of the great Marlborough, whose letters and despatches, like those of his great successor, abound in minute details on these important particulars. In India a very peculiar system of furnishing bread for the army in the field had to be studied and also amended. The agreeable picture drawn by Bishop Heber of the brinjarrees, or corn-carriers, seems to be correct only with reference to that class of men as improved by the kind and considerate treatment they received in the course of these Mahratta campaigns, and by the wise measures adopted by Wellesley and Lake.

On his first acquaintance with them, General Wellesley found them shy of approaching his army, apt to quarrel with his sepoys, much given to plunder, and still more to trickery and cheating, and often very slow in bringing up their bad corn and rice. One of the most serious annoyances he suffered in his advance from Poonah to the field of Assaye arose out of the great disinclination of the Poonah brinjarrees to come forward at all in the service of the British army. On that march his brinjarrees “played tricks, as usual,” and left him with only one-third of the rice which he ought to have had. They deserted Colonel Murray’s corps altogether, leaving the soldiers for some days to the chance of starvation. They were found unmanageable unless their profits were enormous; and, unless they attended the camps as dealers on their own account, their dishonesty and

* Col. Cubbon, ‘Memorandum.’

rascality were prodigious. To effect a change in their character and habits, General Wellesley had recourse to those excellent means which have since been adopted as a system. One of his officers, who shared in the difficulty, danger, and glory of this campaign, says, "General Wellesley has always made it a point to encourage these people, by promises, kindnesses, presents, indeed, by every kind of liberality of which he possesses the means, to attend our camp, and collect grain for the army. He advances them money; takes their grain when not immediately wanted; gets the duties on its transport remitted; promises permits to collect it in our allies' territories; gives or orders escorts; provides guards in camp, or wherever required: whenever they meet extraordinary losses, he balances them by the price; and not seldom has he ordered two or three rupees a head, as a reward for each bullock brought."*

Reports of these liberal proceedings were soon spread over the country, and they gradually produced the desired effect. A few days after the battle of Assaye, when provisions were much wanted, from 2,000 to 3,000 bullocks loaded with grain approached our camp. They belonged to a brinjarree tribe, who had collected the grain and were looking out for one of the armies, where they would be sure of a market. This was their own account; but it was more likely that they had not taken us into their account, and were going to the Mahrattas. The cutwhal, or head native civil magistrate in our camp, heard of their approach when at some distance, and very ingeniously induced them to go to the British army, a step which it might not have been convenient or politic to have *forced* them to take. General Wellesley was very generous to these brinjarrees, and to the cutwhal, who had induced them to carry their grain to his market, instead of taking it to his enemies. To the cutwhal he gave a heavy pair of gold bangles, enhancing the value of the gift by putting them on the man's ankles with his own hands. "Marks of favour are highly esteemed by inferiors in all countries, but in none more than in India; this simple attention of General Wellesley no doubt raised the cutwhal very much in his little city, the camp bazaar."† On

* Journal of Major-General Sir Jasper Nicholls, written in the field, 5th of October, 1803, as quoted by Col. Gurwood, in 'Wellington Despatches.'

† General Sir Jasper Nicholls, 'Memorandum.'

other occasions the general gave handsome dresses and turbans to the brinjarree chiefs. By this conduct the brinjarrees were induced to flock to the camp, and to follow the army without the necessity of any solicitation. Even their old habits of trickery and cheating were changed when they found they could make surer profits by being honest.*

In the course of this same year the enterprising governor-general had set in motion a third and a fourth army against the Mahratta confederacy. Colonel Powell, starting from Allahabad with troops belonging to the Bengal establishment, overran the often-disputed province of Bundelcund, reducing the forts, and establishing the authority of the Company. Powell fought one pitched battle near Capsah, routing the enemy with great loss. Fort Calpee, on the south-western side of the Jumna, and Gwalior, were the most important of the fortresses he took. Gwalior, which had once been in our possession (having been gallantly stormed in 1780 by Major Popham), but which had been given up by treaty to a faithless ally, had been ever considered a military post of the greatest strength and value. As soon as Powell had secured possession of Bundelcund, he detached Colonel Broughton to the eastern provinces of Berar, to block up some ghauts through which the Mahrattas might make inroads to seize the fortress of Sumbulpoor, to expel

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

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

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

some freebooting bands, and to destroy or scatter the only force of the enemy which was left anywhere in the country between Bundelcund, Berar, and Cuttack. Cutting a road for his artillery through an immense forest, and overcoming every obstacle, Broughton executed the whole of the task confided to him.

Colonel Harcourt, with a division of the Madras army, marched from Ganjam on the 8th of September, to drive the Mahratta chiefs out of Cuttack, a province which was nearly in our entire possession before the rajah of Berar formally ceded it by treaty. The Mahrattas on the frontier fled, the Brahmins of Juggernaut placed their pagoda and their idol and their monster car under British protection, which in itself was a very important advantage, and, after some delays, occasioned by the rains, Harcourt entered the city of Cuttack and laid siege to the fortress. This was a place of considerable strength, having only one entrance by a narrow bridge over a wet ditch of enormous dimensions; and it might have detained Harcourt for a considerable time. But a co-operating force, detached from the Bengal army, and which might be called a sixth *corps d'armée*, had landed at Balasore, and, after getting possession of all the coast, it sent forward reinforcements to Cuttack to assist in the siege. That fortress was stormed and taken on the 14th of October.

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

Being now undisputed master of the whole of that province, Harcourt detached Major Forbes to occupy the pass of Bermuth, which formed the only entrance into the province of Cuttack through the chain of mountains which separated it from the dominions of the rajah of Berar. Forbes performed his duty admirably; several of the neighbouring rajahs fled from the tyranny of the great rajah of Berar, and threw themselves under the protection of the Company; the pass of Bermuth was fully secured, and in a few weeks Colonel Harcourt and the troops that had conquered Cuttack defiled through it, and co-operated with General Wellesley, distracting the attention of the enemy while he advanced and captured Gawil-Ghur.

The seat of war had extended over a vast portion of the Indian continent, and had exhibited in the short space of four months, four general and well-contested battles, and eight regular sieges and stormings of fortresses. British valour and military combination and genius had triumphed over accumulated obstacles, the confederation of truly formidable powers, and over every advantage arising to the enemy from local position, military means (especially in their immense trains of artillery), and numerical strength, which had been so improved by Perron's French training and discipline. It is calculated that, in the whole course of the campaign, the Mahrattas brought into the field 250,000 men, and that corps organized by the French amounted at least to 40,000 men. In all, upwards of 1,000 pieces of cannon had been captured by Lake, Wellesley, and the subordinate officers co-operating with them, together with carriages, ammunition, stores, and treasure in proportion.*

Our conquests went far to secure the navigation of all those immense lines of coast from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouths of the Indus, and to cut off the turbulent Mahrattas from any direct communication with the sea, or with the French and other transmarine enemies of the British government. But before this result was obtained the French had despatched an armament to encourage and assist Scindiah and the rajah of Berar.

The peace of Amiens had not lasted longer than had been expected. War was renewed between France and England in May, 1803. The French admiral Linois, who had reached Pondicherry before the renewal of hostilities, and who had been enabled to escape from that roadstead before our naval commanders were aware that the peace was ended, finding he could do no good in the Mahratta war, hoped to do some mischief to the English and some good to himself, by picking up a few of our stray Indiamen before flying back to France. Many brilliant achievements at sea have of necessity been omitted; but the following exploit was attended with important results; and the honour of it belongs too exclusively to the officers of the East-India Company, to be passed over in silence.

Linois had captured several ships, and plundered the

* Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War in India, &c., from its Commencement in 1803, to its Termination in 1806.' 'Wellington Despatches.'

small English factory at Bencoolen, when, on the 14th of February, 1804, he fell in with a rich fleet of East Indiamen and country ships that were coming from China, and on the point of entering the Straits of Malacca. As the French admiral had with him a ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig, and as our merchant vessels had no men-of-war to convoy them, he made quite sure of an easy swoop and of an immense prize. But, by this time, the Company's ships were generally armed and well officered; and Captain Dance, who was acting as commodore to the fleet of traders, was both an able and a brave sailor. At sunset, Linois was close up with the English, who expected an instant attack; but the French hauled to windward, and the battle was not begun until one P.M. on the following day. Our Indiamen behaved most gallantly, and after fighting for an hour, and before half of our ships could come into action, the French hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could set. At two P.M. Dance made the signal for a general chase, and pursued Linois till four P.M.; when, considering the immense property at stake, the gallant commodore of this well-conducted merchant fleet made the signal to tack. "The promptitude and firmness of Commodore Dance and his brave associates," says our naval historian, "undoubtedly saved from capture a rich and valuable fleet: the slightest indecision in him or them would have encouraged the French admiral to persevere in his attack; and, had he done so, no efforts, however gallant and judicious, could have prevented a part of the fleet, at least, from falling into his hands."* In this case merit was properly and promptly rewarded, and thereby a great incentive was given to other seamen not in the national service. The commanders, officers, and crews were liberally recompensed by the Company; Dance received the honour of knighthood from the king; and among the sums of money voted to him were £5,000 by the Bombay Insurance Company. Other sums were given to him and to the officers and crews by the committee of the "Patriotic Fund."

After the war with Scindiah was over, fragments of his armies, and gangs of banditti from nearly all parts of India, gathered behind the Godavery, and began plundering and devastating the whole of the western Deccan. Early in the

* James's 'Naval History of Great Britain.'

spring of the year 1804, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery to put them down. As they refused the lenient terms he offered, he endeavoured to cut them off by making forced marches over eighty miles of the roughest country. His secret was betrayed by some of the natives following his own army, or he would have taken them by surprise in their camp. As they fled he followed them with the British cavalry, in one column, acting upon the right of their rear, while the Mysore cavalry and the cavalry of the re-established peishwa pursued the centre and left. The marauders, for the most part mounted, were greatly superior to their pursuers, and were well furnished with field-pieces. At one spot they made a stand, but were soon defeated by the British and Mysore cavalry. Wellesley then followed them with astonishing rapidity from hill to hill, nor did he cease his pursuit until he had entirely destroyed or dispersed them, and captured all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and bazars.* The fatigue was excessive; not a few of his men and horses died of it: he himself described the marches made as being "terrible," and after the lapse of many years, and many other arduous services, he still spoke of this as the most laborious service in which he had ever been engaged.

This flying campaign beyond the Godavery concluded General Wellesley's important military service in India. But his civil services had been equally important and equally honourable to himself. Under his master mind and vigilant superintendence, the whole of the Mysore had been well administered; numerous abuses, on the part of the civil as well as the military servants of the Company, had been checked, and agriculture and trade had flourished, while the storm of war was raging in other parts of India. Deserted villages, of which the tigers, the jackals, and the wild dogs of the ghauts had taken possession, were again occupied by industrious and thriving people; and, while there was a security for the great and the wealthy, such as had never been known under Hyder Ali or his son Tippoo, there was also protection and safety for the poorest. During the five years of General Wellesley's government, the whole country had, in fact, attained to a higher degree of prosperity than could possibly have been anticipated in

* 'Wellington Despatches.' André Vieuksseux, 'Military Life of the Duke.' Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War.'

so short a time ; and through this prosperity it had been enabled in some degree to repay to the Company, during the late Mahratta war, the benefits which it had derived from British influence, protection, government, and power. And yet, during all this time, large sums had been annually appropriated to the construction or repair of tanks, aqueducts, watercourses, roads, bridges, and other public works, which tended to the further improvement of agriculture, trade, and all the resources of Mysore. Great numbers of industrious people from other parts of Hindustan came and settled in the country, one of the best of all proofs that the government and administration were good. An excellent police was organized, and the wildest, the most mountainous and wooded districts became, for the first time, amenable to law, and tranquil and orderly. The natives, of all religions and of all castes, well knew to whom they were indebted for these great boons, and were eloquent in the expression of their gratitude. On General Wellesley's return, from the Mahratta war, the following address was presented to him :—

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

“ We have felt, even during your absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that your care for our prosperity had been extended to us in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied your mind.

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

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

In March, 1805, when the general was preparing to leave the East for ever, these grateful natives again expressed, in the form of an address, their exceeding thankfulness for the tranquillity, security, and happiness they had enjoyed under

his auspicious protection, concluding with a prayer to God to grant him health and a safe and pleasant voyage to Europe, but with the expression of an earnest hope for his speedy return to India, once more to extend and uphold that protection over them, which his ample local knowledge of their customs and manners was so capable of affording.*

These touching native addresses confer as much honour on our illustrious duke as all the royal and imperial orders with which he is decorated.

* 'Wellington Despatches.' See also Marquis Wellesley's 'Indian Despatches,' for evidence of the good government of Mysore, and the gratitude of the people to his illustrious brother.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE Mahratta snake was scotched, not killed.

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

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

he wished to remain at peace, he even professed a great friendship for the British government, but his conduct indicated other designs, and he kept his marauding army close on the frontiers to which he had brought it. The governor-general instructed General Lake to enter into any negotiation that might lead to an early explanation of his views, and relieve the Company from the expense and alarm to which its provinces must be subjected, while such a horde of freebooters as the army of Holkar continued to be assembled on its borders or on the frontiers of its allies. On the 29th of January, 1804, Lake addressed a letter to the formidable chieftain, stating generally the terms on which the British government was disposed to conclude a friendly treaty with him; but requiring as a proof of the sincerity of his amicable professions, that he should withdraw his army from the threatening position it then occupied, retire quietly within his own territories, and abstain from exacting choul (tribute or blackmail) from the allies of the British. Instead of replying immediately to this letter, Holkar allowed some time to pass, and during this time more flying and marauding troops of horse joined his standard. At last he sent his vakeels to the British commander-in-chief to make extravagant demands, and to claim the very right of levying choul, which he had been called upon to renounce. The very first proposition advanced by his vakeels was that he should be permitted to collect the choul "agreeably to the custom of his ancestors," which ancestral custom closely resembled that of the most predatory of our Highland clans in the olden time. The second modest proposition was that twelve of the finest districts in the Duab, a district in Bundelkund, and the country of Hurriana, should be given up to Holkar. And the vakeels finally demanded in his name that all his territories should be guaranteed to him by the English, and that a treaty should be concluded with him on the same terms as that recently concluded by the Company with Scindiah, who had purchased it by making so many sacrifices to the Company. These extravagant demands were, of course, rejected. Holkar then sent letters to the tributaries and dependants of our government, in order to excite them to revolt against the English, whose territories, he informed the rajahs, it was his intention to ravage and destroy. He also wrote a most arrogant and insulting letter to General

Wellesley, demanding the immediate cession of whole provinces in the Deckan, of some of the best of the possessions of our ally the nizam, upon the plea that, at some distant period of time, they had been the property of the Holkar family. The letter to Wellesley concluded with this boast—"Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered. General Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings, in continual war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."*

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

The Mahratta's menaces were soon followed by deeds. He sent a vakeel to the camp of Scindiah, to urge that humbled chief to tear up his recent treaty and join him in an attack upon the British possessions; and, at the same time, he began to plunder the territories of our ally the rajah of Jypoor. General Lake (by virtue of his achievements in the late war, now Lord Lake) and General Fraser were presently sent against him. Holkar retreated from the advanced position he had occupied, and was pursued to some distance by a part of our forces. His first savage act was the murder of three British officers, Vickers, Todd, and Ryan, who had entered his service when he was in amity with the English, and who bore the rank of captains in his army. These unfortunate men, having signified their intention of retiring, in obedience to a proclamation of the governor-general, were placed under confinement; and afterwards, on the pretext that Captain Todd had carried on a secret correspondence with Lord Lake, they were brought out and publicly decapitated. Their heads were exposed on pikes, their bodies were denied the ordinary rites of sepulture.

The savage Mahratta retired up the valley of the Jumna. For some time the most serious difficulty encountered by the advancing British troops was from the stealthy attacks and depredations of the Mewattees, a tribe inhabiting the

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

hills, who were all robbers by profession, as their fathers had been before them, and who lived chiefly by cattle-lifting; they carried off many camels, elephants, and horses from the English pickets, in spite of the vigilance and precaution that were adopted to guard against their crafty, sudden, and desperate attacks. Many of these sons of the mist and mountain were exceedingly well mounted, and all were armed with matchlocks, spears, or tolwars. They often attacked our foraging parties, and were constantly hovering about our camp in numerous bands. Whenever they could surprise an officer or a soldier, they murdered him first, and robbed him afterwards.* Nearly the whole of the hilly territory from Agra to Delhi—long in a state of intestine war between Mahrattas, Rajpoots, Seiks, Mewattees, and other tribes—was the nursery of thieves and robbers, and as dangerous for travellers as the interior of Arabia is at this moment. The country exhibited little or no cultivation, though very susceptible of it, owing to the savageness of its inhabitants, and the insecurity of all property.†

By the 20th of February, 1804, the main body of our army, under Lord Lake, was advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Hindone, in the province of Agra, which had formerly been a large city, though now sadly reduced by the depredations of the Mahrattas and the other plunderers. Hindone, however, contained some extensive buildings, and might still be called a populous village. It was situated in a very fertile and highly cultivated tract of country. The greatest care was taken, by Lord Lake and his officers, for the preservation of the standing crops; and, although forage had been for some time scarce, no corn was allowed to be cut down, or to be in any way injured. The strict discipline, under which our troops and camp-followers were kept, presented an advantageous contrast to the visitations of a Mahratta army, and excited the astonishment and secured the gratitude of the inhabitants.

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

† For the vast improvements which had taken place in these regions, in the course of the few years they had then been under our control, see Bishop Heber's 'Indian Journal,' vol. ii. pp. 323-4, and pp. 347-8. At the period of the visit of the amiable and accomplished prelate (in 1825), the Mahrattas had been subdued and driven out of the country,—the Mewattees were in a great measure reclaimed,—the Seiks were fully employed at home, and the Rajpoots were kept in awe by British residents and British garrisons.

In contemplation of these hostilities with Holkar, General Wellesley had drawn up some invaluable memoranda upon the manner in which the war ought to be conducted. In one of his notes he had said, "You have now a great game in your hands; but all will depend upon your management of the natives with whom you will have to co-operate. I have only to recommend you to conciliate them as much as possible—to treat them with the greatest kindness and attention."

During his encampment at Hindone, Lord Lake received letters from Holkar, who again pretended to be pacifically disposed.

"While the flame of contention can be extinguished by the water of reconciliation," said the wily Mahratta, "it is unfit to bring matters to the extremity of war." He protested that before receiving Lord Lake's last letter he had resolved to march quietly homewards, which design he had now begun to accomplish.

Yet, at this very moment, a powerful khan, in the service of Holkar, was hovering with a large body of horse on the frontiers of Bundelkund, evidently with the design of invading that province and the countries belonging to the allies of the English to the north of the Betwa. This khan actually entered the territories of Janset; but he fled beyond the mountains at the approach of the detachment of Colonel Powell, and left that officer to complete the conquest of the interior of Bundelkund by the reduction of those fortified places which had not yet submitted to the British government, though bound so to do by the recent treaty concluded with Scindiah. While Lord Lake was advancing from Hindustan towards the very heart of Holkar's dominions, instructions were sent to Colonel John Murray, commanding the troops in Guzerat, to enter the province of Malwa, and to advance in the direction of Indore, the residence of Holkar's family, while part of the troops, stationed above the ghauts, directed their operations against his possessions on the side of the Deckan, and especially against his strong fortress of Chandore.

Holkar kept retreating before the main army of Lord Lake, and none of his allies, or detached troops, or forts, made anything like a bold resistance. The chief difficulty of the English now lay in the great length of the marches they were obliged to make, and in the excessive heat of the weather.

By the beginning of May, however, Lord Lake had traversed the central parts of Rajpootana, had captured Tonk Rampoorra, a strongly fortified town, and had driven Holkar from the only footing he had in Hindustan north of the Chumbul. That Mahratta hastily fled across that river; but he continued to be followed, on one side, by a detachment under Colonel Monson, while, on the other side, Colonel Murray with the troops from Guzerat was moving against him. Considering that these two detachments would give full employment to Holkar until the cooler season should set in, Lord Lake, in an unlucky moment, thought it advisable to march the main army back into quarters at Cawn-pore and places in that neighbourhood, as the men were suffering dreadfully in their health, and the cattle were perishing fast through want of forage, the ground being parched up like an Arabian desert. But to go back was as bad as to go forward. The sufferings of the retiring troops continued to be excessive. The roads were exceedingly bad, and the country was everywhere swept by a burning wind, called by the natives the "Devil's breath," which, after passing over the great sandy desert, imparts to the atmosphere of these regions an intensity of heat which astonished even those who had long been seasoned to the fury of a vertical sun. Westward of the Jumna, this pestiferous current, this fiery blast, finds no rivers and lakes to temper its severity. One of the officers, who was scorched and withered by it, compares it to the extreme glow of an iron foundry in the height of summer; "though even that is but a feeble comparison, since no idea can be formed of the causticity of the sandy particles which were borne along with the wind, like hot embers, peeling off the skin, and raising blisters wherever they chanced to fall."* The European soldiers died fast. Young men, who set out in the morning full of spirits and in all the vigour of health, dropped down dead immediately on reaching the encampment-ground, and many were smitten on the road by the noonday sun, whose rays darted downwards like a torrent of fire. Many brave and athletic veterans fell without the possibility of receiving any relief. It was the worst of all *coups-de-soleil*, except that death was almost instantaneous. They, who were thus struck, suddenly turned giddy, foamed at the mouth, dropped on the

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

road, and instantly became lifeless. Even when encamped, the sufferings of the poor soldiers were excruciating; for the tents, in general, were but ill adapted to such a climate, and the thermometer, in the shade, frequently exceeded 130° of Fahrenheit. The misery was further increased by the scarcity of water, owing to the debility and mortality that prevailed among the camp-followers employed in procuring that inestimable beverage. Numbers of these water-carriers perished through the fatigue which they underwent in this fiery climate, where the natives suffered more than even Europeans, when called to make any extraordinary exertion. On one day as many as nineteen Europeans were buried: "melancholy indeed it was to see the route of the army traced by heaps of earth giving cover to the remains of so many gallant soldiers, who, after escaping the dangers incident to the fire and steel of war, fell pitiable victims to the climate." On the 3rd of June, as the troops were encamping near Karowley, the wind suddenly shifted, impetuous whirlwinds passed over the sandy plains in vast columns of sand and dust, increasing in magnitude, and ascending into the air to a height beyond the reach of the eye. These objects were only the precursors of a still more tremendous demon of the storm—the typhoon, which came like chaos on the wings of the tempest, rolling before it immense torrents of burning sand, and giving such a density to the atmosphere that the sun, which had hitherto appeared as red as blood, became totally eclipsed. Night in the midst of day—night with tenfold terror—darkened all the scene, and the awfulness was heightened by the howlings of the tempest. This lasted about half an hour, during which the army and all the affrighted multitude in its train lay prostrate and silent on the ground, as if anticipating the day of doom. The trees were torn up by the roots; the tents were carried away and scattered about in every direction; the bullocks threw off their burdens and ran wild among the bazar people; and galloped about the camp in a frenzy of fear. Providentially, however, the fearful phenomenon was succeeded by a little rain, which cooled the air, and rendered it so very refreshing that the mortality ceased. On the 4th of June, the army rested all day in honour of George the Third's birthday. On the 5th they passed the Jumna, at a ford near the city of Agra, the guns and baggage being conveyed in beautiful style across

the river in boats. On the 20th, or just after the commencement of the monsoon or rainy season, they reached their comfortable quarters at Cawnpore. They had marched above 1,000 miles.

In the meanwhile there had been some hard fighting in other quarters. Colonel Powell, charged with the reduction of the fortresses in Bundelkund, fell sick and died. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Faucett, who sent a detachment of seven companies of sepoy, with some artillery, to take a fort near Kooch. Captain Smith, the officer in command of this detachment, was not sufficiently aware of the craft of the natives, and of the danger of relying upon their faith. Whilst preparations were carrying on in the trenches, the killadar, or commandant, sent out an offer to surrender the place the next morning, provided Captain Smith would suspend his firing. This proposition was agreed to; but, in the interval the treacherous killadar applied to Meer Khan, who had retreated before Colonel Powell, but who had by this time returned to the neighbourhood with a large body of horse. And on the following morning, the 22nd of May, the khan, with 7,000 or 8,000 of his cavalry, fell most unexpectedly on two companies of sepoy and about fifty of our artillerymen in the trenches. With savages like these it was vain to mention the truce with the killadar, or to plead for mercy; every man in the trenches, whether officer or private, was cruelly murdered. Meer Khan seized and carried off the little all of the artillery employed for the siege. Captain Smith, however, succeeded in making good his retreat with the remaining five companies of sepoy, protected by a troop of the 5th regiment of native cavalry and a galloper six-pounder, which single gun kept off the enemy. Emboldened by their success, Meer Khan and his predatory horde made an attack upon Calpee, and attempted to force the passage of the Jumna. They were repulsed by Captain Jones at the head of only two companies of sepoy; and shortly afterwards they were completely defeated and scattered by a small force under Colonel Shepherd.

Captain Gardiner, an officer attached to the service of the rajah of Jypoor, and Lieutenant Lucan, of his majesty's 74th regiment, who had both been detached by Lord Lake to watch the motions of Holkar with two divisions of irregulars, very soon took vengeance for Captain Smith's disaster, and, at the same time, gave a lesson of good faith and honour.

Another khan, in the interests of Holkar, was surprised in his camp, and offered to surrender upon condition that his party should be escorted in safety to the chief camp of the Mahrattas, the khan pledging himself that they would not serve any more against the English. These terms were assented to and punctually performed, the khan's people, amounting to more than 2,000 men, being conducted, as agreed upon, by our irregular cavalry, and leaving in our possession all their ordnance and stores.

During this first campaign of 1804, our troops captured 450 pieces of the finest cannon, 182 wall-pieces, 5,000 stand of arms, 180 tumbrils and ammunition-carriages, and a vast quantity of military stores of all descriptions.

Our possession of Bundelkund was troubled by a sanguinary and really formidable congeries of banditti of the Naga race, one of the many scourges of the country. This singular race of hill people abounds in India east of the Ganges. Their rapacity and sanguinary habits had depopulated the hills inhabited by less martial tribes. In person the Nagas somewhat resembled the Chinese, but little was or is known of their origin, history, or religion. Their villages were perched like eagles' nests on the most inaccessible peaks of the mountains. In Bundelkund a community of them occupied a strong position near Mohobah, surrounded by ranges of high rocks, which, on occasion, they lined with matchlock-men and rocket-boys. They interrupted communications, and made predatory incursions far and near. Towards the end of June Lieutenant-Colonel Martindell marched against them in their stronghold with the Bundelkund division, beat them from their rocks, drove them from that range of mountains, captured nearly all their baggage, plunder, camels, horses, and stores, and took the religious standard of the tribe. But disaster and defeat, and even disgrace, attended the operations of another corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, after reducing some fortresses, had encamped near Kotta, on the banks of the Chumbul, to guard the frontier, and then advanced his position about fifty miles to a place where he had been led to expect supplies and the means of communicating with Colonel Murray, who was on his march from Guzerat towards Indore. The corps under Monson consisted of five battalions of sepoys, a proportion of artillery, and two bodies of

irregular horse, in all about 3,000 men. On the 7th of July, Monson received intelligence that Holkar had swept through Malwa, and had recrossed the Chumbul with the whole of his army. The colonel expressed contempt for the superiority of the enemy's numbers, and an eagerness for coming to action with him. He made a movement for that purpose, but soon relinquished his design, in consequence of the deficiency of grain in his camp, the absence of one detachment employed to bring up a supply, and of another that was on its march to join him from one of the forts he had captured. Colonel Monson was also expecting the arrival of an escort with money for his troops, and it is said that what most influenced his conduct was the reception of intelligence that Colonel Murray, instead of pressing forwards towards Indore, had an intention to fall back. Although it was dangerous to retreat in the presence of Holkar's numerous cavalry, Monson determined to retire to the Mokundra pass. Accordingly the baggage and stores were sent off at four in the morning of the 8th of July, while the troops, in order of battle, remained on the ground of encampment till half-past nine. As no enemy came up, the troops were then put in motion after the baggage and stores, with the exception of their regular cavalry under Lieutenant Lucan and a Mahratta chief named Baboojee, who belonged to the family of Scindiah; both these officers being ordered to follow in half an hour, and to apprise Colonel Monson of any movement on the part of Holkar. The detachment had marched about twelve miles towards the Mokundra pass, when Monson received intelligence that Lucan had been attacked by the whole of Holkar's cavalry. Orders were now given to our sepoys to halt and form, with the view of supporting the party in the rear. At this moment Baboojee galloped up and declared that our irregular cavalry was entirely defeated, and that Lucan was wounded and a prisoner. The Mahratta was a liar and a traitor (he joined the enemy soon after), but this time he spoke the words of truth. Lieutenant Lucan, who had greatly distinguished himself both in this campaign and in the preceding war against Scindiah, was indeed in the hands of a merciless enemy, and he died shortly afterwards of his wounds, or of poison administered to him at Kotta. As it was now useless to return, Monson continued his march, and on the noon of the following day he got near the Mokundra pass without any molestation.

But on the morning of the 10th the enemy showed a large body of cavalry in front of the pass. Instead of attacking this force at once, Monson remained quiet till noon the next day, when the Mahratta cavalry was greatly increased in numbers, and when Holkar sent a letter to camp demanding the surrender of our guns and small arms. This demand being indignantly refused, Holkar made a vigorous attack on Monson's front and flanks. The Mahrattas, however, could make no impression upon our steady native infantry, and after repeated attacks and some loss, Holkar drew off his cavalry to the distance of four miles, where he was joined by his infantry and artillery. Thereupon Monson continued his retreat upon the town of Kotta, where he expected to find supplies. After two forced and most fatiguing marches, through torrents of rain and across a country completely inundated, our columns reached that town. But the rajah of Kotta, believing that Holkar must be victorious, refused to admit Monson into his town, upon the plea that he could not furnish the troops with provisions.

The retreat now became truly disastrous, the rivers and rivulets were swollen by the monsoon rains, and the troops were almost reduced to starvation. The guns could not be dragged on; the colonel was obliged to leave them behind him, after rendering them unserviceable and destroying the ammunition. A little farther on he was under the necessity of abandoning his baggage. The Mahratta cavalry hung close on his rear, and made many fierce attacks. On the night of the 25th of August, after defeating several charges of the Mahratta horse, our sepoys reached Khooshalghur, a mud fort with double walls, round bastions, and a ditch, in the province of Agra. Here Monson found Captain Nicholl, with a detachment of sepoys and a company of the 12th regiment. Before Monson's arrival, Nicholl had been attacked in the town by one of our faithless allies, of the Scindiah party; but the captain had succeeded in repulsing the assailants. On the morning after his arrival at Khooshalghur, Monson found himself surrounded by the whole of Holkar's cavalry, and detected a correspondence between Holkar and some of the native officers belonging to his own corps. And now was witnessed the sad and most rare spectacle of desertion, two entire companies from one sepoy regiment, and a large proportion of our Hindustanee cavalry, going over to the enemy. In the evening of that day

Monson resumed his retreat, his troops marching in a compact oblong square, and defeating every attempt made by the Mahrattas, with cavalry and artillery, to break them. On clearing the ravines near Hindone, where Lord Lake had been encamped, Monson had to sustain a desperate charge of the enemy's horse in three divisions; but the sepoys reserved their fire till the Mahrattas came within reach of the bayonet, and then compelled them to retreat in every direction. After this affair the Mahrattas charged no more. Monson reached the city of Agra at the end of August, with his detachment fearfully thinned, disordered, and demoralized. His loss in officers had been very great.* A few more such failures would have destroyed our *prestige* and the discipline and fidelity of our native troops.

Monson's conduct has been very severely censured; but it depended upon the movements of others, and there were some capital defects, if not in the plan itself, in the whole execution of the plan of this campaign. Even Lord Lake had not yet learned with what ease and rapidity the Mahrattas could recruit their armies, increase their horses, change retreat and actual flight into an advance, and repeat their blows.† If Lake had continued in pursuit of

* Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War,' &c. Colonel Monson's own letters in 'Wellington and Wellesley Despatches.' Papers printed by the East-India Company in 1806. General Wellesley's minute account of the retreat will be found in vol. iii. of his own 'Despatches,' p. 458 to 463.

† "The Mahratta cavalry is increased as if by magic. In his arrangements with the state, the silladar, or head of a troop, has allotted to him a certain proportion of jungle, where he pastures his cattle. In this jungle he and his family reside; and his sole occupation, when not on actual service, is increasing his pagah, or troop, by breeding out of his mares, of which the Mahratta cavalry almost entirely consists. There are no people in the world who understand the method of rearing and multiplying the breed of cattle equal to the Mahrattas. It is by no means uncommon for a silladar to enter the service with one mare, and in a few years be able to muster a very respectable pagah. They have many methods of rendering these animals prolific: they back their colts much earlier than we do, and are consequently more valuable, as they come sooner on the effective strength. I do not know, however, whether they attempt to improve the breed of their horses by crossing the strain, as we practise in Europe. It is this persevering industry and consummate knowledge which is the true cause of the immense bodies of cavalry that the Mahratta state can bring into the field; a circumstance that has occasioned surprise in many, who have been at a loss to conjecture from whence such hosts could proceed. Independent, however, of this, there are great numbers of horses brought from Candahar and Thibet, and sold at the annual fairs in many parts of

Holkar, instead of retiring to Cawnpore with the main body of the army, the campaign would have been a short one, and the disasters which befel Monson in his retreat would not have happened. This was foreseen by General Wellesley as early as the month of April. "If," said he, "General Lake would make a good dash at Holkar, the war could not last a fortnight; but if he should stand upon the defensive in Hindustan, it will last for a length of time." But Holkar's rapid retreat had deceived Lake into the belief that he was far weaker than he really was, and that the corps of Colonels Murray and Monson would be more than enough to drive him beyond Indore, if not into the Punjaub; and sufficient preparations had not been made for the continued advance of the main body of the army serving with Lake.

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

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

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

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

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

"Fifthly, When we cross a river likely to be full in the

Hindustan; but these make a very small proportion in the gross strength of the Mahratta armies."—"A Letter to an Officer on the Madras Establishment: being an Attempt to illustrate some Particular Institutions of the Mahratta People; principally relative to their System of War and Finance," &c. By William Henry Tone, commanding a regiment of infantry in the service of the peishwa. Bombay, 1799.

rains, we ought to have a post and boats upon it; as I have upon all the rivers south of Poonah.

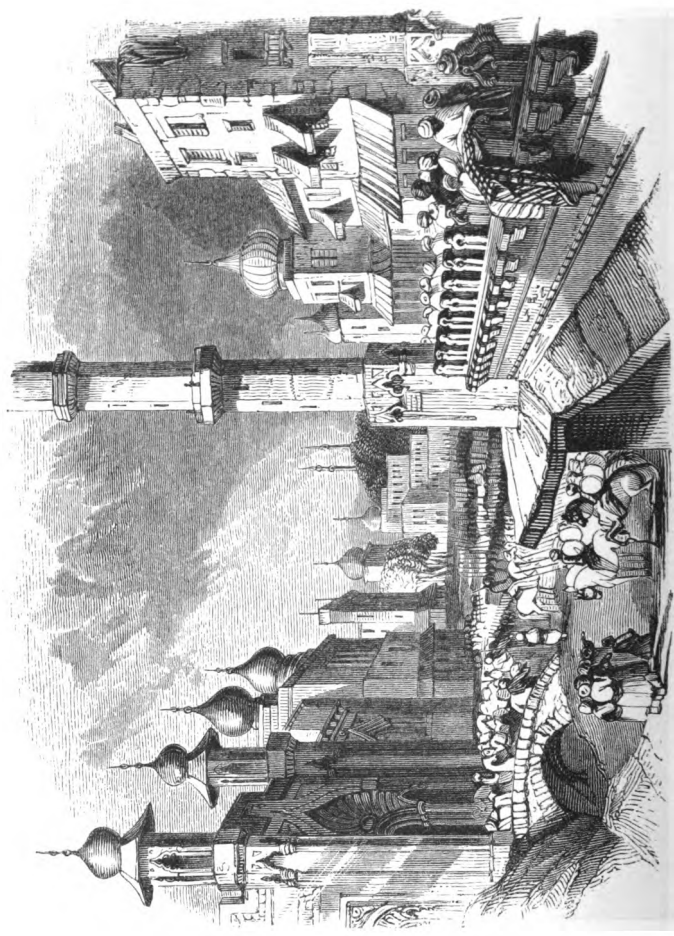
"In respect to the operations of a corps in the situation of Monson's, *they must be decided and quick*; and in all retreats it must be recollected that *they are safe and easy in proportion to the number of attacks made by the retreating corps*. But attention to the foregoing observations will, I hope,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

These are lessons to be borne in mind by every one putting an army in motion in India, and by every officer commanding, or even serving with, such army.

Instead of retreating, as Monson had expected he would do, Colonel Murray, with the division from Guzerat, advanced into the heart of Holkar's dominions; and on the 24th of August,—the day on which Monson abandoned his baggage—he took possession of Indore with hardly any opposition.

But the turn of affairs produced by Monson's own disastrous retreat compelled the commander-in-chief to take the field without delay, in order to check Holkar, who was now strengthened by the warlike tribe of the Jauts and their rajah—styled the rajah of Bhurtpoor,—who had broken the treaty of alliance he had concluded with General Lake, in the preceding year. Accordingly, the several corps of Lord Lake's army received orders to repair immediately to the general rendezvous at Agra, in order to commence a second campaign this year. By the beginning of September, all the corps were in motion, although the country was under water and the rain still poured down in torrents.

The straggling sepoys of Colonel Monson's unfortunate division hailed Lord Lake's arrival with transport. They soon recovered their discipline and gallantry; and the barbarity of the enemy helped to root out the partial disaffection which had existed among them. Numbers came daily into camp shockingly mutilated, with their noses and right hands cut off, in consequence of their having refused to enter Holkar's service. Those who had enrolled with the Mahratta sent word to the English officers that they would escape at the first opportunity. The barbarians had reached the banks of the Jumna, had taken possession of Mutra, and had spread consternation over the country. A detachment of them had even crossed the Jumna, but they all fled precipitately as Lake advanced. By the 3rd of October,



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Mutra was recovered, and was occupied by our reserve under Lieutenant-Colonel Don.

Before daybreak on the 7th, an attempt was made to surprise Holkar; but the Mahrattas were already mounted, and they galloped off with such rapidity as to render it impossible to effect a charge upon them; a few were, however, brought down in their flight by our galloper guns. Other attempts to surprise them in their encampments and to bring them to action were not more successful, for they were exceedingly vigilant, throwing out posts in all directions, who, by firing signals and burning blue lights, gave the alarm. Now and then some of these outposts were caught. The men expected vengeance and retaliation, but Lord Lake gave them a rupee each, and then dismissed them with a message to their chief, that none but cowards treated their prisoners with cruelty. Our army continued steadily to advance, the cavalry leading, followed by the infantry, and the baggage and bazars moving along between the inner flank and the river Jumna. The road they were following was the high road to Delhi, which capital was besieged by Holkar's regular brigade of infantry and a large train of artillery. The siege was pressed with all possible vigour, it being a vital object with Holkar to get possession of the person of the poor Mogul before Lord Lake could come up to his rescue. But his lordship reached Delhi on the 17th of October, and the besiegers fled at his approach. Colonel Ochterlony, the British resident at the Mogul's court, and Colonel Burn, the commandant of the garrison, had successfully defended the wide and crumbling walls during several weeks. It was easy for the Mahrattas to make breaches, for they had some heavy guns, and the works were rotten; but they could not storm through the breaches when they had made them, and all their endeavours to take the place by surprise and escalade were abortive. As there were very few regular troops in the place, and as the garrison was principally composed of a motley rabble, collected in haste from various quarters, and armed only with matchlocks, Ochterlony and Burn must have made extraordinary efforts, and have given proof of very extraordinary ability. In some respects their defence of Delhi might be compared with Clive's heroic defence of Arcot.

Lake found the Great Mogul's capital little better than a den of thieves. Every night alarms were created by the

numerous robbers that infested the hills and the ruins round the city, and that made their way into the bazars of the army.

Moving secretly and rapidly to the northward, Holkar now crossed the Jumna, near Paniput, threatening to lay waste our territories in the Duab. But Lake and Fraser were soon after him, crossing the Jumna at a ford at about three miles from Delhi. Orders were issued to our troops to march as light as possible. As they advanced, they found some fierce bands of Seiks, who occupied nearly the whole northern quarter of the Delhi province; but Colonel Burn, who led the van, easily cleared the road with grape-shot, and entered the small mud fort of Shumlee. Here he was surrounded by an immense host; but it fled on seeing the clouds of dust raised by the march of our main body. On the 6th of November, Lake's army marched about twenty-four miles on the road to Soldana, or Sirdhana, a pleasant, highly-cultivated, rich district. On the next day, our foremost column got sight of a body of Mahratta horse, who took instantly to flight. Closely pursued by the English, they fled past the town of Meerut, without stopping to plunder it. Having left at Meerut Colonel Burn, with three battalions of infantry and some irregular cavalry, for the protection of the northern parts of the Duab, Lake marched after the marauders, who ravaged and burned the defenceless villages as they swept along, making no attempts upon towns surrounded with any kind of walls. On the 16th of November, his lordship reached Alligunge, which village was still burning when the English entered it. But Holkar was encamped good thirty-six miles ahead, near Furruckabad. Lake, however, resolved to make another attempt to surprise him by a forced night march. The distance was great, but it was likely to add to the Mahratta security or confidence. At nine o'clock in the evening, his lordship with the British cavalry, moved on without tents or baggage of any kind. Just as they were mounting their horses, they received the welcome news of the victory gained over Holkar's brigade at Deeg. This made them doubly eager to come up with the chief himself, in order to give the finishing stroke. The moon was up, and the night mild and pleasant. As they spurred along the road, they were cheered by the intelligence, that their foe was motionless in his encampment, and wholly unsuspecting of their approach.

The day was just beginning to dawn on the 17th, when the head of their column reached the skirts of the Mahratta camp. Still no movement, no suspicion: the Mahratta horses were at picket, and by the side of them the men lay sleeping. Some rounds of grape, fired from our gallopers into the thickest of their camp, was the first intimation they received of Lake's arrival. The fire awakened them, but made the sleep of many a long sleep. The king's 8th light dragoons got first in among them, charging and cutting them down; our other regiments did the same as fast as they came up, so that in a short time the whole camp was covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Holkar himself escaped, being the first to fly. He was accompanied or followed by a small party of his cavalry, the only men that could mount and escape and keep together; and he never drew rein until he had re-crossed the Calini river, at a ford eighteen miles distant.

By this one blow the cavalry of Holkar was ruined or dispersed, as his infantry and artillery had been at Deeg. On first crossing the Jumna he had 60,000 horse; after recrossing the Calini he could not collect 10,000. More than 3,000 had fallen in the surprised camp; the rest deserted, and never joined him again. Lake continued the pursuit for upwards of ten miles; and as his march during the preceding day and night was fifty-eight miles, the distance to which the enemy was followed and the space passed over before he took up a new encampment-ground exceeded seventy miles in the space of twenty-four hours; an effort scarcely paralleled in military history, for it was made after a long and harassing march of 350 miles in the space of a fortnight. The fatigue was great, but not so the loss: he had only two British dragoons killed and about twenty men wounded; and of the seventy-five horses that perished or became useless, the far greater part seem to have been floundered on the forced night march. The Mahrattas left plenty of good horses behind them, and these were captured. With his infantry, following him almost at the charging pace, Lake pushed on to the city of Furruckabad, whose flourishing condition had enticed Holkar thither, the Mahratta expecting to make a rich prize before the English could come up with him. His lordship arrived just at the nick of time, for the unruly Patans of the town and neighbourhood had not only engaged to co-operate with the

Mahrattas, but had risen upon the English residents, and had driven the Company's weak detachment of sepoys into the fort of Futtyghur. The Patans had already set fire to our cavalry stables and officers' bungalows, and were besieging the fort. Having first knocked a good many of these Patans on the head, Lake's army fired three royal salutes; one in honour of the victory obtained by Major-General Fraser at Deeg, another for the capture of Chandore by Colonel Wallace, and another for his own action in the Mahratta camp.

While Lord Lake had been preparing to fall upon Holkar's cavalry, part of the British infantry and artillery under Fraser had been sent to look after Holkar's disciplined brigades and his guns, which were known to be somewhere within the Bhurtpoor rajah's territories. On the morning of the 13th of November, Fraser came up with the enemy, who were encamped between a large deep tank and an extensive morass, their right being covered by a fortified village, and their left resting on the fort of Deeg. They were twenty-four well-disciplined battalions with a tremendous artillery; and their position was truly formidable. Nevertheless, at three o'clock, two European regiments and four battalions of sepoys marched gaily and confidently to the attack. This gallant little column had to make a long detour to avoid the morass, so that it was daybreak ere it reached the fortified village on a hill which covered the enemy's right. Here the troops immediately wheeled into line; the 76th regiment and two battalions forming the first, and the remaining troops the second line. The 76th, with charged bayonets, drove the Mahrattas out of the village; and then, running down the hill, charged the first range of their guns, under a terrific storm of round, grape, and chain shot. The enemy abandoned their guns as our men came up to them, and retired to fresh batteries. When our second line passed through the fortified village, which had been carried by the first line, the Company's European regiment, seeing the brave 76th so far ahead in the thickest of the multitudinous enemy, ran to its support, and was followed by some of the sepoys, who again kept pace with the British. From their second range the Mahrattas opened a still more destructive fire. Here a cannon-ball took off General Fraser's leg. The general was carried from the field, and the command devolved upon Colonel Monson, who had been

very unfortunate, but who had never failed in soldierly bearing. The British and sepoy bayonets soon drove the Mahrattas from their second range; one battery was charged and carried after another, over the distance of two miles, till coming close under the walls of the fort of Deeg, our troops were compelled to fall back. In the mean time a body of the enemy's horse, coming suddenly round, retook their first range of guns, and turned them against our troops; but Captain Henry Norford, of the 76th, with only twenty-eight men, charged them with the bayonet, drove them off, and took those guns again. Captain Norford was killed in performing this brilliant exploit. At the lower edge of the morass was a dense body of Holkar's infantry, with a number of heavy guns. With only two battalions of sepoys and three six-pounders, Major Hammond had kept this corps in check during the whole of the action. Now Colonel Monson placed a few more six-pounders in Major Hammond's front, and under cover of their fire and smoke moved round upon the enemy's flank. These Mahrattas made a precipitate retreat into the morass, where great numbers perished, and amongst them two of the principal officers of their army. The field was fairly and gloriously won, though not without a very heavy loss for so small a force. The number of our killed and wounded amounted to 643, among whom were twenty-two British officers. Major-General Fraser died of his wounds a few days after the battle. But, without counting those who had been swallowed up in the morass, from 2,000 to 3,000 of the enemy lay dead on the field; eighty-seven fine pieces of artillery, of European fabric, were captured; and the flower of Holkar's army, twenty-four well-trained battalions, was broken up and dispersed.*

The reduction of Chandore, the strongest place Holkar held on the side of the Deckan, had been planned by General Wellesley. The troops appointed to the service consisted of detachments from the Company's subsidiary force serving with the nizam and the peishwa, and of some contingents furnished by those two princes. They were commanded by Colonels Wallace and Haliburton; and, through the great care of General Wellesley, they were well supplied with money and provisions. Early in October, Colonel Wallace, after a long march, succeeded in capturing the dependent fort

* Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War,' &c. Colonel Monson's 'Despatch to the Governor-General.'

of Lassengong, about twelve miles from Chandore. An easy march then brought him in front of the famed stronghold. The place merited its reputation for strength, and a vigorous resistance was expected; but as soon as Wallace had established a battery, Holkar's commandant held out the white flag, and surrendered upon condition that private property should be respected, and that the garrison should be allowed to carry off their baggage, &c. The fall of Chandore induced the surrender of a number of small forts, and deprived Holkar of all his possessions south of the Taptee river.

The war would have been finished by the great battle of Deeg and by his other reverses, if it had not been for the alliance which Holkar had contracted with the warlike Jauts and their ruler, Runjeet Sing, the rajah of Bhurtpoor. This chief had sent his cavalry to fight with the troops of Holkar at Deeg; with the artillery of his fortress of Deeg he had caused us much loss; and when the battle was over he had received into that fortress as many of the Mahrattas as could escape to it. It was therefore resolved to carry the war into the heart of Runjeet Sing's territories, to reduce all his forts, and even Bhurtpoor, his capital.

Accordingly Lord Lake, with the cavalry and flying artillery with him, marched back from Furruckabad to Delhi, to cross the Jumna near that city, leaving the reserve to follow in a few days. His lordship expected to be attacked on the way by another chief of the Jaut race, who was named Rajah Dyaram Thakoor, and was related to Runjeet Sing, the rajah of Bhurtpoor; but he passed through his country without molestation. On the 1st of December, Lord Lake came up with his cavalry and artillery, and joined the infantry which General Fraser had brought into the country, and which were now commanded by Colonel Monson. Thus, after a month's separation, during which the cavalry had marched upwards of 500 miles, the two branches of the army reunited with mutual congratulations, for the cavalry, acting by itself, had gained the great advantage over the Mahratta cavalry in the camp near Furruckabad, and the infantry, acting by itself, had won the victory at Deeg.

Having been joined by his reserve under Colonel Don, with a battering train from Agra, Lord Lake marched on the 11th of December, in two columns parallel to each other, to break ground before the fortress of Deeg. As the

army and its accessories moved leisurely across the country, the spectacle was imposing; for the native bazar people and other camp-followers were not fewer than 60,000, and there were 200 elephants, 2,000 camels, and 100,000 bullocks for carrying grain, equipage, baggage, &c. The British were in possession of the town of Deeg and all its outworks by the morning of the 24th of December, and on the morning of Christmas day, the Mahrattas evacuated the citadel, flying in a panic, and leaving an immense artillery and everything else behind them.

On the 1st of January, 1805, Lord Lake moved from Deeg to Bhurtpoor, the well-defended capital of the rajah, which stood amidst jungles and water, at the distance of about thirty English miles from Agra. On the 3rd the British took up their encampment-ground for the prosecution of a siege which has scarcely a parallel in the history of modern India. Bhurtpoor, a maiden fortress, was amazingly strong, both naturally and artificially, and its garrison was a numerous and resolute army. When breaches were made, several assaults were most successfully repelled by the besieged. In one of these affairs we lost nearly 300 Europeans and 200 sepoys. The enemy butchered in cold blood all the wounded who fell in the ditch or beyond the outer wall, and several of Lake's best officers were thus slain. With great alacrity strong stockades were formed behind the breaches which our guns had made. On the 18th of January Major-General Smith arrived in camp with three battalions of sepoys belonging to the garrison of Agra, and 100 convalescent Europeans, who, by a circuitous route, had performed a march of fifty miles in twenty-four hours. At the same time Ismael Beg deserted from Holkar and joined the English with 500 native horse. Better advances were then made, and the batteries of the besiegers renewed their fire with greater vigour.

Lured by the present of six lacs of rupees, and by the tempting prospect of plunder, Meer Khan, an adventurer of Afghan descent, who was then pillaging in Bundelkund, marched with all his forces towards Bhurtpoor to assist the rajah.

On the 21st of January Lake tried another storm. This was met by the enemy with considerable skill and ingenuity, as well as by great bravery, and Colonel Macrae, in command of the attacking column, was beaten back with the loss

of eighteen officers and nearly 600 men in killed or wounded. And, as this catastrophe closed, Meer Khan, from Bundelkund, appeared in the rear of our encampment with crowds of cavalry. The British horse, however, held these forces in check, and towards night the English artillery dispersed them, and killed some fifty of their number with the galloper guns. Lake had commenced the siege with gigantic *matériel*, but he was already in want of provisions and stores, and a convoy of 12,000 loaded bullocks was anxiously expected. As this convoy was guarded only by a small body of matchlock-men, a regiment of native cavalry and a battalion of a European regiment were detached, under the command of Captain Walsh, to meet it on its way and escort it from Mutra to the camp. Walsh joined the convoy without any difficulty, but on the morning of the 23rd of January, when only a few miles from the camp, he was beset and attacked by Meer Khan, at the head of 8,000 horse. Captain Walsh retreated into a large open village with the greater part of the convoy intact, but some of the bullocks were of necessity abandoned. Though assailed on all sides, his musketry and field-pieces repeatedly beat off the assailants, but two of his guns getting disabled, the enemy made a desperate push on that point, and gained possession of part of the village. Walsh's guns were heard in the English camp, and forthwith Colonel Need sounded boot and saddle, and, with an English regiment of dragoons and a regiment of native cavalry, galloped towards the spot. The sepoys in the village, on perceiving the clouds of dust which marked the advance of our cavalry, set up a loud and joyous shout, fell upon Meer Khan's guns, and carried them at the point of the bayonet just as Colonel Need was arriving. With his two regiments of horse Need then dashed among the Mahrattas and put them to flight. Six hundred of Meer Khan's people were left dead on the field, and he himself, in the disguise of a common soldier, escaped with the utmost difficulty, leaving behind him forty flags, all his artillery and tumbrils, his own palanquin, arms, armour, and splendid attire. On the 24th another detachment was sent from the camp for the protection of another and much greater convoy coming from Agra. On the 29th Holkar, the rajah of Bhurtpoor, and Meer Khan, having united for the purpose all the forces they could collect, threatened an attack on this rich convoy; but Lake had sent out a second detachment to meet the other

on the road, and, although the convoy was repeatedly surrounded, it was brought into camp without the loss of a single bullock.

As the number of the enemy within the walls of Bhurtpoor was undiminished, and as the two attempted assaults had cost us so great a sacrifice of life, Lord Lake resolved to proceed with more caution. But while he was preparing the means of crossing the broad deep moat of Bhurtpoor, filled up with water, Meer Khan, wheeling round with his flying horse, made a rush into the Duab, and invaded the Company's own territories, being followed by clouds of Pindarrees, the freebooters and moss-troopers of India, who had scorned all political connections, and sought nothing but plunder. The rajah of Bhurtpoor had calculated that this unexpected invasion of the Duab would induce Lake to raise the siege; but his lordship merely detached Major-General Smith with a part of his cavalry, and with the horse artillery, and continued his own operations at Bhurtpoor.

Smith executed the duty intrusted to him in a very masterly manner, and with complete success, crossing and re-crossing the Jumna and the Ganges, plunging through other streams which intersected the country, climbing lofty mountains, threading woods and jungles, and making marches which were never surpassed by any army. The burning villages and the wasted country showed him the route Meer Khan was taking. He came up with that chieftain on the 1st of March, near the town of Afzulghur, and routed him with great loss. The khan's principal officers were killed or wounded or captured, and a band of stout brave Patans, the pride of his army, were literally cut to pieces on the field, as they would neither fly nor surrender. Meer Khan went off like the wind, evacuating the Company's territories, and re-crossing the Ganges with a very diminutive force. General Smith, after restoring order to the country, returned to Bhurtpoor, the point from which he had started. His chase had lasted him a month, during which he had ridden over 700 miles of the roughest country.*

* Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War,' &c. The major, who had accompanied Gen. Smith, says,—“ Our detachment, after this expedition, was somewhat the worse for wear; but, though many of the horses were completely knocked up, the state of the whole was far better than what might have been reasonably expected. It merits remark, that the Bengal

During the absence of General Smith, Lord Lake had been joined by a division of the Bombay army, under Major-General Jones. This division, consisting only of four battalions of sepoys, one entire British regiment, eight companies of another British regiment, a troop of Bombay cavalry, 500 native irregular horse, and a few field-pieces, had made another extraordinary march, having traversed the whole of Malwa in central India, and having penetrated through the very heart of the Mahratta empire, including the hereditary dominions of Holkar and Scindiah. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Lord Lake found that to take Bhurtpoor by siege and storm was no easy work. When wider breaches were made and another assault was in contemplation, the rajah's people sallied out in great force, and slew a heap of the besiegers with their long pikes and tolwars. And when that assault was made, it cost Lord Lake nearly 1,000 men in killed and wounded. On the very next day his lordship ordered another assault. This time he threw nearly the whole of his European force and several battalions of native infantry against those fatal walls, under the immediate command of Colonel Monson. Our men performed prodigies of valour, Lieutenant Templeton, who headed a party, was killed just as he had planted our colours near the summit of the lofty walls, and Major Menzies, who followed him, was slain as he was cheering on his men. And all the while the enemy, who appear to have been aided by some French artillerymen, and by people who had studied the art of war under M. Perron, kept up an incessant fire of grape-shot, and the people on the walls continually threw down upon the heads of their assailants, great stones, heavy pieces of timber, flaming bales

cavalry throughout the campaign endured trials and hardships almost surpassing conception. Independent of their previous long marches up to Delhi, they had pursued Holkar closely for above 500 miles, till they overtook him and completed his overthrow at the battle of Furruckabad; shortly after which they were called off unexpectedly to the chase of Meer Khan, whom they followed through all his doublings and windings, over rivers of great magnitude, and to the mountains of Kemaon, from whence he was forced back, discomfited, and abandoned by the hardiest of his followers. In this fatiguing course the most harassing part which we had to undergo consisted in our nocturnal marches, which, continuing night after night through the whole month, proved exceedingly distressing to man and beast, in depriving them of that natural rest which they sought in vain during the heat of the day."

of cotton, previously soaked with oil, and pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles. At last Colonel Monson gave up the attempt as hopeless, recalling the storming parties, and returned to the trenches. This time our loss in killed and wounded seems to have exceeded 1,000 ; of English officers alone five were killed and twelve wounded. In all 3,100 men and a very great number of officers were put *hors de combat* in the several attempts to carry Bhurtpoor by storm.

His lordship now converted his siege into a blockade. There appears to have been a want of artillery, skill, and of engineering science, and many errors had avowedly been committed. Our guns, which were nearly all blown at the touchhole, were now withdrawn, detachments were sent off for fresh guns and for supplies, and portions of the army were moved to other positions to block up the roads leading into the town, a difficult undertaking, for the cavalry of the enemy was still very numerous, and our cavalry was absent with General Smith, who had not yet returned from pursuing Meer Khan.

But when the rajah of Bhurtpoor, upon being informed that convoys, with supplies of all kinds from different parts, and battering guns and ammunition from Futtyghur and Alighur, were arriving daily in camp, that he had little or no assistance to expect from his allies, and that nothing seemed likely to interrupt the perseverance of Lord Lake, lost all faith in his lucky star, and sent vakeels to negotiate for a peace.

But these negotiations were suspended by the reappearance of Holkar in great force about eight miles to the westward of Bhurtpoor. Fortunately the British cavalry which had been pursuing Meer Khan, was by this time in camp, and after resting a few days, it marched silently out by night, headed by Lord Lake himself, who intended to beat up the quarters of Holkar, as he had done at Furruckabad. The Mahratta, having received a hint, was in full flight before his lordship could reach the spot ; but some of the fugitives were overtaken and slain, their camp was destroyed, and many of their horses, camels, and elephants, were captured. Still, however, Holkar lingered in the neighbourhood, and he was joined by Meer Khan, with the fragment of his own force and some of the Pindarrees, who had suffered no loss from General Smith's chase, because they never stopped to fight

when they could gallop away. This accession of force seems to have made Holkar less vigilant, for, on the 2nd of April, he was overtaken, charged in front and on both his flanks by Lake's cavalry, and put to the route with a terrible loss. He fled across the Chumbul river with about 8,000 horse, 5,000 foot, and twenty or thirty guns, the miserable remains of the vast army with which he had opened these campaigns. Several of his chiefs now came over with their followers to the English camp. Some troops that were advancing to his succour were beaten and scattered by a British detachment which marched out of Agra. Holkar fled to join Scindiah, who, notwithstanding the dreadful chastisement he had received at the hands of General Wellesley, and the treaty he had concluded in December, 1803, was contemplating a renewal of the war with the English.

But the rajah of Bhurtpoor was in no condition to wait the effects of a new confederacy, his country was half-ruined by the war, his besieged capital was now useless to him, and on the 10th of April he repaired in person to the English camp and implored for peace. This was granted by Lord Lake upon the following conditions :—1. The fortress of Deeg was to remain in the hands of the English till they should be assured of the rajah's fidelity, who pledged himself never to have any connection with the enemies of Great Britain, and never to entertain, without the sanction of the Company, any Europeans in his service. 2. He was to pay the Company by instalments twenty lacs of Furruckabad rupees, and to give up some territories which the Company had formerly annexed to his dominions. 3. As a security for the due execution of these terms, he was to deliver up one of his sons as a hostage, to reside with the British officers at Delhi or Agra.

Having received the first instalment of the money and the required hostage, our forces broke up from before Bhurtpoor, where they had been lying three months and twenty days. They began their march on the 21st of April, Lake going at once in search of Scindiah, who had expected that his lordship's army would be utterly ruined by the long siege and its other operations. With Holkar with him, or not far from him, Scindiah fled towards Ajmeer. Several of his chiefs came over and joined Lord Lake, who found more trustworthy reinforcements in some divisions of British troops and sepoys that now came up the country.

As the rainy monsoon approached, it was necessary to look for shelter. One part of Lake's army found it in the splendid but decayed palace of the great Akbar, at Futtypoor Sicree; another part quartered itself in the remains of the palaces of the ancient Mogul chiefs, in and about Agra and Mutra; and two regiments of British dragoons found comfortable lodgings in the immense mausoleum of the emperor Akbar, about seven miles from Agra, sheltering their horses in the once magnificent garden, and eating and sleeping and pursuing their trooper sports among the white marble tombs of the potentate and his family, and of the Mogul omrahs. The men were rough dragooners, without any of those pretensions to taste and reverence for works of art and antiquity, which were at this time set up by or for the armies of Bonaparte; but they had the English feeling of respect for the dead, and they offered no violence to the sanctity of the tombs, though they were rumoured to contain gold and jewels, and they left the marble slabs and the ornamented Saracenic arches, the cupolas and minarets, the sculpture and carving, and the mosaic pavements, in as good order as they found them. To the honour of our troops, let this conduct be contrasted with that of the French in the sepulchral abbey of Batalha, in Portugal, and in numerous other edifices devoted to the ashes of the illustrious dead and to the services of the Christian religion.

It is scarcely necessary to interrupt the narrative of the interesting war, or to make a separate chapter for the second and very short administration of the Marquis Cornwallis. But at this juncture that nobleman arrived to succeed the Marquis Wellesley, and—being a military man—to couple the office of commander-in-chief with that of governor-general. He commenced by pronouncing sentence of condemnation on the policy of his energetic predecessor. But Cornwallis, however good, high-minded, and excellent, was now falling into the second childhood, and his attention had been too exclusively occupied by those who murmured at the expenses of a necessary war. Moreover, he had come out shackled by ministerial injunctions and pacific orders. As commander-in-chief, Cornwallis could control Lake, but he left him the chief command in the regions where he was. As soon, however, as the weather permitted, the marquis quitted Calcutta to travel to the upper pro-

vinces and there to confer with Lord Lake and others on the best means of terminating the war. At his advanced age he could ill bear the fatigues of such a journey; he fell sick on the road, and died, and was buried at Gazipore, near Benares, within three months after his return to India. The government then devolved provisionally upon Sir George Barlow, senior member of the supreme council, an excellent administrator, a civilian, and one desirous of peace. But Barlow differed from Cornwallis as to the best means of obtaining a general pacification in India. Lord Lake was decidedly of opinion that the British possessions, and those of their allies, would never be secured until both Scindiah and Holkar were driven beyond the Indus and the Mahratta powers annihilated. His lordship maintained, that it would be an act of insanity, or of the very utmost imprudence, to treat with Holkar. Such also had been the opinion of General Wellesley, who, in a letter dated the 29th of January of this year, had said:—"We have had glorious successes in the contest with Holkar; but his power of annoying us, or rather our allies, is by no means destroyed. I consider Holkar to be the chief of all the freebooters and vagrants scattered about all parts of India, every man of whom is the declared enemy of the British government. So long as Holkar exists and is in any strength, we cannot consider the territories of our allies in security, and we must protect them with our troops, as they have no troops of their own to protect themselves."* Lord Lake well knew that treaties with Mahrattas were of no avail, and that either Holkar or Scindiah singly, or both of them combined, would renew the war, were peace granted to them now, before many years were over. Had his lordship's advice been followed, both of these great Mahrattas would have been crushed at one and the same time. But what was termed the pacific spirit was again dominant in our councils, and large and impolitic concessions to one of those faithless chiefs were contemplated, including the important fortress of Gwalior, which was ours by a second storm and capture, and a part of the country of Gohud, the Hindoo ruler of which had been true to his treaty with the Company, and had rendered important assistance to Lord Lake, during his campaign in Bhurtpoor. We never were pacific in India without being unjust to our allies. Nor, at

* 'Wellington Despatches.'

this period, could it be otherwise. The object of our pacific and diplomatic partiality was Scindiah, whose treachery deserved a signal punishment, and whose forces, whether acting separately or with Holkar, would have been despised by Lord Lake and his army. Upon receiving intimation of the favourable dispositions manifested towards him at Calcutta, Scindiah parted company with Holkar, and entered into negotiations with Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Malcolm, and thereupon Holkar spurred away to the banks of the Indus, giving out that he expected to be joined by the hardy tribes of Afghanistan and by the king of Cabul himself. He had still with him a few pieces of light artillery and some rabble; and in the country to the north-west of Delhi, he picked up thousands of adventurers with horses and spears. He eluded Major-General Jones and Colonel Ball, who marched from different points to intercept him. This induced Lord Lake to follow Holkar himself; and fortunately his lordship was not restrained by orders from Calcutta, and he was again commander-in-chief in India; therefore, what was at once a romantic and a most useful campaign was opened, and it did not terminate until it had extended to the "fabulous streams" of Horace and Milton.

The force Lake took with him on this extraordinary march consisted of his majesty's 24th and 25th dragoons, and the 6th native cavalry, under Brigadier-General Need; of his majesty's 8th dragoons, and 3rd native cavalry, commanded by Brigadier-General Wood; of his majesty's 22nd foot, a European regiment of the Company, and two battalions of sepoy, under Brigadier-General Mercer; and of a park of horse-artillery, commanded by Captains Pennington and Brown.

With these corps Lake advanced towards the country of the Seiks, driving Holkar before him, and obliging that Mahratta to cross the Sutledj. The ameers or chiefs of the Seiks assured his lordship that their intentions were pacific: and so they were; but so they would not have been if Lake had allowed Holkar any rest or time.

Our little army halted for a day at Paniput, which was famous for the number of terrible battles which had been fought in its neighbourhood. The last of these terrible battles was fought in the year 1761, between the Afghans, under Achmed Shah, the sovereign of Cabul, and the combined Mahrattas. It ended, after a most obstinate conflict,

in the total defeat of the Mahrattas, who lost their whole army, with 200 pieces of artillery and everything else they had brought into the field. It is said, that of 500,000 souls, including women and children and camp-followers of all descriptions, who were in the field with the Mahrattas, very few escaped alive. The bigoted Afghans murdered their helpless prisoners in cold blood; alleging that, on leaving their own country, their dear mothers, sisters, and wives begged them, whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, to kill a few of them on their account, that they also might obtain merit in the sight of God and his prophet Mahomet. As the Afghans cut off the heads of the Mahrattas, they piled them up before the doors of their tents. The son of the peishwa of that day fell in the battle. His body was found and carried to the tent of the king of Cabul. The Afghans cried out, "This is the body of the king of the Unbelievers! We will have it dried and stuffed, that it may be carried home with us to Cabul!" His Afghan majesty was, however, induced to prevent this barbarity, and to order the body to be burned.

Paniput was also remarkable as having been quite recently the capital of an *Irish* rajah, the famous George Thomas, an adventurer from Tipperary and a deserter from our fleet, who had made himself master and sovereign of the whole of the Hurriannah, or "The Green Country," a beautiful district, extending to the verge of the sandy desert of Ajmeer.*

From Paniput Lord Lake proceeded to Carnaul, and from Carnaul to Ameerghur, on the skirts of the great sandy desert.

On his left there now appeared sandhills in endless succession, like the waves of the ocean, desolate and dreary to an immense extent; while to the front and right of these wastes, the eye was deceived by all the illusions of the mirage.† "These optical deceptions," says the historian of the march, who himself suffered what he described,

* For this amusing episode in our Indian history—for the marvellous adventures of the Irish rajah and the Begum Sumroo—the reader is referred to 'Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas,' by Capt. W. Franklin, Calcutta, 1803. To Major Thorn, 'Memoir of the War,' &c. To Bishop Heber's 'Indian Journal;' and to 'Life of Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner, recently edited and published by Baillie Tytler Fraser.'

† Major Thorn.

"exhibited to us the representations of spacious lakes and rivers, with trees and other objects, in such a lively manner as almost to cheat the senses of persons familiarly acquainted with the phenomenon; while they who were oppressed by excessive heat and parched with thirst cheered themselves with the hope of being soon refreshed with water from the friendly tank or cooling stream, of which they thought they had so clear a prospect. Often were we thus agitated between expectancy and disappointment, flattering our imaginations with a speedy indulgence; when, just as the delightful vision appeared on the point of being realized, like the cup of Tantalus, the whole vanished, and left us nothing to rest upon but arid plains of glittering and burning sands."*

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

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

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

Holkar at this time lay encamped at a place about midway between Lord Lake's camp on the Hyphasis and Lahore, the capital of the Seiks, on the Ravee or Hydraotes —another of Alexander's rivers. In two days and nights of his rapid forced marches, his lordship could have reached the spot, and have annihilated him if he had stayed to fight; and if Holkar had continued his flight, which it is almost certain he would have done, in four days he would have been driven beyond the Hydraotes towards the Hydaspes, there to be finished by the Afghan tribes. But, before this, Sir George Barlow had concluded a peace with Scindiah, and had sent Lord Lake instructions not only to treat with Holkar, but also to grant him very favourable terms; and the chief of Lahore and of the whole Seik confederacy (having called a great council, which unanimously agreed to withhold all aid from Holkar, and to interpose as mediators, as the best means of getting rid both of the Mahrattas and of the English), sent, on the 19th of December, a vakeel to the British camp. The negotiations were neither long nor difficult, though they must have been exceedingly painful to

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

his lordship. He was bound by his instructions to behave with all courtesy towards the savage murderer—the brutal assassin of three brave British officers—to reinstate Holkar, not only in his own dominions, from which he had been driven, and which he had deserved to forfeit, but also to put him in possession of territory to which he never had any right. In conformity with the new system of policy which had been adopted, of abandoning all connection with the native states westward of the Jumna, and of making that river (a river everywhere passable except during the rains!) a boundary of the British dominions,* Lord Lake was instructed to dissolve the defensive alliances which we had contracted with the rajah of Jypoor and other inferior powers, who had rendered essential services to his lordship during the war, and who looked upon their ruin at the hand of the Mahrattas as an inevitable consequence of their being abandoned by the English at the peace. A man so brave and honourable as Lake could not contemplate this act of national treachery—for to such the abandonment of our weak allies amounted—without feelings of disgust and anguish.

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

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

* Everywhere and always a river is a bad frontier. The particular badness of the Jumna as a frontier line was strongly exposed by Lord Lake; but those who now governed India for us would not listen to his lordship.

duced by our horse-artillery, Lake struck his tents, and retraced his steps towards Delhi.*

By the treaty with Scindiah, which had been concluded on the preceding 23rd of November, the treaty of peace concluded through General Wellesley at Surjee Anjeungam was considerably modified—and modified in favour of the faithless Mahratta. Gwalior and the greatest part of Gohud were ceded, “from considerations of friendship.” For some jagheers which Scindiah yielded he was to receive an annual pension of four lacs of rupees; and his wife and daughter were to be put in possession of other jagheers in the British territories in Hindustan, worth three more lacs of rupees per annum. The Company engaged to enter into no treaties with the rajahs of Oudepoor, Jodepoor, Kotah, or with any other chiefs, the tributaries of Scindiah, in Malwa, Mewar, or Merwar; and to interfere in no respect with the conquests made by Scindiah between the rivers Taptee and Chumbul. Again was a river taken for a frontier line, the Chumbul, as affording a distinct line of demarcation, being declared to be the boundary between states which were sure not to live long in friendship. The treaty promised Scindiah further restitutions and other advantages, provided his conduct should be such as to satisfy the English of his amicable intentions towards them and their allies.

By the treaty with Holkar, which, as we have seen, was not ratified until the 7th of January, 1806, that chief renounced all claims upon any territories lying on the northern or English side of the Chumbul, as also upon Poonah and Bundelkund, and all claims whatsoever upon the British government and its allies. He bound himself never to molest the territories of the Company or of its allies or dependants. But the Company agreed to restore, eighteen months after the conclusion of this treaty, Chandore, Gaulnah, and other forts and districts south of the Taptee and

* Major Thorn, ‘Memoir of the War,’ &c.

Lord Lake quitted his command in India in February, 1807, leaving behind him a high and well-merited reputation. He appears to have possessed nearly every one of the good qualities of a British officer and gentleman. He died on the 21st of February, 1808, in the 64th year of his age, and just six months previously to the death of his beloved and affectionate son and brave companion in arms, Col. George Lake, who, after sharing in the toils and dangers of his father’s brilliant Indian campaigns, fell in Portugal at the battle of Roliça.

Godavery, provided the chief fulfilled his engagement and remained in a friendly attitude. He was to be allowed to return immediately from the Punjaub into Hindustan, but by a route prescribed to him, by which he would avoid injuring the territory of the Company and its allies.*

As General Wellesley, Lord Lake, Sir John Malcolm, and every other enlightened man in India—whose eyes were not distracted by the prospect of a present saving in money—had clearly foreseen and predicted, such treaties as these could give only a transitory calm to the country. And this calm was purchased by a sacrifice of that moral force which must always be our greatest force in India.

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Sir John was himself the negotiator and agent in all these transactions. But grieved would he have been to have taken upon himself the responsibility of a diplomacy which had been imposed upon him. I knew him well, and shall never forget the warm, eloquent language in which he was accustomed to denounce the base abandonment of our allies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE Marquis Wellesley quitted India on the 20th of August, 1805, shortly after the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis at Calcutta. He was not left to accomplish his own great plans, and some portions of his great scheme were impeded or spoiled by his immediate successors, or by the policy dictated to them by the home government. During the latter years of his administration, when his difficulties were greatest, he was not cordially supported in England by any party whatever; and his schemes were severely criticised by men who did not comprehend them, and who could not see that present expenditure would be attended by immense future savings. The British legislature had but slowly followed the progress of the power of the Company in India. It had legislated for factories, when the Company was in possession of provinces; and by the time the laws were completed to govern provinces, the Company had acquired kingdoms. At no time was there a system formed fully calculated to the greatness of the empire.* Too frequently both the king's government and the directorial government were disposed to apply the old tiny factory scale to the vast empire, or to pretend that the laws laid down for merchants and traders ought to regulate the conduct of statesmen, soldiers, and conquerors. Campaigns were examined like debtor and creditor accounts. Yet war was a necessity inherent in our position. General Wellesley, as well as his illustrious brother, knew that there could be no permanent peace in India, until the Mahrattas were deprived of the means of invading and plundering their neighbours. "If," said he, writing to Malcolm, in January, 1804, "a Mahratta could sit down quietly, and

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Political History of India.' I have followed the second and enlarged edition of this valuable work, which was published in 1826.

establish a regular government, with a view to future prosperity, I should not despair of peace : but unless Scindiah changes his nature, and that of a great proportion of his subjects, and dismisses a very large part of his army of horse (who must eat up more revenue than he can afford to pay them), and obliges the men to adopt habits of industry, which are entirely foreign to their nature, I do not see how a peace is to last.”*

As was Scindiah, so were all the great Mahratta chiefs ; and there was no difference between their several subjects and followers. It was next to useless to destroy one of the two great chiefs without destroying the other at the same time. As Scindiah was humbled, Holkar rose and took his place, being enabled so to do by the old practice of the Mahratta horsemen, who were ever ready to desert from an unfortunate leader to join a fortunate one, even though it were the rival and foe of the master they had last served. These eastern Dugald Dalgetties looked merely to the best pay, or the best chances of provende and booty. The chiefs were at once capricious and faithless, cunning and passionate, so that it was very possible to gratify them in their real interests, without securing their fidelity to a treaty ; for, in a moment of caprice or rage, their spears were in their hands, and their fleet hordes of horsemen were in motion.

No army, however great, could, by acting merely on the defensive, protect and effectually secure the far-extending frontiers of Oude, the Deckan, Mysore, Malabar, etc.,—frontiers which measured, altogether, many thousands of miles—and to have made the attempt would have been to incur a ruinous expense together with most of the disadvantages of actual war, without any of its excitement, or glory, or profit. When—as at Lord Wellesley’s first arrival in India—this Mahratta confederacy contained within it the nucleus of a European system of military organization and discipline, which might, in a few years, have rivalled the sepoy system established by the Company ; when M. Perron and other French officers could bring into the field 20,000 well-trained native infantry, and an immense and well-served artillery, to back the Mahratta horse—the danger which threatened the British power was assuredly so

* ‘ Wellington Despatches.’

great as to justify the policy and the bold measures which the governor-general adopted. This was allowed by all the able men in the country—and England has not had abler men than those who were at this moment advancing her fame and her interests in India—and all these statesmen and soldiers were convinced that the French must be driven out, that the Mahrattas must be broken up, and that the British must either be the first power in India, or cease to be a power at all. The happiness of the native populations was as much at stake as our fame and profit. More than a hundred millions of people were beginning to enjoy peace and prosperity under our dominion, or were entertaining the hope of escaping the evils of invasion, civil war, and anarchy, by being included in our system, or taken under our protection.

During the whole of his Indian administration, Marquis Wellesley laudably exerted himself to promote the welfare of the natives. Like Warren Hastings, he was the patron of every project which seemed likely to improve the condition and civilization of the people, or to be useful in giving the European servants of the Company the means of becoming better acquainted with their languages, their manners and modes of thinking, their ancient laws and institutions. As soon as he reached Calcutta, he contemplated the foundation of a college in that city for the proper education of civil servants. Like all his conceptions, this plan was on a large and liberal scale. In the college of Fort William he was supposed to have projected a magnificent repository of European learning and principles and Asiatic erudition—a vast moral magazine or treasury, in which the stores of learning and wisdom might indefinitely accumulate, and in which the sages of the East might find studious solitudes more attractive even than the sacred shades of Benares.* But his first great object was certainly one of a nature more practical, more immediate, and more pressing. It was, as his lordship expressed it in his own minute, “to supply the actual deficiencies of the civil service.” Many of the servants of the Company had educated themselves, and had acquired most extensive knowledge under very difficult and often discouraging circumstances; but no proper provision had been made, either in England

* ‘Quarterly Review,’ No. xxxiii.

or in India, for a general and systematic education of such civil servants. These servants of the Company had now offices to fill very different from those allotted to them in the days when young Clive sat in a warehouse, making out invoices. Lord Wellesley said:—"The denominations of *writer, factor, and merchant*, by which the several classes of the civil service are still distinguished, are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of the duties discharged and of the occupations pursued by the civil servants of the Company. To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue through districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions in the world; these are now the duties of the larger portion of the civil servants of the Company. The senior merchants, composing the Courts of Circuits and Appeal under the presidency of Bengal, exercise in each of these courts a jurisdiction of greater local extent, applicable to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely more intricate and numerous, than that of any regularly constituted court of justice in any part of Europe. The senior or junior merchant employed in the several magistracies and zillah courts, the writers or factors filling the stations of registrars and assistants to the several courts and magistrates, exercise, in different degrees, functions of a nature either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the administration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their respective districts. . . . Those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit; the mercantile title which they bear not only affords no description of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it. . . . The civil servants of the East-India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern; they are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign. . . . They are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces

Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the manners of its inhabitants."*

He proposed that the institution should contain professors of ethics, jurisprudence, law of nations, English law, classical literature, the modern languages of Europe, history, geography, and the physical sciences. He made a good beginning, and appointed some able teachers of the Oriental languages, laws, and the like; but his plan was considered as too expensive, and was objected to upon other grounds. The college of Fort William was reduced to little more than a seminary for the instruction of the Bengal civil servants in the languages used in that presidency. But, at home, the East-India college of Haileybury arose soon after.

Lord Wellesley's strenuous efforts were also directed to the extension of the commerce and commercial intercourse of India, and to the commencement and formation of those important financial reforms which in the course of a few years doubled the revenues of the Company, with advantage to British commerce and without injustice or oppression to the natives. He saw that the employment of cheap India-built ships in the trade with Europe would be of equal advantage to England and to India; and therefore he prepared so to employ them, and gave encouragement to those who extended the building of country ships.

Warren Hastings himself was not more indifferent to money for his own use and profit: though, for his rank and station, Lord Wellesley was a poor man when he embarked for the East, he returned to England, after seven years' residence in India, little or not at all richer. On the fall of Seringapatam, the sum of £100,000 was set apart for his share of the spoil; but he wished to encourage the army, and to reward it well for the labours of the campaign, and he gave up every farthing of that money to the troops. Where there was so much that was high and noble, petty faults ought never to be looked for, or ought to be forgotten if discovered. His administration in India was not only

* Rev. T. R. Malthus, 'Statement respecting the East-India College,' &c. Marquis Wellesley, 'Minute relative to the College of Fort William.' Thomas Roebuck, captain in the Madras N.I. 'Annals of the College of Fort William,' &c. Calcutta, 1819.

brilliant, but also productive of lasting good ; and though his great political system, for making the power of England supreme, was interrupted for the time, it has been found absolutely necessary to carry it out under his successors. The same rules which justified his conduct with respect to Tippoo Sultaun and the Mahrattas, must be applied to subsequent and recent proceedings against the Mahrattas, the Burmese, the Afghans, the Seiks, and others, or those proceedings must be given up, as incapable of justification.

"The great success," says Sir John Malcolm, "which attended Lord Wellesley's administration of British India is, on a general view, calculated to excite astonishment : nor will that be diminished by a nearer contemplation of the manner in which he ruled the large empire committed to his charge. His great mind pervaded the whole ; and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed ; his authority was as fully recognized in the remotest parts of British India as in Fort William ; all sought his praise ; all dreaded his censure : his confidence in those he employed was unlimited ; and they were urged to exertion by every motive that can stimulate a good or proud mind to action. He was as eager to applaud as he was reluctant to condemn those whom he believed conscientious in the discharge of their public duty. It was the habit of his mind to be slow in council, but rapid in action ; and he expected the greatest efforts from those he employed in the execution of his measures, whom he always relieved from every species of vexatious counteraction and delay which could arise from the untimely intrusion of official forms, or the unreasonable pretensions of lesser authorities. It was, indeed, with him, a principle to clothe them with all the power they could require to effect those objects which they were instructed to attain ; and, though there can be no doubt of the great and extraordinary merit of the distinguished officers who commanded the British armies during his administration, it is to that liberal confidence, which gave them all the impression of the fullest power, and the most complete scope for the exercise of their judgment, that their unparalleled success is chiefly to be ascribed." *

The habit of contemplating objects of magnitude—and in the vast field of India nearly everything was large—of act-

* ' Political History of India.'

ing on a great scale, and of depending on their own abilities and resources, which, on account of distance from headquarters and other causes, they were frequently obliged to do; together with the necessity of finding intellectual occupation and amusement in remote up-country stations, had qualified many officers of the Company, both civil and military, to perform whatever duty might, on an emergency, be allotted to them. It was from among a class of men like these that the marquis selected his officers and agents, and they found their reward in his patronage, with inducements to farther improvement. These men, again, became objects of emulation to younger officers and civil servants; and thus both branches of the service were improved and elevated.

During the administration of Lord Wellesley, the establishments of the Anglican Church in India were enlarged and improved; without any offence being offered to the religious prejudices of the natives, missionaries were encouraged in their arduous efforts at conversion, and countenance and protection, and a most liberal hospitality, were bestowed on the learned and scientific men of all nations that visited or dwelt in India. The dark superstitions and revolting rites of the Hindūs could not be suppressed at one blow, or in a short series of years; any premature or rash attempt would have ruined our empire, and have deluged the country with European and native blood; but a commencement was made, and the horrible annual sacrifices of human victims at the island of Sagor, near one of the mouths of the Ganges, were suppressed.*

The marquis was not recalled; he voluntarily resigned. It is said that he had only been prevailed upon to retain the governor-generalship so long, at a most critical period of Indian history, by the earnest intercession of Mr. Pitt's government.† This, indeed, may be discerned in his lordship's despatches, and in those of his brother the duke.

* Sagor Island, on the east side of the Hooghly river, was a celebrated place of pilgrimage among the Hindūs, on account of the great sanctity arising from its situation at the junction of the holiest branch of the Ganges with the ocean. Many human sacrifices were in consequence annually performed of aged persons of both sexes, which were voluntary, and of children, which were forced. The periods fixed for the celebration of these sacrifices were, the full of the moon in November, and the fall of the moon in January.

† Lord Brougham, 'Statesmen of the Time of George III.' third series.

On reaching England the marquis was well received by the government of the day; but that government was fast approaching its dissolution, for Mr. Pitt was dying when he gave the hand of welcome to his noble friend, and he died a few days after the interview. The financial repinings of the Court of Directors seem to have died away on his return, though many years were allowed to pass before his merits were fully recognized, or before he received substantial marks of the gratitude of that body. When, in his old age, the marquis published his Indian despatches, the libraries of Calcutta, and of other presidencies, were, at the expense of the Court, liberally supplied with copies, and in an address which was unanimously voted to his lordship in the year 1837, the Directors said:—"To the eventful period of your lordship's government, the Court look back with feelings common to their countrymen; and, anxious that the minds of their servants should be enlarged by the instruction to be derived from the accumulated experience of eminent statesmen, they felt it a duty to diffuse widely the means of consulting a work unfolding the principles upon which the supremacy of Britain in India was successfully manifested and enlarged, under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult."

These Indian despatches, together with the first three volumes of the duke of Wellington's despatches which relate entirely to India, ought, indeed, to be consulted as oracles by all the servants of the Company, whether military or civil.

We did not, like the French, bastille, or gag and decapitate our great rulers in the East; but it had become a fashion with a certain portion of the British parliament to denounce the conduct of every active governor-general while in India, and to endeavour to get up an impeachment against him on his return to England. A very crack-brained person, named Paull, originally a tailor in Perth, who had lived some years in India as a trader, and who had there received sundry important favours from the governor-general, who had, in fact, saved the man from utter ruin at Lucknow,* stepped forward as chief accuser in the present instance,

* For the extent of Mr. Paull's obligations to the Marquis Wellesley, and for the warmth of the gratitude and the profound respect he had expressed for his lordship, see Mr. Paull's own letter to Major John Malcolm, dated Lucknow, 9th February, 1803, as printed by P. Auber, Esq., in the second volume of his work.

and did his little best to demonstrate that his lordship and his brother, the general, had committed deeds in India which ought to exclude them for ever from the honour of serving their country in any capacity. The ultra-oppositionists took Paull by the hand (to leave him, when his fortune was ruined, by political contests, to despair and suicide), and Sir Philip Francis did his usual spiriting. But the articles of impeachment against the noble marquis, presented by Paull, and supported by Francis and his party, and afterwards reproduced by Lord Folkestone, were thrown out by a large majority of the House of Commons, and were reprobated by the general sense of the nation. But these vexatious proceedings ran over a period of three years, during which Wellesley was exposed to obloquy and kept out of state service, for he would not accept the office of secretary for foreign affairs, which was offered to him, until the parliamentary proceedings were all over.*

* 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.' By Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., late secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East-India Company. Sir John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Political History of India.' Parliamentary Papers. The Marquis Wellesley's Ind. Despatches. For further information regarding Haileybury College, the reader is referred to, 'View of the System and Merits of the East-India College at Haileybury,' &c. &c. by Robert Graft. 'A Letter to the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East-India Company on the subject of their College at Haileybury.' By a Civilian. 'Statutes and Regulations for the Government of the East-India College. Printed by Order of the Honourable Court of Directors.' 1823.

For information regarding the Company's Military School at Addiscombe, see 'Memoir of the East-India Company's Military Seminary.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW had filled various subordinate offices in an able and honourable manner, and had deservedly acquired great reputation as a civil administrator. He had been a member of the supreme council during the last four years of the Wellesley administration, and was senior member when Lord Cornwallis died. By act and charter, the powers of government fell provisionally into Sir George's hands by this death. But the Court of Directors deemed Barlow a fit person to be confirmed in the office of governor-general, and the Board of Control approved of the measure, though only as a temporary arrangement. The death of Mr. Pitt had brought Mr. Fox and his friends into office, and these Whigs were desirous of nominating a governor-general out of their own party. The Court of Directors were anxious to retain Sir George Barlow, and pleaded their right to nominate the governor-general. Hence arose an angry collision at home between the king's government and the Court of Directors, and not a little confusion and obstruction to public business in India.

Sir George expressed his resolution to follow the peace policy which Lord Cornwallis, on his second appointment, had come out to promote. He urged that the British interests would be best promoted by throwing off a number of our allies, and by narrowing our connections. Indeed, he appears to have been animated by the wish which Lord Cornwallis had at one time expressed, that the English would never think of extending their frontier line beyond Benares. It was in this spirit that the recent treaties with the Mahrattas had been concluded. But Sir George, like others who had followed what was called the pacific system, thought it would be very advantageous to revive the contests and commotions which formerly prevailed among the states of Hindustan, and which kept all those states poor and weak,

except the Mahrattas. The war policy of Lord Wellesley was not a tenth part so destructive of human happiness as this base peace policy: then a few great battles decided the contest, but now an interminable series of hostilities was to be kept up among the natives; then war had been deprived of half its horrors by the discipline of the British troops and the Company's sepoys; but now all the atrocities of the Mahratta mode of warfare were to be let loose, in order to save the Company the *sin* and the *expense* of waging war or maintaining troops in Upper Hindustan. Lord Wellesley had exposed, in spirited language, the dishonour—the abomination of this policy. “In the termination of hostilities,” said he, “my solicitude has been directed to the important purpose of effecting a general pacification of India, on principles of reciprocal justice and moderation. The power, reputation, and dignity of the British empire in India will derive additional security and lustre from the establishment of peace and good order among the native states. In the decline of intrinsic strength, inferior states may, perhaps, have gained a temporary safety by fomenting the discord of contiguous powers; but in any extremity such a policy is unwarrantable and disgraceful, nor can permanent repose be secured upon such precarious foundations.”*

Upon finding themselves abandoned to the mercy of the Mahrattas, the rajah of Jypoor, the rajah of Boondee, and others of our allies, exclaimed against the bad faith of the English, and materially injured the reputation of the Company. Other small states, threatened by Scindiah or by Holkar, called for a protection which Sir George Barlow would not afford, lest he should involve himself in hostilities with the Mahrattas. Scindiah, far from resting satisfied with the very advantageous treaty which he had obtained when his fortunes were desperate, lost no time in advancing claims to more and more territory. The province of Berar suffered severely from inroads made by the Pindarree robbers, who were encouraged by Scindiah; and it was in vain that the people applied for the protection of the British. Yet General Wellesley had made a treaty with the rajah of Berar, in which the Company was bound to afford protection. Terrible dissensions arose among the Rajpoot chiefs, which threatened to plunge the whole of Rajpootana into anarchy

* ‘Wellesley Despatches,’ &c. Reply to the address of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, on the 29th of February, 1804.

and misery ; but Sir George declined interfering, even as a mediator. Other commotions began to rage in various and distant parts of the country ; and, if this peace policy had been pursued much longer, every part of India not occupied by our troops, would have been in a blaze.

But the event which rendered memorable the brief administration of Sir George Barlow was the mutiny and massacre at Vellore.

Lord William Bentinck had succeeded Lord Clive as governor of Madras, at the end of August, 1803, and had immediately set on foot various reforms, or changes which were called reforms by his lordship's friends, and dangerous innovations by those who did not agree with him. So long as the Marquis Wellesley and his brother, the general, were in India, this reforming spirit was kept in check ; but after their departure, it took its own course. When it had failed, it was urged by his friends, that, in the particular reform which caused the terrible disaster, Lord William Bentinck had very little to do, and that it originated with Sir John Cradock, afterwards Lord Howden, who became, in 1805, commander-in-chief of the forces in the Madras presidency ; but it should appear that Lord William, who showed himself, at a later period, and in other countries besides India, a very impatient reformer, was rather zealous in enforcing Cradock's plan. His lordship fully approved of a code of military regulations drawn up by Major Pearce, the deputy adjutant-general, under the directions of General Sir John Cradock, and which contained regulations of a nature highly offensive to the prejudices of the native troops. Among these offensive regulations were the following—the sepoys were required to clip their moustaches, to appear on the parade with their chins clean-shaved, and never to wear the distinguishing marks of caste on their forehead, or their ear-rings when in uniform. A turban of a new fashion, and of one unvarying cut, was also ordered for the sepoys.

Very soon these Madras sepoys were found to be as angry as the Russian Strelitz had been when Peter the Great first took them by the beard. A battalion of their 4th regiment, which then composed part of the garrison of Vellore, in the fortress of which the family of the late Tippoo Sultan still resided, upon being called upon (on the 6th and 7th of May, 1806) to wear the new regulation turban, became disorderly, and vowed they would wear no such

abomination.* Sir John Cradock held a court of inquiry, broke the native non-commissioned officers, and left two men to receive 900 lashes each. The governor in council regretted that the turban order had ever been adopted, but agreed with Sir John Cradock that to revoke the order would be to commit the authority and respect due to those who had issued it. The governor in council, however, drew up a general order to the native troops, containing the most positive assurances, that "no intention existed to introduce any change incompatible with the laws or usages of their religion." But Sir John Cradock thought it unnecessary to publish this general order, and, in an unhappy moment, the governor in council adopted his opinion, and the order was not published at all. A very few days after Sir John had assured Sir George Barlow that the reports received about the discontents of the sepoys had been greatly exaggerated, the massacre of Vellore was perpetrated.

It appears, beyond a doubt, that there were other elements of discord besides the beards and turbans. The lesson taught by the wild outbreak of Vizier Ali at Benares had been thrown away upon our Indian governments, for the family of Tippoo and their numerous adherents had not only been allowed to remain at so short a distance from the fron-

* I have before me a description of the turban, and an account of the troubles to which it gave rise, written by an English officer on the staff of the naval commander-in-chief, who was at Madras at the time of the insurrection :

"The turban was made of English broadcloth, covering a slight iron frame; the only other material employed was a small cockade of leather, to which some objected, suspecting it to be the skin of a hog, which is an impure animal, though the chief dislike arose from a fancy that the whole resembled a hat, which particularly marks a European.

"The author was at that period at Madras, and well remembers that the sentries at his own door mounted guard for some days with a shawl or handkerchief bound about the head, rather than wear this hateful turban. In no other respect did the troops at the presidency show any disposition to resist the authority of their officers, though considerable pains were taken by the malcontents to instigate them to mutiny."—'Massacre of Vellore,' in the 'Plain Englishman,' vol. ii., London and Windsor, 1821.

The excellent officer and man who furnished this article—Edward Hawke Locker, esq., late commissioner of Greenwich Hospital—was joint editor with Mr. Charles Knight, of the 'Plain Englishman.'

The article contains a most interesting narrative of the insurrection, drawn up by the widow of the murdered Colonel Fancourt, who, with her children, narrowly escaped sharing the fate of her husband.

tier of their own country, but had also been indulged with a liberty of intercourse and correspondence which might easily be abused. The splendour which the sons of Tippoo were enabled, by the liberality of the Company, to keep up, attracted a continual influx of visitors, including all that came to Vellore from the countries which had once belonged to their father. Among these men were very many who had lost by the change which had taken place in Mysore, who hated the tranquillity which we had introduced into their country, and who longed for the old days of rapine and violence. It is believed that these desperadoes contributed to get up a regular conspiracy, and to facilitate the execution of the daring design. It is said that the confederates intended that all who were brought to join in the insurrection should act upon a preconcerted plan, which had been digested and privately circulated by some of the turbulent Marawa chiefs; and that in connection with these desperadoes were some few Frenchmen, disguised as fakeers or dervishes, who went about the country inveighing everywhere against the English as robbers and tyrants.* It is also stated that placards were fixed up within the mosques and Hindū temples, where Europeans never entered, to excite a general spirit of revolt among the whole native population of Madras.†

Colonel Fancourt, an experienced and brave soldier, who commanded the garrison of Vellore, was taken completely by surprise. He was in bed and asleep at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, when the conspirators began the massacre by attacking the European part of the garrison, which consisted of only four companies of his majesty's 69th regiment. The mutinous sepoys being joined by colliers, or professional robbers, from Marawa, by the rabble of Vellore, a large and populous town, and by other desperadoes, were as ten to one to the British soldiers of the 69th, who, moreover, were taken as completely by surprise as was Colonel Fancourt. Several warnings had been

* Biographical Memoir of the late Major-General Sir R. R. Gillespie, as cited in the 'East-India Military Calendar; containing the Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army.'

† Massacre of Vellore, in the 'Plain Englishman.'

The police must have been carelessly managed, for many hundreds of vagrants, fakeers, dervishes, jugglers, and the like, had been allowed to settle in the town, and to live upon the bounty of the Mysorean princes.

given, but none had been heeded. Except the ordinary weak night-guards, men and officers were in their beds. Just as the moon had risen above the horizon, the European barracks were silently surrounded; and then a most destructive fire was poured in at every door and window, from musketry and a six-pounder, upon the poor defenceless soldiers. At the same moment the European soldiers doing duty with some of the sepoy on the main guard, and even the sick in the hospital, were assaulted and inhumanly butchered. This being done, the assassins hastened to the houses of the British officers, where they put to death all who fell into their hands. Colonel Fancourt, Colonel MacKerras, Major Armstrong, Major Marriot, and eleven other officers, and about 100 British soldiers were massacred, and some officers and a good many more men were wounded. At about seven o'clock in the morning, two English officers and a surgeon, whose quarters were near to the European barracks, contrived to get into that building, and there they took the command of the remains of the four companies of the 69th regiment. These few men soon made a sally from the barracks, gained possession of a six-pounder, which the mutineers had been using, fought their way through their assailants, and reached the ramparts and a gateway, on the top of which Serjeant Brodie, with a small European guard, had made a long and most gallant stand. This Brodie was the hero of the night, for he had fought on and maintained his post several hours after all his officers had been killed.

Such was the state of things—a handful of English soldiers keeping possession of the top of the gateway and a corner of the ramparts, and the mutineers and the rabble committing havoc in the town—when Colonel Gillespie, who commanded at Arcot, received the dismal intelligence of what was doing at Vellore. Colonel Fancourt and Gillespie were old friends and fellow-soldiers, having served together in the West Indies, and they had been made happy by being stationed near to each other in the Carnatic. Gillespie had appointed to dine with his friend and family on the preceding day, and to sleep in their quarters at Vellore; but just as he mounted his horse to ride over, some letters had arrived from the government, and these requiring immediate answers, compelled him to send an excuse and postpone his visit till the morrow.

Had it not been for the imperative circumstance of duty which detained him at Arcot, Colonel Gillespie would almost inevitably have shared the catastrophe of his brave friend. On the morning of the 10th he mounted his horse at six o'clock, with the intention of riding over to Vellore in time for breakfast. It was at this instant that he received the news of the tragic fate of Colonel Fancourt, and of the horrors that were still prevailing. Not a moment was to be lost; and, therefore, collecting instantly a troop of the 19th dragoons, whose horses were already saddled, and ordering the galloper-guns to follow with all possible speed, he applied the spur and went off at the racing pace. The distance from Arcot to Vellore is about sixteen English miles. It was seldom performed in so short a time. So eager was Colonel Gillespie to reach the place, that he was considerably in advance of his troop of dragoons, when Serjeant Brodie, who had burned almost his last cartridge, descried him from the top of the gateway. Brodie, who had served with him in St. Domingo, turned to his drooping comrades and said, "If Colonel Gillespie be alive, here he is at the head of the 19th dragoons, and God Almighty has sent him from the West Indies, to save our lives in the East!" Regardless of his own safety, and in the face of a furious fire, poured upon him from the walls and close round towers, the colonel pushed towards the bastion and the gateway. There, a chain, formed of the soldiers' belts, being let down by Serjeant Brodie, the colonel grasped it, and was pulled up the face of the work. The poor survivors of the 69th welcomed him as a deliverer; and, at his word of command they promptly formed, charged with the bayonet, and drove the mutineers from that part of the works. Gillespie then waited till his dragoons and galloper-guns came up. Upon their arrival, orders were given to blow open the gate, and, this being done, the dragoons dashed through the gateway into the fortress, and were soon followed by some native cavalry of Fort St. George, who were quartered at Arcot. The mutineers and insurgents were numerous, and they were desperate: they seemed determined to maintain the battle in the interior of the fortress; but the sudden charge of our cavalry, and then the fire of our gallopers, broke them and dispersed them. From 300 to 400 were cut to pieces on the spot; some hundreds threw down their arms and cried for quarter, while the rest fled in all directions. A

considerable number escaped through the sally-port; but some hundreds were taken in hiding-places and imprisoned. The disaffection had not reached the native cavalry, for they charged as fiercely as our own horse, and their sabres were as deeply stained as those of the English dragoons with the blood of their misguided mutinous countrymen.*

The standard of Tippoo Sultaun had been hoisted on the palace within the fortress almost as soon as the insurrection broke out, and no doubt was entertained that the sons of Tippoo, who inhabited that palace, were partakers in the plot. Colonel Gillespie felt so well assured of this fact, that in the first emotions of indignation and horror occasioned by the death of his dear friend Fancourt, and the shocking spectacle which presented itself on all sides, he would have consented to the demands of our enraged soldiers, who were bent upon entering the palace. But he yielded to the entreaties of some of the persons who had the care of the Tippoo family; and though he could not be persuaded of their innocence, he condescended to take the Mysorean princes under his protection; and he sent them shortly after with a good guard down to Madras. It was reported and believed in the army, that, if Colonel Gillespie had not acted with such promptness and spirit, the insurgents, in the course of a few days, would have been joined by 50,000 men from Marawa, Mysore, and other parts.†

Two of the princes were clearly convicted of having tampered with the garrison previously to the mutiny. They were all treated as prisoners, and, in a very short time, shipped off for Calcutta. Hundreds had been cut to pieces in the fight by the 19th dragoons and the Madras native cavalry; but the punishment of the mutineers who were captured was not cruel or excessive. A general court-martial sentenced a few to death, as having been the most culpable in the massacres. The executions took place under circumstances of peculiar solemnity. On the firing of a signal gun, a certain number were hanged, and others shot by their comrades or blown from the mouths of

* "We state this fact," says a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' "upon the high authority of a respectable officer, who belonged to the 19th dragoons, and was with them on this memorable occasion."—No. xxxvi.

† Biographical memoirs of the late Major-General Sir R. R. Gillespie, as quoted in the 'East-India Military Calendar.'

cannon, at the same instant, in presence of all the troops. The spectacle struck horror along the whole line. But the abandonment of the objectionable regulations proved the most effectual means of re-establishing discipline and the public tranquillity.*

Lord William Bentinck and General Sir John Cradock were recalled by the Court of Directors as soon as the tragedy at Vellore was known in England.

By too strictly and suddenly enforcing orders of retrenchment and economy, Sir George Barlow spread discontent through the whole army, Europeans and natives, officers and men. Perhaps our empire in the East was never in more real danger than during this short "pacific" administration, some of the evils of which were severely felt by Sir George's successor.†

* Account, in the 'Plain Englishman.'

† Professor H. H. Wilson, 'Continuation of Mill's History of British India.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

A DISPUTE at home as to the appointment of governor-general ended in a curious compromise. Ministers gave up Lord Lauderdale, whom they had wished to force upon the Company, the Court of Directors gave up Sir George Barlow, whom they had wished to retain, and, by mutual consent, Lord Minto, president of the Board of Control, was named governor-general.

Though nominated in July, 1806, Lord Minto did not reach India until July, 1807.

Having touched at Madras, his lordship reached Calcutta and entered upon the business of his high office at the beginning of August, Sir George Barlow condescending to accept the inferior appointment of governor of Madras.

Lord Minto, when Sir Gilbert Elliott, had been one of the bitterest enemies of Warren Hastings, and had taken a most active part on the impeachment and trial of that great man. Like some of his predecessors, he had come out to India impressed with the notions that our true policy was non-interference, that no attempt ought to be made to extend the limits of our possessions or to increase the number of our connections with the native princes. No man had inveighed more bitterly than he against the ambitious, encroaching, aggrandizing spirit of Mr. Hastings, or had dwelt more pathetically on the wrongs done to the native princes. Yet his lordship had not been many days on the banks of the Hooghly ere he confessed that the security of our empire depended upon the actual superiority of our power, upon the sense which the natives entertained of that power, and upon the submissiveness of our neighbours, and before he had been many months in India, he found himself under the necessity of interfering in the internal affairs of our neighbour and ally, the nizam of the Deckan, whom he soon reduced to be a mere cipher in his

own capital. The nizam's minister, Meer Alum, died. The nizam wished to appoint Moonir-ul-Mulk his successor; but the government of Bengal preferred Rajah Chundu Loll, as being more favourably disposed towards the English interests, and by virtue of their military force at Hyderabad the rajah was appointed, and from this moment the nizam ceased to take any active part in public affairs.

In another direction Lord Minto saw the necessity of departing from the non-interference system; and, though he declined more extensive engagements, he assisted the peishwa in reducing to submission some of his refractory tributaries. His lordship also was made to feel that our ally, the rajah of Berar, had been unfairly and impolitically abandoned by Sir George Barlow's treaties with Scindiah and Holkar, and at the call of the rajah, or at the alarming prospect of fresh invasions and convulsions on or near to the Company's frontiers, he prepared to establish a permanent force on the Nerbuddah river, far in advance of the frontier line which Sir George Barlow had fixed as our *ne plus ultra*. And this advance was indeed absolutely necessary to our preservation and to the tranquillity of our dominions. The Patan chief, Meer Khan, who had joined Holkar, and had given so much trouble to Lord Lake and our pursuing cavalry during the siege of Bhurtpoor, after committing many wholesale murders, and making various invasions, was threatening, with a mixed army of Patans, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Pindarrees, to overrun the whole of Berar, and to press upon the Company's territories.* He was advancing towards Najpoor, a large town in the Gundwana province, when a British force, under the command of Colonel Barry Close, met him and drove him back. Had he not been impeded by orders from the governor-general, Close would have followed up the savage and have destroyed him,—a measure as necessary as the destruction of Dhoondiah Waugh by General Wellesley. As matters stood, Meer Khan was allowed to withdraw into Malwa, in order to desolate that interesting country, to collect there more Pindarree robbers, and to re-appear at a more opportune moment.

Active warfare was also waged in Baroda and Guzerat, in reducing some turbulent chieftains, and in preventing the

* For an account of the atrocities of this Meer Khan, and of his treacherous massacre of the Rajpoot chief Sevae Sing, and 500 of his followers, see Sir John Malcolm, 'Memoir of Central India.'

crime of infanticide, which was very prevalent in that part of India. The troops under Colonel Walker planted the Company's flag in several places where it had never floated before, captured the fort of Kindador, stormed that of Mallia, and extended our real dominion on the side of the Guicowar's territory, and over one of the most flourishing tracts in Hindustan.

The renewed alarm about the designs of Bonaparte upon our Eastern empire forced Lord Minto into many embassies, and into a great extension of diplomatic relations, and it was now that the Indian government for the first time courted a close connection with the Afghans and the ameers of Scinde. At the close of the year 1807, it was confidently reported that the French, who had for a time destroyed our influence at Petersburg, Constantinople, and Teheran, entertained the design of invading India with the co-operation of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. This was a fantastical hydra, a mere chimera; nevertheless the apprehensions which it excited were real and rather lasting.

Two hardy, fierce, and warlike nations, the Afghans and the Seiks of Scinde, occupied the countries which lie between Persia and Upper India, and through which the invaders must advance. These two nations had been mortal enemies to each other; but Lord Minto courted the alliance and friendship of both. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had risen rapidly in the Company's service, and had given proofs of eminent abilities as resident at the Mahratta court of Poonah, was despatched as ambassador extraordinary to the Afghan court of Cabul.

Zemaun Shah, who had twice invaded Upper India, and against whom our diplomacy and the mission of Sir John Malcolm had armed the Persians, had long ceased to reign, having been betrayed by his own family, and dethroned and then blinded by Prince Mahmood. Shujah-ul-Mulk, the full brother of Zemaun Shah, made war upon Mahmood, drove him from Cabul, and placed himself upon the throne. His success was owing to his being in possession of almost all the jewels and other property of the crown, which had been committed to his charge by his brother Zemaun. Between the years 1800 and 1809 some half-dozen more revolutions or civil wars had taken place, but when Mr. Elphinstone and his splendid embassy reached the court, Shujah-ul-Mulk was in possession of the throne: He was a

handsome man, about thirty years of age, of an olive complexion, with a thick black beard. "The expression of his countenance," adds our distinguished elchee, "was dignified and pleasing, his voice clear, and his address princely. We thought at first that he had on armour of jewels; but, on close inspection, we found this to be a mistake, and his real dress to consist of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold and precious stones, over which were a large breastplate of diamonds shaped like two flattened fleurs-de-lis, an ornament of the same kind on each thigh, large emerald bracelets on the arms (above the elbow), and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the Koh-i-noor, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world.*

But in the midst of all this barbaric show, our quick-sighted elchee saw that many things fell far short of his expectations, that "all bore less the appearance of a state in prosperity than of a splendid monarchy in decay;" and that "nothing could exceed the meanness and rapacity of his majesty of Cabul's officers."† At this moment, though seated on the throne, Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk was not in possession of his own capital, and the embassy was received, not at the city of Cabul, but at Peshawar; and civil war, or a war of clans, was raging in all the countries between the cities of Cabul and Candahar. Nevertheless Mr. Elphinstone ably did what he was sent to do; and in June, 1809, he concluded a treaty with Shujah-ul-Mulk, in which the co-operation of the Afghans was promised against the designs of the French, who were declared in the treaty to have entered into a confederacy against the kingdom of Cabul with ulterior views on India. The English, of course, bound themselves

* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 'Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India; comprising a View of the Afghaan Nation, and a History of the Dooraanee Monarchy.'

† "Lord Minto had sent many splendid presents to the king. The Afghan officers who received charge of these presents kept the camels on which some of them were sent, and even seized four riding camels which had entered the palace by mistake. They stripped Mr. Elphinstone's elephant-drivers of their livery; and gravely insisted that two English footmen, who were sent to put up the chandeliers, were part of the governor-general's present to their shah.

"His Afghan majesty himself seems to have been rather craving; for having admired the English silk stockings worn by Mr. Elphinstone and the gentlemen of his suite, he sent a message desiring that some might be given to him."—'Account of the Kingdom of Caubul,' &c.

to pay for this co-operation, or to provide for the expense this new ally might incur in preventing the French and other enemies of the English from traversing his dominions and entering upon India.

The state of affairs was much too critical to allow the English embassy to prolong their stay. The king was about to take the field with a numerous but disorderly army; and on the 14th of June Mr. Elphinstone and his retinue commenced their return towards the Indus. They had not travelled four miles from Peshawer ere they were plundered by a band of robbers, of a mule loaded with fine shawls, and with rupees to the amount of about £1,000 sterling. On the 20th of June they crossed the broad Indus at Attock.* In three marches from the southern bank of the Indus, they reached the valley of Hussein Abdaul, famous in all ages for its beauty, and which had been a favoured resting-place of the Great Moguls on their annual migrations to Cashmere, that garden in perpetual spring, that land of lakes, cool streams and cascades, of the violet, the rose, and the lily, where the song of the nightingale is sweetest, where the women are fair-complexioned and beautiful. Here, in the famed valley of Hussein Abdaul, they were to await the decision of the fate of the kingdom of Cabul; but here Mr. Elphinstone received orders to return immediately to the British provinces. It was, however, necessary to wait for a letter from Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, now in the field, and also to settle with the Seiks about a passage through their territories, which at first the ameers positively refused. This occasioned a halt of ten days in the beautiful valley. As they were about to resume their journey, with the permission of the Seiks, the fugitive harem of Shujah-ul-Mulk arrived close to their camp. This boded no good to our new ally. The next day Mr. Elphinstone received a letter from the unfortunate shah, who frankly stated that he had been defeated. It was afterwards ascertained that the king's army had been

* The Indus was here about 260 yards broad, and too deep and rapid to be correctly sounded. The embassy passed in boats; and, notwithstanding the violence of the stream, the boats passed quicker here than at any river they had yet crossed. They saw many of the country people crossing, or floating down the river, on the skins of oxen inflated, on which they rode astride, with a great part of their bodies in the water. This contrivance is also made use of on the Oxus; and it brought to Mr. Elphinstone's recollection the practice of the natives of these regions in the days of Alexander the Great, as described by Arrian.

suddenly attacked, as it was straggling or mixed with the baggage, in a mountain pass; that it had been defeated before the king could get from the rear to the front, and that his majesty had fled to the mountains. Prince Mahmood, who had dethroned and put out the eyes of Zemaun Shah, had at one time been the captive of Shujah-ul-Mulk, who had shut him up in the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabul, but had spared his eyes, a piece of clemency which he had afterwards reason to deplore, and which, as Mr. Elphinstone observes, was probably the first example of the sort in Afghanistan. It was a partisan of this Mahmood who had beaten the shah's army in the mountain defile. Another battle, in which Mahmood himself appears to have been present, was fought soon after, and, being again defeated, Shujah-ul-Mulk was compelled to fly with only thirty horsemen. Mahmood re-established his throne in Cabul, but the people of the city of Peshawer, and several powerful clans of mountaineers living in that neighbourhood, adhered to the cause of Shujah-ul-Mulk, who assembled a fresh army, and being aided by the subahdar of Cashmere, advanced once more against Shah Mahmood. Being again defeated, our unlucky ally fled to the south of the Indus, and took refuge in the fortress of Attock. Shah Mahmood, however, was foiled and beaten in his attempts against some of the mountain clans of Afghanistan, and quitted Attock. Shujah-ul-Mulk returned to Peshawer, and re-established his authority over the western part of those immense regions which are occupied by the Afghan race. But no authority among this wild people could be either strong or durable; other princes and chiefs revolted at the head of their tribes and partisans; and while some made war upon Shah Mahmood, who lived at Cabul, others made war upon Shujah-ul-Mulk, who lived at Peshawer. The monarchy, which had been so powerful under Zemaun Shah, was completely broken up. Nearly every mountain chief, and every great khan, became a sort of king on his own account. It was indeed idle to think of forming a treaty of a binding character with a state subject to such vicissitudes. Yet the trouble and expense of Mr. Elphinstone's embassy were not thrown away; they procured to us an extension of knowledge, a most admirable book, and such an acquaintance with the rugged country, and the more rugged clans and tribes that inhabited it, as ought to have left no fear of French, Russians, or Persians pene-

trating through it, even if they could traverse the deserts lying between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, and the wilds of Bokhara. And if the information which Mr. Elphinstone collected and gave to the world about the country and the people had been properly attended to, and had not been set aside by the confident dicta of a later and much less able observer, the lamentable catastrophe which befel our Afghanistan campaigns in 1841-2 would never have happened.

As Mr. Elphinstone was travelling through the Seik country, he was overtaken by Shujah-ul-Mulk's flying harem, and in the train of these women was the dethroned, blind, and helpless Zemaun Shah. Our truly honourable elchee, whose heart is as good as his head, waited upon the unhappy prince on the 10th of July, and treated him with the respect due to a monarch, whose reputation had, at one time, been widely spread both in Persia and in India. His valuable book contains an interesting account of the interview. Zemaun Shah spoke of reverses and great calamities as the common portion of kings, and alluded to the astonishing revolutions in the fortunes of princes. "Had he gone over all the history of Asia," says Mr. Elphinstone, "he could scarcely have discovered a more remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune than he himself presented, blind, dethroned, and exiled, in a country which he had twice subdued."* Mr. Hankey Smith was Lord Minto's ambassador to the ameers of Scinde, whose country was in as turbulent and lawless a state as Afghanistan. A treaty, or amicable arrangement, was, however, concluded on the 9th of August, 1809, the ameers pledging themselves to permit no enemy of the English to cross their territories, and to exclude the *tribe* of the French from settling in their country. Gholam Ali, then one of the most powerful of the ameers, wished the British to engage to assist him in conquering the neighbouring country of Cutch; but he was told that the British government had no desire to extend its dominions in any direction, or to aid their powers in

* 'Account of the Kingdom of Caubul,' &c.

I recommend this admirable work as containing a vast fund of various and correct information, and as presenting a model for all young writers who may have to describe a new or little-known country. I have paid a tribute to the excellence of the writer's heart; this, and the kindness and generosity of his nature, are visible in every chapter.

projects of conquest. As soon as the ameers found that no warlike assistance was to be expected from the English, they scorned the treaty and made plans for conquering Cutch without their aid.

The Rajah Runjeet Sing, now the ruler of Lahore, whose dominions included the Punjaub, and reached from the borders of Cashmere almost to the southern frontier of the province of Delhi, and whose subjects consisted of Seiks, Singhs, Jauts, Rajpoots, and other Hindûs of lower castes, and Mahometans, was making advances towards the confines of the Company's north-west frontier. Lord Minto opened some communications with him at the beginning of 1808; but it was found necessary to march a British force in that direction. The presence of Colonel Ochterlony and his disciplined troops had more effect than the governor-general's representations, in making Runjeet Sing express a warm desire to live in friendship with the English. Mr. Metcalfe was despatched to Lahore, and in August, 1809, a treaty was concluded with Runjeet Sing, who agreed not to attempt conquest or occupy territory to the south of the Sutledj; and to suspend immediately the siege of Multan, and certain other operations which he had commenced. The whole country of Lahore could, at this moment, have put 100,000 armed men on horseback. Runjeet Sing was much pleased with an English carriage and pair of horses which were presented to him, "to cement harmony;" but he was evidently chagrined at the governor-general's refusing to enter into his schemes of territorial aggrandizement.

But, in the groundless panic about invasion, Lord Minto's diplomacy extended far beyond India and Afghanistan. He sent into the dominions of the Shah of Persia, Colonel J. Malcolm, who had gained a high reputation by his conduct and success, in his previous embassy to that country. Malcolm was invested with plenipotentiary powers in Persia, the Persian Gulf, and Turkish Arabia, the separate political powers possessed by the Company's residents at Bagdad, Bussorah, and Bushire being for the time suspended. He was furnished with credentials as envoy, or ambassador of the governor-general to the coast of Persia, and to the divan of the pasha of Bagdad, in the event of his finding it practicable to proceed to either of those courts. This event seemed very hypothetical, for, after Admiral Sir Thomas Duckworth had forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and

had threatened Constantinople with bombardment, the Turks had thrown themselves entirely into the arms of the French; and, ever since the arrival, at the court of Teheran, of an embassy, and numerous French officers, from Bonaparte, the Persians had become even more Frenchified than were the Turks. Lord Minto could not have found a better agent than Malcolm for overcoming these difficulties.* But General Gardanne and his Frenchmen had gained such ground in the Persian court, that the Scottish elchee saw no chance of succeeding; and being wisely of opinion that it would do mischief, rather than good, to remain at Bushire, or to proceed to the capital in an humiliating condition, or without the certainty of being honourably received, Malcolm hastened back to Calcutta, and proposed to the governor-general a bold plan for overawing the impotent Persian court, and for procuring the speedy dismissal of Gardanne. This plan was to take possession of the island of Kismis, in the Persian Gulf, and to make it at once an emporium of commerce, a *dépôt* of military stores, and the seat of political negotiation. Lord Minto readily adopted the project, and Malcolm, by the month of January, 1809, was ready to start from Bombay for the Persian Gulf, with a force amounting to 2,000 men. Events, however, had occurred which rendered the sailing of this armament unnecessary.

The embassy of Gardanne and the prevalence it was obtaining, had determined the British government to send an

* After being rooted out of Egypt, Bonaparte seemed to think that he could injure our Eastern empire through the medium of Persia. On the 10th of September, 1807, the French mission for Teheran left Constantinople. It consisted of General Gardanne, the ambassador, his brother, who was *homme de lettres*, six engineer officers, two officers of artillery, and about a dozen other Frenchmen, mostly of the military species. Bonaparte constantly employed military men as his diplomatic agents. Gardanne and his subalterns went to work in the usual manner, by representing the English as the tyrants of the world, and the French as the friends of liberty and peace, and by prognosticating that the friendship and alliance between Napoleon the Great and the Persian shah would be everlasting, and attended with incalculable advantage to both of the high contracting parties. Gardanne seemed to be carrying everything before him, when Lord Minto hurried off Colonel Malcolm to the Persian Gulf. The French had been received at the court of Teheran with marked attention, and some of them had been employed to train a corps of Persians in discipline and tactics. The officers of the French mission were employed in every quarter, surveying the country and examining its resources. Some of them were casting cannon for the king. The Persians, at this time, were waging an unsuccessful war with the Russians.

envoy extraordinary from his majesty George III. to the Persian shah. Sir Harford Jones, who was selected for this service, reached Bombay on his way to the Persian Gulf. Here, for a time, he doubted what course he should pursue, as Malcolm intimated that an embassy, not backed by an armed force, might be subjected to Persian and to French insolence. But soon news arrived that the Persians were irritated against Gardanne for the non-performance of the promises about Russian restitution and evacuation. Sir Harford Jones therefore proceeded to the Persian Gulf, and landed in the shah's dominions. He carried presents from the king of Great Britain worth many thousand pounds; and he paraded these things, and made such a display of riches on the road, that the pauperized Persians took him for a second Aladdin, and the fame of his magnificence reached Teheran before he himself had got to Shiraz. The venal government of Persia hailed his approach with joy. "Mashallah," said the khans, "the English are not ruined; but the French are the grandfathers of lies, and have made us eat dirt!" Gardanne, with all his suite, was unceremoniously dismissed before the English mission had arrived at the capital. Sir Harford offered English money, as something more solid than Bonaparte's promises; the shah cheerfully accepted the subsidy, and concluded a treaty, by which he bound himself to have nothing more to do with the French. The king's ambassador was soon followed by the Company's ambassador. Colonel Malcolm—but without his armament—arrived at Bushire in February, 1810, and assumed the functions of envoy and plenipotentiary to the Persian court. He also met with a very gracious reception; but his residence was not of long duration, as another mission, with Sir Gore Ouseley at its head, was on the point of starting from England. The three missions of Malcolm, Jones, and Ouseley did much temporary good, and produced some benefits of an enduring nature, in the shape of various excellent and amusing books descriptive of Persia and its inhabitants. If we sum up the amount of our literary and scientific obligations to the servants of the East-India Company, and the many able men employed in traversing the countries of the East, in connection with the affairs of our Indian empire, the total amount will be found to be exceedingly large. Lord Minto, in addition to all the embassies we have mentioned,

negotiated with Nepal and Ava, and by these means more acquisitions of knowledge were obtained. The rajah of Nepal had long been a merciless despot in his own dominions, and a most troublesome neighbour to those of the Company. In 1806, some 1,600 of the rajah's oppressed subjects fled from Nepal into the British provinces; and, in 1808, a border-quarrel, or dispute about boundaries, took place between the rajah and the English. The governor-general, being prevented from making war by his instructions from home, and being led into the belief that it would be, at any time, an easy matter to bring the Nepaulese to reason, by giving him a sound beating, did nothing for the present. But in 1810, when the rajah, growing bolder in the impunity he enjoyed, seized upon some territories belonging to the zemindar of Bimnughur, a subject of the Company, the rajah was warned that force would be resorted to, unless he made immediate restitution. Force, however, was *not* employed *then*. At nearly the same time the dominant tribe or family of the Gorkhas, who were making conquests in some parts of Nepal, which they had not yet subdued, and waging a war of destruction upon the hill chiefs towards the Jumna and Sutledj, prepared to encroach upon some Seik chieftains south of the Sutledj, who were living under British protection. And in 1811, these fierce and warlike Gorkhas, who as they advanced erected forts and stockades, and strong lines of posts to secure what they had gained, overran the district of Kyndee or Kyndeenuggur, in the province of Behar, contiguous to the great Benares road, and erected a fort in the Company's territories. To such encroachments it was impossible to submit; and the governor-general apprised the Court of Directors that there was no hope of obtaining restitution and satisfaction from the Nepaulese and Gorkhas, except by force of arms. At the end of the year, some troops were sent to expel the encroachers; and in May, 1813, Major Bradshaw was deputed by the Company to settle the disputes about boundaries. But none but a precarious settlement could be made; and the confidence and insolence of the Gorkhas convinced Lord Minto that a little sooner or a little later, our pacific system must give way to an energetic war. Even while Major Bradshaw was at Bootwul, negotiating with the Nepaulese commissioners, fresh encroachments were attempted by that active and daring people.

Ava and the Burmese empire either held a direct sovereignty or exercised control over nearly one-half of the vast regions described in maps as India beyond the Ganges. The Burmese, the real masters of the soil, resembled the Chinese rather than the natives of Hindustan; but with the superior physical strength and activity of the Chinese, they had a much more warlike spirit than the subjects of the Celestial Empire. In civilization they were far beyond the Chinese, the people of Hindustan, or even the Siamese and Cochinchinese. By a series of conquests they had overthrown all the adjacent nations, and had advanced their frontier to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and close to the limits of the Company's territories. They proved but troublesome and encroaching neighbours. During Lord Wellesley's administration, in 1799, when the mass of the Anglo-Indian army was engaged in the last war against Tippoo Sultaun, the Burmese made frequent attacks, and were very troublesome on our then weak eastern frontier.* As exclusive and anti-social as the Chinese, and quite as proud and insolent in their bearing towards foreign envoys and foreigners of all classes, it was difficult to establish any intercourse with them, or to obtain, by pacific representations, any redress of grievances. Their government, too, was subject to frequent and sanguinary revolutions, insurrections, and rebellions, one tyrant being murdered and succeeded by another. In 1795, during the pacific administration of Sir John Shore, Colonel Symes was despatched on an embassy to the Golden Foot, or the Lord of the White Elephant; but little came of the mission, except a very interesting book of travels.† In the year 1809 a French

* Marquis Wellesley, 'Indian Despatches,' &c.

† Syme's 'Embassy to Ava,' &c. It was owing to certain transactions during Sir John Shore's spiritless administration, that the Burmese insolence increased. In 1795 a Burmese army of 5,000 men pursued three rebellious chiefs, or, as they termed them (and as they might be) robbers, right into the English district of Chittagong. A strong detachment was sent from Calcutta to oppose these Burmese; but the officer in command had orders to negotiate—not to fight. After some tedious negotiations, which ought not to have been allowed to occupy a single hour, the violators of our frontiers condescended to agree to retire; and they retired, accordingly, into their own country. Nor was this all. The three men who had taken refuge in our territories were subsequently given up to the Burmese, and two out of the three were put to death with atrocious tortures. "This acquiescence on the part of the English government had a very prejudicial effect on the subsequent conduct of the Burmese, for it

ship attacked a small island belonging to the Burmese, and the Golden Foot, not understanding the difference between French and English, sent a sort of mission to Calcutta to expostulate against the proceeding, and to demand satisfaction. As this seemed to open the door of the jealously-guarded court of Ava to some diplomatic intercourse, Lord Minto despatched Lieutenant Canning on an embassy. This officer reached Rangoon; and the king of Ava, from the midst of his white elephants, decreed that the Englishman should be allowed to proceed to the capital in all safety and honour; but the incursions into the Company's territories at Chittagong of a predatory tribe of Burmese, called the Mughs, and other untoward events, broke off an intercourse which could never have promised any very satisfactory result. Both our embassies to Ava appear to have been capital mistakes, for they exhibited to a semi-barbarous and vain-glorious people a number of Englishmen in a very humiliating condition, and in the attitude of supplicants.

Lieutenant Canning returned to Calcutta, and disputes continued to occur on the frontiers of Chittagong and Tippera. As they were not met by bayonets, the Burmese grew more and more audacious; and, at the time when Lord Minto gave up his authority in India to the earl of Moira, the King of the World and the Lord of the White Elephant was threatening to march with 40,000 soldier-pilgrims from Ava to Benares.

During this peace-seeking administration violent disturbances, and even an open mutiny, broke out in the Madras establishment. Sir George Barlow, as governor-general, had carried his economy too far with regard to the army, and Sir George was now governor of Madras, and equally intent upon reductions and savings. Factions also displayed themselves among the civil servants at Madras, and, for a long time, that council appears to have been as divided and violent as the supreme council at Calcutta in the days when Warren Hastings was opposed by Francis, Clavering, and Monson. One party at Madras took part with the discontented army. I cannot, in this epitome, afford room for the discussion of these alarming transactions. They had a tendency to destroy, in brief time, the splendid empire which had been impossible to convince this most self-important people that the men were given up from any other motive than that of fear."—Walter Hamilton, 'East-Indian Gazetteer.'

raised, in many years, by so much wisdom and valour, and at the cost of the lives of so many brave men : I believe I am justified, by all that I have read upon the subject, in believing that some portion of blame attaches to every party—to his majesty's government and Court of Directors at home, to Lord Minto at Calcutta, to Sir George Barlow at Madras, and the party there which opposed Sir George—to nearly all classes of the civilians as well as to the military on that establishment. But, with my notions of military discipline and subordination, I can find no excuse for British officers who rose in arms against the civil power—and to this extremity our officers on the Madras establishment did certainly proceed.

Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall, of the king's service, who had been named commander-in-chief of the coast army in lieu of Sir John Cradock (who had certainly contributed to the mutiny at Vellore), claimed a seat in the Madras council, and had his claim sternly refused by Sir George Barlow. The general very soon complained that military arrangements were made in the council without any military knowledge, and without consulting him, the commander-in-chief. He even accused the governor of usurping his military authority.

Colonel Munro, the quartermaster-general, had been charged, during Lord William Bentinck's government, to draw up a report upon the eligibility of abolishing a certain monthly allowance, which it had been the practice to grant to the commanders of native corps for the provision of camp equipage, and which was thence commonly called "the Tent Contract." Munro prepared a detailed report on the subject, in which he expressed an opinion very adverse to the continuance of the practice, which he described as a system which "placed the interest and the duty of officers in direct opposition to each other." Lord William Bentinck and General Sir John Cradock had both approved the report, which had been transmitted to the supreme government in Bengal, with a strong recommendation that "the Tent Contract" should be universally abolished. The report received the sanction of the supreme government, and directions were sent to Madras to carry it into effect. It was by virtue of these instructions of the supreme government at Calcutta that Sir George Barlow, who had succeeded to the post of governor of Madras, abolished "the Tent Contract," by a general

order, dated May, 1808. The British officers commanding native corps took great offence. They afterwards took pains to prove that the seat of the quarrel was not in the purse—that the abolition of the old monthly allowance for camp equipage was, in a pecuniary light, no sensible evil to them, and that their dissatisfaction and mutiny did not originate in motives of so sordid a nature, but proceeded from the sense of other injuries, and of many insults offered either to themselves or to their commander-in-chief, General Macdowall. They said, for example, that Colonel Munro's report conveyed an insinuation unfavourable and outrageous to the honour of their whole body. Macdowall might be a hot-headed, but he certainly was not a low-minded or mercenary man. Though smarting under other injuries, or under things which he considered as injuries, he cared not a straw about the emoluments of "the Tent Contract." Numerous letters of complaint were addressed to him by his officers; but he always replied that the question had been settled before he came to the command, and that the matter ought to be considered as now at rest. The officers, however, prepared charges against the quartermaster-general, Colonel Munro, for having made (in his report) use of false and infamous insinuations, injurious to their reputation; and demanded that he should be brought to a court-martial. For more than two months the commander-in-chief did nothing in the matter; but, when his own quarrel with the Madras government about his exclusion from the council, etc. reached its climax, he very unexpectedly put Colonel Munro under arrest. But for Macdowall's exclusion from the council-board, and the other wrongs of which he complained, the discontents of the officers under his command would, in all probability, have died out in a few murmurs.

The army now fully took up the quarrel of the commander-in-chief, and Sir George Barlow espoused the cause of the arrested quartermaster-general. Sir George and his colleagues peremptorily ordered the release of that officer. General Macdowall answered that he could not comply; that the question was strictly military, and that he could not evade bringing it to issue before a court-martial without committing the honour of the whole Madras army. Hereupon the civil government liberated the military prisoner by its own authority.

Upon this—on the 28th of January, 1809—Macdowall

embarked for England, having previously forwarded to the governor in council an address to the Court of Directors from sundry officers of the Madras army, who complained of several grievances, and amongst them of the exclusion of their commander-in-chief from a seat in council. Macdowall also left behind him a general order, in which the conduct of the quartermaster-general was strongly condemned. The deputy adjutant-general, Major Boles, in the absence of his senior, complied with the injunction or the wish of the departed commander-in-chief, who had gone away without leaving his formal resignation, and issued the general order. The governor in council then suspended the deputy adjutant-general, and issued a general order of their own, declaring that General Macdowall was removed from the office of commander-in-chief. Colonel Capper, the adjutant-general, informed the governor that he, and not Major Boles, was the responsible person; as the paper would have been issued under his signature if he had not been engaged in accompanying the commander-in-chief on board ship. Sir George Barlow then, without removing the suspension from Major Boles, suspended Colonel Capper also. A considerable portion of the officers of the Madras army drew up, and circulated for signatures, a memorial to Lord Minto, as governor-general, repeating their grievances and condemning the treatment which their commander-in-chief had received from the civil power. The same officers also drew up a flattering address to the deputy adjutant-general, whom Sir George Barlow had suspended. This was looked upon by the Madras government as downright mutiny; and on the 1st of May, 1809, another general order was issued, severely censuring the officers who had circulated the two offensive papers, removing some of them from their particular commands and suspending others altogether. This spread the flames, instead of extinguishing them. In Travancore, at Masulipatam, Seringapatam, Hyderabad, and other stations, they burst into open mutiny. Blood was shed—and in no small quantity—in Mysore; for, as a mutinous battalion was marching from Chitteldroog to join the mutineers at Seringapatam, they encountered resistance from a body of dutiful troops, and fired upon and received the fire of their own countrymen or friends and fellow-soldiers. From 200 to 300 sepoys were killed or wounded. This was a most dangerous spectacle to exhibit to the native army and

inhabitants ! It was the inevitable conviction of this danger that brought the English officers rapidly to their senses.

First, those at Hyderabad submitted to the voice of the civil authority, and their example was soon followed at all the other stations. Colonel Barry Close, who was at the time political resident at the Mahratta court of Poonah, behaved with admirable skill, firmness, and courage. At the voice of the supreme government, he flew from Poonah to Hyderabad ; and, although he did not succeed in the first instance, the sepoys obeying their mutinous English officers, and pointing their muskets and bayonets against him and his escort, his heroic bearing, his prudent advice, and his evident and great eagerness to prevent the effusion of blood, soon produced a great and healing effect. Other superior officers and servants of the Company behaved most admirably at this moment of crisis. In Mysore, Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, the commanding officer, and the Honourable Arthur Cole, resident at the court of the rajah (though Davis was enfeebled by sickness, and Cole but a very young man), conducted themselves with rare prudence, wisdom, and fearlessness, and contributed very essentially to the restoration of order and the prevention of sanguinary extremities. Colonel Gibbs and Colonel Montresor also distinguished themselves greatly under circumstances more difficult than any that English officers had been placed under in India.

Lord Minto, very laudably, went to Madras, whence all the mischief had sprung, but before he reached that presidency (on the 11th of September) all signs of the mutiny were over, except the feelings of contrition of those who had been engaged in it. His lordship applauded "the inflexible firmness of Sir George Barlow, which had preserved the authority of legal government unbroken and unimpaired ;" and reprobated the recent revolt, of which the object had been to overawe and control the civil government. Many of the mutinous officers were very young men, who had believed that they were doing right in supporting their commander-in-chief, who held the king's commission. Only a few were punished in any way. Macdowall, who had been so long living in a fire, perished in water, the ship in which he took his passage being lost at sea. If he had reached England alive, he would probably have been subjected to some severe punishment or ruinous prose-

cution. Yet the Court of Directors seemed to acknowledge that they had been in the wrong in opposing the wish of the Board of Control and refusing Macdowall a seat in the council, for they lost no time in giving a seat in the council to their new Madras commander-in-chief, Sir Samuel Auchmuty. Mr. Petrie, who led the opposition in council, was recalled, and a minority of the Court of Directors would have recalled Sir George Barlow likewise, but he was warmly supported by Mr. Perceval's cabinet, and by the majority of the court, who declared that he had come out manfully from a desperate contest with the military, who had long been disorderly at Madras, and who had aimed at nothing short of erecting their own power as supreme over the civil power.*

* A detail of these unhappy proceedings, which were terminated much sooner than might have been expected, would fill a large volume. Many hundreds of pages were written and printed at the time in England. Among these volumes and pamphlets was a paper by Mr. Petrie, who attributed a vast deal of blame to Sir George Barlow. In an article in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. ix.), which fills sixty-five closely-printed pages, the whole story is told in a very clear and interesting manner. The facts are carefully, and, on the whole, candidly sifted, making allowance for a slight bias on the side of Sir George Barlow.

The account of the 'Rise, Progress, and Termination' of the Disturbances at Madras, in the 'Edinburgh Annual Register' for 1810, which evidently proceeded from the pen of Southey, who then wrote the historical part of this periodical work, is clear and good, and considerably shorter than the account given in the 'Quarterly Review.' In some points it severely censures the conduct of Sir George Barlow. It says—"The ablest and wisest governor might have found his situation difficult; and whether a system of conciliation, uniting generosity with firmness, could have allayed the general agitation, is doubtful; *but it certainly was not attempted.* Sir G. Barlow seems to have thought that firmness alone was sufficient, and that *the way to make the authority of government respected, was to punish any person who displeased the governor.* Upon this angry and vindictive system some persons were displaced from their official situations, others degraded, others, by distant and unwelcome appointments, banished from Madras. Some of these examples may have been expedient, but, most assuredly, some of them were arbitrary, oppressive, and cruel; and the general ferment and general disgust which such measures created encouraged the discontented officers, who found the civil servants of the Company ready to sympathize with them, because they were exasperated by their own grievances. Things were in this state when General Macdowall embarked for England, and from this time it is difficult to say whether the conduct of the army or of the government was most censurable, till, by the imprudence and intemperance of both, a crisis was brought on, which decided the guilt of one party, without exculpating the other."—'Edin. Ann. Register.'

General Sir Thomas Maitland, at this time governor of Ceylon, and

If conquests and annexations were not made in Hindustan, there was no lack of them in other directions. In fact, during the *peaceful* administration of Lord Minto, our conquests and operations in the Eastern Archipelago, or Insular India, were widely extended—so widely, indeed, that the forces and resources employed in this direction would have made it difficult to prosecute any important war on the Indian continent.

Our fleets commanded in every sea, so that the Dutch and French colonies could receive only a scanty and precarious support from the mother countries. All the Malacca or Spice Islands, which had been colonized by the Dutch, but which now in reality belonged to the French,—Bonaparte having annexed Holland to his empire,—were reduced with very little difficulty by Anglo-Indian expeditions. The first attack was made upon Amboyna, which had been taken by the English during the first revolutionary war, but which had been restored at the peace of Amiens. A small flotilla of Company's armed vessels, commanded by Captain Tucker, and a small military force, consisting of a part of the Company's Madras European regiment and a few artillerymen (about 400 landmen in all), under the command of Captain Court, stormed the principal batteries on the 16th of February, 1810; and, on the following day, the whole of the island was surrendered to the British, although it was defended by 1,300 men and a great quantity of artillery. The five dependent islands quietly submitted to the conquerors. Being reinforced by Captain Cole, the Amboyna expedition drove the Dutch from their very strong works on Banda Neira, and in the course of the month of August, 1810, reduced the whole of the group called the Banda Isles, so productive in nutmegs.

Nothing now remained to the Dutch subjects of Napoleon

afterwards the "King Tom" of Malta and the Ionian Islands, was, as all the world knows, no very great admirer of weakness or laxity of government, yet he censured the conduct of Sir George Barlow as being too rigid. In 1810, Sir James Mackintosh, who was then visiting Colombo, was told that he (Sir T. M.) thought that Lord Minto had slackened the cords of government *as dangerously as Sir George Barlow tightened them.*—'Diary, in the Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his Son.'

But the shortest and best of all the comments made on these disturbances proceeded from the pen of our great duke, and will be found in the 'Wellington Despatches.'

in those seas except the rich island of Java and some settlements on the coast of the richer and far larger island of Sumatra. The reduction of these settlements was first suggested to the governor-general by Mr. Stamford Raffles, one of the many men of rare talent that had been trained under the East-India Company. Raffles, during only a short residence on the coast of Malacca, had contrived to obtain a vast mass of information concerning the Indian Archipelago; and he not only suggested the expeditions, but accompanied and materially aided those who were intrusted with the commands. Though bred to the law, and never in any degree a military man, Lord Minto himself determined to go with the troops. His lordship left Calcutta on the 9th of March, 1811, for Madras, which establishment was to furnish part of the forces. The Bengal troops were embarked in the middle of April, and, about the middle of May, the whole of the expedition arrived at Malacca, the place of rendezvous, as the best starting-point for the conquests proposed. Great was the difficulty of making a voyage with a large fleet through an archipelago where the wind blows strongly from one point of the compass for several months together, where the passage between the islands is often so narrow that only one ship can pass at a time, and then so close to the land that the sides of the vessel are shadowed by the luxuriant vegetation which extends to the water's edge.*

The accounts of this navigation were contradictory and obscure. Few or none of the British naval officers engaged in the expedition had ever threaded that perplexing maze, and their opinions were divided as to which was the best course to pursue in order to reach Java expeditiously. There was no time to waste in disputations, for the favourable monsoon was near terminating when all our forces were collected at Malacca. Many insisted that the only practical course for a fleet was the northern route round Borneo;

* 'Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., &c. &c., particularly in the Government of Java, 1811-16; Bencoolen and its Dependencies, 1817-24; with Details of the Commerce and Resources of the Eastern Archipelago, and Selections from his Correspondence. By his Widow.'

This is another admirable book, and full of useful lessons and high encouragements to young men entering into the Honourable Company's service,—a service in which Raffles, by his own merits, self-education, and great industry, rose from a very poor and obscure condition, to eminence, fortune, and fame.

but Raffles, the real planner of the whole expedition, recommended the south-west passage, between Carimata and Borneo, "and staked his reputation on the success which would attend it." Raffles had previously ascertained the practicability of this passage by an experiment in a small vessel called the *Minto*. The governor-general ordered that that passage should be taken; and, in less than six weeks after quitting Malacca, the fleet, counting more than ninety sail, was in sight of Batavia, without accident to a single vessel.*

Our land troops were under the command of General Sir S. Auchmuty: they were divided into four brigades, and amounted to nearly 12,000 men, of which about one half were British. The climate on that coast, however, proved so noxious, that the hospitals were soon crowded with our native Indian sepoy and with our British soldiers. It is said that at one time there were 5,000 men on the sick-list and incapable of duty. But neither these disastrous circumstances nor the strength of the works prevented the easy conquest of the island. Batavia, the capital, to which the Dutch had given the proud title of "Queen of the East," was surrendered on the 8th of August, by the burghers, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreden.

On the morning of the 10th of August, Colonel Gillespie, with part of our troops, marched to Weltevreden. The Dutch had abandoned their cantonment there, and had taken post about two miles farther up the country, at Cornelis. Their position was strong, and defended by an abattis, occupied by 3,000 of their best troops and four guns of horse-artillery; and behind them were the fort of Cornelis and other very strong works. Thus posted, the Dutch, for a time, defended themselves stoutly; but at length their four guns were captured, and they were driven from the abattis, at the point of the bayonet. They left on the field about 500 in killed and wounded, including a brigadier-general, who was wounded dangerously. The loss of the British was but trifling.

* "The whole fleet," says the governor-general, "had assembled on the coast of Java by the 30th of July. The *Modeste*, if alone, would have done it in a fortnight sooner. I have been the more particular in detailing these circumstances, because this expedition must have been abandoned for the present year (an earlier departure than actually took place from India having been found totally impracticable) if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage."—'Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, by his Widow.'

The enemy now took shelter close under their batteries. Their main body was strongly intrenched in a position between the great river of Jacotra and a deep canal dug by the Dutch, and called the Sloken: this position was shut up in front by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed; neither the river nor the canal was fordable: seven redoubts and many batteries, mounting heavy guns, occupied the most commanding points of ground within the lines, the key-fort of Cornelis being in the centre. The heat was too violent, the malaria of the spot too destructive, and the number of our forces too small, to admit of regular approaches. The Dutch works must be taken by battery and assault, or not at all. Sir S. Auchmuty came up with more troops, Rear-Admiral Stopford spared 500 of his seamen to assist at our batteries; and these were worked so well, that, one by one, the nearest Dutch batteries were silenced. At last, on the 26th of August, the assault was made, under the immediate direction and gallant leading of Colonel Gillespie, Colonel Gibbs, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, and Major Tule; and the works were all carried, and the whole of the enemy's army was killed, taken, or dispersed. The combat had been most obstinate. A tremendous explosion of the magazine of one of the Dutch redoubts (whether by accident or by design was not ascertained) took place at the instant of its capture, and destroyed a number of our officers and men, who were crowded on the ramparts, which the enemy had abandoned. Colonel Macleod, who attacked another of the redoubts, fell in the moment of victory. In all, twenty-seven sepoy, and 114 British were slain, 123 sepoy, and 610 British were wounded, and thirteen were missing. But 5,000 Dutch were taken prisoners, about 1,000 were buried in the works, multitudes were cut down in the retreat, some of the rivers were choked up with the dead, and the huts and neighbouring thickets were filled with the wounded. Among the prisoners were three general officers, thirty-four field officers, ninety captains, and 150 subaltern officers. General Jansens, the Dutch commander-in-chief, who had thrice rallied his retreating troops, escaped with difficulty, followed by a weak cavalry escort, the sole remains of an army of 10,000 men.*

* Sir Samuel Auchmuty's 'Despatch to Lord Minto.'

On the 27th of August, the day after the bloody battle of Cornelis, the warm-hearted, the good, the learned, the poetical Doctor John Leyden,

The final capitulation of the vast island, or of all of it that had been occupied by the Dutch, was not signed, at Samarang, by General Jansens and Sir S. Auchmuty, till the 18th of September. Such of the natives or Asiatic settlers as had been subjects to the Dutch rejoiced in the change; and many of the independent chiefs, who occupied the principal part of the country, came in and courted the alliance of the new conquerors. Lord Minto did not overrate the importance of Java in his despatches to the authorities in England.

"An empire," said his lordship, "which for two centuries has contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states in Europe,

the associate and friend of Walter Scott, the bosom friend of Stamford Raffles, the admired of all who knew him, died of the country fever at Weltevreden. He expired in the arms of Raffles, who deeply mourned his loss :

"Where sleep the brave on Java's strand,
Thy ardent spirit, Leyden, fled;
And fame, with cypress shades the land
Where genius fell and valour bled.
When triumph's tale is westward borne,
On Border hills no joy shall gleam;
And thy loved Teviot long shall mourn
The youthful Poet of her stream."

From 'Verses,' by Sir John Malcolm.

Many congenial spirits at home mourned his premature fate. Southey, in giving an account of the conquest of Java, paid a merited compliment to the learned Dutch writers of an earlier age, who had visited and described the island, and then concluded with this beautiful tribute to Leyden:—

"But the writings of Nieuhoff, and Baldaeus, and Valentyn, and Rumphius remain; and time, which destroys the work of the conqueror and of the statesman, will but increase their value. Unhappily our conquest cost us the life of one who, had his days been prolonged, would probably have added more to our knowledge of Eastern literature and antiquities than all his predecessors: I speak of Dr. John Leyden, who, for the sake of increasing his stores of knowledge, accompanied Lord Minto upon this expedition, and fell a victim to the climate; and whose early death may be considered as a loss so great, so irreparable (for generations may pass away before another be found, who with the same industry, the same power of mind, and the same disinterested spirit, shall possess the same opportunities), that I will not refrain from expressing a wish that Java had remained in the hands of the enemy, so Leyden were alive."—*Edinburgh Annual Register.*

Walter Scott drew up and published, in this same miscellany, a very touching biographical memoir of his dear friend Leyden, whom he never afterwards mentioned but with feelings of the greatest affection.

has been thus wrested from the short usurpation of the French government, has been added to the dominion of the British crown, and converted, from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition, into an augmentation of British power and prosperity." Raffles, who could not foresee how soon the British government would be induced to restore to the emancipated Dutch these splendid conquests in the Eastern Archipelago, was even warmer than the governor-general in describing the value of Java. "It is, in fact," said he, "*the other India!*" Raffles himself, under the title of lieutenant-governor of Java and its dependencies, was appointed to preside over this new empire, "as an acknowledgment of the service he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office."

Mr. Hare was appointed resident at Banger-Masing, with the view of checking the war, which was almost constantly raging among the native chiefs, and of putting down the practice of piracy, which was nowhere carried on in a more ferocious manner or on a larger scale.

It was also during Lord Minto's administration that Bourbon and the Isle of France were reduced. In the month of July, 1810, a small Anglo-Indian force under Colonel Keating, and a small squadron of his majesty's ships under Commodore Rowley, subdued the French in the first of these two islands, with no other loss than eighteen killed, seventy-nine wounded, and four drowned in landing. In the month of November, in the same year, ships and troops from Madras, from Bombay, and from Bengal, formed their junction at an appointed rendezvous near to the Isle of France.

They were to be joined by a division of king's troops from the Cape of Good Hope; but as these royal forces did not arrive in time, the attack was made without them. The army was commanded by Major-General J. Abercromby, the fleet by Vice-Admiral Bertie. The island was surrounded by dangerous reefs; but the whole of the leeward side was carefully examined and sounded, and a passage for vessels was found where none was supposed to exist. On the 29th of November, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the whole fleet, consisting of nearly seventy sail, got safely to anchor at the point of debarkation in Grande Baie, about twelve miles to the windward of Port Louis; and the army, with their artillery, stores, and ammunition, several detachments of

marines, and a large body of seamen, were landed in the course of the day, without a single loss or accident. The French had considered such a landing, or any landing except opposite to Port Louis, as an impracticability; and, in consequence of this old and confirmed persuasion, while the seaward fortifications of their capital were very formidable, their works on the land side—where they never expected to be attacked—were contemptible. The island, in fact, was gained the moment that the passage through the reefs was discovered; or, at latest, the moment that the landing of the troops was so successfully effected. Numerically, the French were too weak to offer any great resistance in the country which lay between the point of debarkation and the capital of the island. They skirmished a little in a wood, they attempted to defend a narrow defile, and they made a short stand in some lines behind the town of Port Louis; but, on the morning of the 2nd of December, as General Abercromby was preparing to make a general attack, De Caen, the French governor and commander-in-chief, sent out a white flag, and proposed to capitulate. The attack was suspended, and the capitulation was hastily concluded. Considering the relative situations of the two forces, it was thought by many persons that the British commanders allowed the French conditions much too favourable. De Caen and his garrison were sent to France, without being bound not to serve against England or her allies during the war—a very idle and useless condition, as the French of the revolutionary school had long ceased to respect any such engagement. But the rich colony and its dependencies, the forts, well-stored magazines, etc., were given up; the conquerors obtained possession of 209 pieces of ordnance in excellent condition, of four large French frigates, one French sloop, and one brig; of two small English frigates which had been captured by the French, and of a number of merchant ships, many of the later being prizes picked up by the privateers of the island, and some of them being of great value. And, what was most important of all, the French were dispossessed of a stronghold, from which, during the whole of this war, they had sorely annoyed our East-India trade. Both these neighbouring islands ought always to remain in the hands of the power which holds the empire of India; but, at the peace of Paris, in 1814, the British government, keeping the Isle of France, very unwisely gave back

Bourbon. In making these two important conquests, the troops had but few opportunities of displaying their valour. Counting Europeans and natives, our loss in the Isle of France amounted only to twenty-nine killed, ninety-nine wounded, and forty-eight missing.* But the facility with which large detachments from the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were wafted to distant islands and peninsulas, seas and gulfs, and then formed into strong and compact armies, was every way calculated to raise our military reputation; and if much of the merit was due to our national navy, still the East-India Company, its governors, officers, troops, and servants, may fairly claim a large share in the honours.

The pirates in the Persian Gulf, forgetful of several severe chastisements they had previously received, attacked and plundered an English trading vessel, and treated the crew and passengers with great barbarity. Forthwith a small expedition was despatched from Bombay to chastise these ruffians and destroy their shipping. Through the good diplomacy of Colonel J. Malcolm, the imaum of Muscat was induced to co-operate, and, in quick succession, the pirates were driven out of Mallia, Shenass, and all their other nests, and their vessels were destroyed.

Another of Lord Minto's expeditions was not so fortunate or so honourable. At the very beginning of his government (in 1808), when Bonaparte seemed on the point of subduing both Spain and Portugal, and when fears were entertained that the French might obtain possession of the Spanish colony of Manilla, and thence make an attack upon the Portuguese possession at Macao, a small armament was sent to the Canton river. It was found now, as it had been found in the year 1802, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, that the Chinese considered Macao as a portion of their empire, and the Portuguese as mere tenants at will; that the Chinese were furious at the landing of any British force, and that the Portuguese, or men of mixed race, that dwelt at Macao, were far from being disposed to give our troops a hearty welcome. Our troops, not quite a thousand men, were, however, landed, and with the consent of the local Portuguese authorities. A general feeling of enmity

* Unfortunately, however, Lieut.-Col. Campbell and Major O'Keefe, two excellent officers, were killed in clearing the defile, which the French attempted to defend.

on the part of the Chinese inhabitants manifested itself in repeated affrays and in assaults, particularly on our sepoys. An order soon came down from Canton for our troops to depart, our trade at Canton was stopped, and provisions were denied both to our Indiamen and to the squadron of his majesty's ships. And shortly after this, some of the pasteboard warriors of the celestial empire began to march towards Macao, and a line of war junks, with pateraro guns, was drawn across the river to intersect all communication with Canton. Admiral Drury made a demonstration of breaking through this line. The boats of all our men-of-war, and of all our Indiamen, were manned and armed. They could have cut through with very little difficulty or loss, but the admiral, instead of fighting, pulled up to parley. Upon this the Celestials in the junk began to fire into the English boats. One man was wounded in the admiral's own boat, and hereupon the admiral ordered the signal to be made for the attack. But "the signal was not observed, and ordered not to be repeated. The admiral then declared his intention not to force the Chinese line, and returned with the boats to the fleet. Though a man of undisputed courage, Admiral Drury seems not to have possessed that cool and deliberate judgment which was essential to the success of the business he had been engaged in. . . . The attempt to proceed to Canton in the boats ought never to have been made, or it should have been carried through. A pagoda was built by the Chinese near the spot, to commemorate their victory over the English."* Our humiliation was completed by a convention, entered into at Macao in December (1808), in conformity with which our troops were re-embarked, and Admiral Drury sailed away for Bengal. The trade, which had been stopped for more than three months, was then renewed. The pecuniary loss incurred by the English through this squabble about Macao was very heavy; and it was soon discovered that no trifling addition was made to the usual arrogance of the Chinese.†

* Sir John Francis Davis, late chief superintendent in China, governor of Hong-Kong, &c. Parliamentary Evidence, as quoted by, in 'The Chinese; a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants.'

† It is but justice to state that the conduct of Lieutenant-Col. Weguelin, the officer in command of the forces that were landed at Macao, was prudent, discreet, vigilant, active, and spirited. This was liberally acknowledged by the governor-general himself.

See services of Lieutenant-Col. Thomas M. Weguelin, in 'East-India Military Calendar.'

Lord Minto resigned his office, and took his passage for England towards the close of the year 1813. It is said that when he returned from India he frankly confessed that his notions about the first and greatest of our governors-general were very different from what they had been a quarter of a century before, when he harangued in the House of Commons or sat with the managers of Hastings's impeachment in Westminster Hall. More than this, his lordship recommended carrying out the system of aggrandizement, connection, and supremacy which Hastings had been the first to adopt; and he confessed that without this supremacy, by conquest or by connection, our empire in the East could not stand; and that the timid, neutrality, non-interference system, which had now been so long cherished by the British legislature and government, and by the Court of Directors, was altogether inapplicable to our situation in India.

If his government had lasted six months longer, he must have found himself involved in extensive wars in Hindustan.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE commercial monopoly of the East-India Company had long been a subject of jealousy and complaint with some of the mercantile interests of the United Kingdom; and at every renewal of the Company's charter, efforts had been made to throw open some portions of the India or China trade. Many merchants, of London, Liverpool, and other ports (not sufficiently reflecting that the trade in India had been acquired by the Company through conquest and dominion, and that this conquest and dominion could not have been acquired if the Company had not been allowed the profits derivable from the trade of the country), had, for a very long time, contended that they, and Great Britain at large, had a just right to participate in the India and China trade.

The first great inroad on the Company's exclusive privileges did not, however, take place until the year 1813. On the 22nd of February, the Company, well aware of the many and strenuous efforts that were making to break up their monopoly, represented, by petition to parliament, that, without their commercial privileges, they could not maintain their political privileges or territorial possessions; the commercial monopoly being but an instrument for political purposes, &c. A modification of the system had, however, been previously resolved upon by ministers; and before the session closed, a bill (act of the 55 Geo. III.) was carried through both houses. The trade with India (but not with China) was thrown open in ships of a given tonnage, under license from the Court of Directors, on whose refusal to grant such license, an appeal lay to the Board of Control. The resort of individuals to India for commercial or for other purposes was put under similar regulations. Thus there was introduced a divided authority in matters of commerce, as there had previously been in politics. Henceforward it was

enacted that the Company's accounts should be kept under the two separate heads of "territory" and "commerce." A general authority was given to government, through the Board of Control, over the appropriation of the territorial revenues and the surplus commercial profits which might remain, after a strict observance of the appropriation clauses and the claims of the Company's creditors. From this time forward no governor-general, governor, or commander-in-chief was to be appointed by the Company without the approval of the crown; and no suspended or dismissed servant of the Company was to be restored without the consent of the Board of Control. The bounty of the Court of Directors was also restricted, it being laid down that in the bestowal of any sum exceeding £600, the concurrence of the Board of Control was indispensable. Moreover the Board of Control was to hold and exercise authority over the Company's college and seminary in England.*

At a very early period the Company had paid considerable attention to the establishing of schools and chapels in their factories, and to the means of diffusing the doctrines of the Christian faith among their native servants, and among other natives living in the neighbourhood of their settlements. By the charter of 1698, the Company were bound to maintain a minister and schoolmaster in every garrison and superior factory, and to set apart a decent place for the performance of divine worship. They were also required to have a chaplain to every ship of 500 tons or upwards, whose salary was to commence from the ship sailing outwards. Such ministers were to be approved by the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London, and were to be at all times entertained with proper respect. Resident ministers in India were to learn the "Portuguese and Hindū languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos and others in the Christian religion." On the union of the two Companies in 1708, it was declared by the charter, that the chaplain should have precedence next after the fifth member of council at his factory.

Even at earlier periods, we find the Company employing missionaries, sending out bibles and catechisms, and bestowing attention on the education of the native children. In 1677, they sent out a new schoolmaster—Mr. Ralph Orde,

* The establishments at Haileybury and Addiscombe.

—with a liberal salary and appointments, telling their agents that—“He is to teach all the children to read English, and to write and cipher, gratis; and if any of the other nations, as Portuguese, Gentoos, or others, will send their children to school, we require that they be also taught gratis, and you are to appoint some convenient place for this use; and he is likewise to instruct them in the principles of the Protestant religion; *and he is to diet at our table.*”* In the same missive, which has a savour of the naïveté of the olden times, the agents were told that they might give two rupees apiece to such as should be able to repeat the catechism by heart, “for their encouragement.”

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded at the beginning of the last century, soon directed its attention towards India, and sent thither missionaries as well as books. In the year 1744, and again in 1752, we find the Company giving hearty assistance to this religious society. They ordered that the missionaries sent out by the society should have the use of a church at Cuddalore, and of a church at Madras. “And,” wrote the Company to their agents, “as a further encouragement to the said missionaries to exert themselves in propagating the Protestant religion, we do hereby empower you to give them, at such times as you shall think proper, in our name, any sum of money, not exceeding 500 pagodas, to be laid out in such manner, and appropriated to such uses, as you shall approve of; and you are hereby directed to give us, from time to time, an account of the progress made by them in educating children and increasing the Protestant religion, together with your opinion upon their conduct in general, and what further encouragement they deserve.” In the same year in which this was written to Madras (1752), the Court wrote to Bombay:—“As it will be greatly for the interest of the Company to have as many of the soldiery, and others our dependants in the presidency of Bombay, instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion, we have thought proper to add two more chaplains to your establishment, who are to reside at Telli-cherry and Anjengo, or wherever else you shall think proper to station them, so as will best answer our intentions; and that we may have the advantage of a rising generation instructed in the same principles, we recommend it to you,

* Correspondence, quoted by P. Auber, ‘Rise and Progress.’

to form a plan for the setting up and establishing charity-schools, wherein the children of our soldiers, mariners, topasses, and others, may be educated as well at the subordinates as at Bombay. When you can reduce your plan to practice, you may depend upon our giving an assistance becoming the Company; and we most earnestly recommend it to every one of our servants and others, who are in good circumstances, to contribute freely to an undertaking of such utility to the presidency in general.

“When schools are erected in consequence of this recommendation, our chaplains are frequently to visit them, to see what improvement the children make, and to give their utmost assistance in instructing and confirming them in the principles and profession of the Protestant religion.”*

Although not in sufficient numbers—considering the vast extent of the country and its teeming population—India had not been left without chaplains or without missionaries; but the labours of the latter had not been attended with any great success, and the more cautious Anglo-Indians had shrunk from the risks attendant on a too energetic spirit of proselytizing. The Hindūs, submissive in all but that, had always seemed ready to rush into insurrection at the slightest interference with their religious rites and ancient customs—customs and rites not more ancient than (in many cases) revolting and degrading to humanity. Partly through their own fault in attempting to translate the whole of the Scriptures into most difficult languages, with which they were most imperfectly acquainted, and partly through the sense-striking, attractive, and splendid ritual of the Roman Catholic church, the success of the English missionaries, whether of the Established Church or Baptists, had been very inferior, at least in numerical amount, to that of the papist missionaries. And yet the most able and best member of the great Roman Propaganda had been fain to confess, after residing forty years in India, that only the very worst of the natives he had converted remained steady to their new faith.

The best result of the efforts of our missionaries was to be seen in Tinnevely; and it was such as to encourage the hope that what had been done there might be found practicable elsewhere. In the very centre of the south of

* Correspondence, quoted by P. Auber.

Tinnevely there were two villages, one of 500 and the other of 400 native Christians, with regular churches, native priests, catechists, and boys' and girls' schools. They were living as Christians, in harmony, without a vestige of idolatry to be seen in either village, nor an idol to be found. Regular service in the church was held daily. Groups of women were to be seen assembled together under the shade of the palmyra-tree, spinning cotton and singing their Lutheran hymns to the motion of their wheels, while the men were at the same time labouring in the field. "It was like an oasis in the moral desert of the immense country." The Hindū tehsildar * bore the strongest testimony to their conduct, as being an inoffensive, quiet people; and said that he should rejoice if all the inhabitants around were like them. The name of the one village was Mothelloor, the name of the other was Nazareth. They were a part of the labours of the Christian Knowledge Society in Tinnevely. They had been without any missionary for many years, but they had retained the faith and doctrines which had been taught them, and they performed all the offices of religion among themselves.†

In the debates in parliament, on the new charter, much was said respecting the propagation of Christianity, and the appointment of missionaries, to be salaried by the state. Nearly every man who lived in India opposed this last measure.

Nevertheless, it was now hoped that a regular and well-appointed hierarchy, headed by prelates of the Anglican church, of learning and virtue, might contribute to diffuse the Protestant religion among the natives; while the vast and constantly increasing numbers of Englishmen settled or serving in India seemed to demand more spiritual care than had hitherto been bestowed upon them. A bishop of Calcutta, with diocesan authority over the whole of British India, and three archdeacons to superintend the chaplains of the presidencies and of all the settlements, were appointed. But it was not deemed prudent to enter fully into the wishes expressed in petitions presented to parliament from various parts of the kingdom, praying that provision might be made for the resort of missionaries, &c. to India. A few indiscreet

* A native collector of taxes.

† Letter of one of the Company's chaplains, as quoted by P. Auter, in 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

missionaries spread over Hindustan might have jeopardized our empire, without doing any spiritual good to the natives. In the debate a Scotch member stated that the majority of the British residents in India were Scotchmen and Presbyterians, and therefore would have no provision for their public worship, and he proposed a clause for the appointment of three superior Scotch clergymen, one at each presidency, with a salary of £1,000 each. The proposition was rejected; but at a subsequent discussion, it was made known that the Company had given an assurance for the maintenance of ministers of the Scotch kirk at its own expense.*

The first appointments to the Calcutta bishopric were admirable, for the lawn has not often been worn by better men than Bishop Middleton and Reginald Heber. We do not know that the diffusion of our religion among Hindus, Mahometans, or Parsees has been very materially accelerated; but we believe there is no doubt that the discipline of our church, and the general morals and devotion of the British subjects in India, have been improved by the ecclesiastical institutions provided for by the legislature in 1813. The obscene and bloody superstitions which disgrace Hindustan (speaking of merely mortal means) can be removed only by time, and slow and cautious measures: but it is consoling to reflect that some of the worst abominations have been at the least dwarfed and checked.

As isolated beings, unconnected with government, the few Protestant missionaries in the country caused little or no alarm to the guardians of the Hindū religion, or to the professors of Mahometanism; but if the legislature had complied with the wishes of some well-meaning and pious persons at home, and had suddenly thrown into India a great number of "Act-of-Parliament missionaries," to be protected by and connected with our Indian government, there can be no doubt but that a great alarm would have been immediately excited. But a respectable church establishment, with a suffragan bishop at the head of it, and with the clergy intrusted with the care and zealous in the superintendence of the public schools in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, might, without exciting any jealousy or alarm, silently and gradually effect a favourable change, not only

* 'Annual Register,' for 1813.

in the religion and morality of the British subjects, but in those of the natives also. The establishment of the "Bishop's College" at Calcutta, by Dr. Middleton, the first Protestant bishop in India, was calculated to do infinite good; and since its improvement and enlargement by the accomplished Reginald Heber, our second bishop, great good, we believe, has been done by it. It has been well said that much may be expected from the institution of schools on a liberal plan for the benefit of the rising generation of the Hindūs; and that to convey instruction through the medium of the English language, in every branch of useful knowledge, and in the principles of religion and moral rectitude, will do more to open their minds to conversion, and to convince them of the monstrous absurdity of their own polytheism, than all the translations of the Scriptures and religious tracts which have been circulated among them. "A general knowledge of history or geography will at once disperse that cloud of more than Egyptian darkness, which for so many ages has confined their view. . . . When they cease to consider Mount Meru as 20,000 miles high, and the world as a flower, of which India is the cup, and other countries the leaves, their minds may become more open to rational views on the subject of religion."*

* 'Quarterly Review,' No. lxx.

Read also Ainslie (Whitelaw), 'Historical Sketch of Christianity in India, and other Eastern Countries,' 8vo., Edinburgh, 1835. 'Bengal, Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of, from the Earliest Settlement until the Conquest of the Country by the English, in 1757.' Calcutta, 1831. Whitehead (Edward), 'Sketch of the Established Church in India,' 12mo., London, 1848. Lushington (Charles), 'History, Design, and Present State of the Religious and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity.' Calcutta, 1824.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE earl of Moira, soon afterwards marquis of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto as governor-general. As Lord Rawdon, he had greatly distinguished himself in the war of American independence, more than thirty years before his Indian appointment. He had the well-earned reputation of being a brave soldier, and, if not throughout a consistent politician, he was a nobleman of the most honest intentions, sincerely attached to his sovereign, high-minded beyond most of his contemporaries, and liberal and generous in the extreme. He had also a grace and dignity in his manners, which will not be forgotten by those who ever saw him, and which could not be without their effect in a country like India.

His lordship was nominated on the 18th of November, 1812, and, arriving in India, Lord Minto resigned the government to him, on the 4th of October, 1813. He was obliged to attend almost immediately to matters of war, for the Birmans, or Burmese, continued to trouble one of our frontiers, while the Nepaulese made encroachments on another, both being encouraged by the pacific system of Lord Minto. The Birmans were brought to reason for the present; but the Nepaulese spurned negotiations. The Gorkhas, who domineered in Nepaul, retained that passion for war and conquest to which they owed their recently-established dominion, and except in the neighbourhood of our military stations on that frontier, it was found impossible to check their border forays, or their constant quarrels with our subjects. In the month of May, 1814, while some negotiations were opening, the Nepaulese treacherously attacked and murdered all our police officers stationed in Bootwul. The earl of Moira determined to send armies to deal with these troublesome neighbours. He had been named commander-in-chief of the forces as well as governor-

general. Age had not chilled his military ardour ; his lordship still was every inch a soldier. He quitted Calcutta in June, to make a tour of inspection, to concert measures for the campaign, and to make defensive arrangements against the marauding Pindarrees, who were threatening our northern frontiers.

The Nepaulese frontier was about 600 miles in length, and for the most part very rugged ; and the enemy had the command of all the passes of the forests and hills.* Very few parts of the country had ever been examined by Europeans. The Nepaulese were as jealous and vigilant as the Chinese, from whom most of their tribes originally descended.

Lord Moira, however, resolved that his forces should act offensively along the whole line of the frontier, and break into the country from different points. For the whole plan of the campaign—which was clearly defective through want of local information—his lordship seems to be answerable. Major-General Marley, with the principal force, consisting of about 8,000 men, was to march upon Catmandoo, the capital ; Major-General Wood was to overrun all Bootwul, and to menace Pulpa ; Major-General Gillespie was to seize the passes of the rivers Jumna and Ganges, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy to the eastward ; and Major-General Ochterlony, with the 4th corps, was to invade the western provinces of the Gorkhas. The Gorkhas alone had at this time about 12,000 fighting men, dressed, armed, and disciplined in imitation of the Company's sepoy ; and if this imitation was not very perfect, the men were robust, active, and courageous. The strength of the country was great, being skirted and intersected by lofty mountains, and abounding in excellent defensive positions.† As our forces advanced towards the frontiers, the Gorkha officers ordered that all the wells should be poisoned ; but this is a threat which has often been used, and has never been carried extensively into practice. The Nepaulese mode of making stockades in excellent positions, and the stubbornness with which they defended them, proved more mischievous to the

* ' History of the Political and Military Transactions in India, during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, 1813-23.' By Henry T. Prinsep, Esq.

† Walter Hamilton, ' Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, and of the Territories annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha.'

invaders. General Gillespie, who had had so narrow an escape at the massacre of Vellore, fought his way well into the country, but was killed on the 30th of October, 1814, in a too hasty assault on the fort of Kalunga. General Wood failed completely in his operations, and General Marley failed so miserably as to be taxed by the commander-in-chief with gross neglect and imbecility. The mistake common to all these commanders in the first Nepaul campaign appears to have been a too great contempt for these new and untried enemies. But the whole campaign must be considered as a war of experiment—as a war in a novel field, where almost everything was yet to learn. General Ochterlony, however, with his single division, gained brilliant successes in the western provinces of the Gorkhas, defeated the enemy in several battles, drove them into the fort of Maloun, and there forced them to capitulate. By these victories the countries between the Jumna and Sutledj were effectually cleared, to the great satisfaction of the Seiks, and of the hill chieftains who were allied with the Company. But the war was not yet terminated, though it had already lasted more than a year. Those who held authority at Catmandoo, the capital of Nepaul, consented to a treaty, and then refused to ratify it, and then defied the English to another campaign in the heart of their own country.*

The entire management of this second campaign in Nepaul, which commenced in February, 1816, was left to Major-General Ochterlony, who had so ably conducted all his part of the first campaign. Ochterlony had nearly 20,000 effective men, including three European regiments, his majesty's 24th, 66th, and 87th. The British soldiers were better suited to a war among lofty and bleak mountains than were the sepoy from the hot plains of Hindustan. He divided his forces into four brigades, which were respectively commanded by Colonel Kelly, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicol, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, and Colonel Dick. Colonel Kelly was detached to the right, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicol to the left; the other two brigades, guided by Ochterlony, moved straight through the forests to the foot of a pass, above which the Nepaulese were strongly posted behind their troublesome stockades. These works were altogether unassailable in

* Henry T. Prinsep.

front; but, after four days' diligent search, Captain Pickersgill, of the quartermaster-general's department, found a route which turned the pass. In the darkness of night, General Ochterlony, in person, led Miller's brigade through a deep and narrow chasm, and over the brow of a formidable barrier of hills. By seven o'clock on the following morning the heights on the flank of the enemy's position were occupied without resistance. Nearly at the same time Colonel Dick's brigade, which had been left at the foot of the pass, moved up in front close to the outer stockade; and in the course of the morning they found the triple fortification evacuated, in consequence of the success of Ochterlony's operation for turning the position. Our troops were obliged to bivouac on the bleak mountain-tops for four days, waiting the arrival of their supplies and tents, as no laden animal had been able to accompany them, or to climb the hill which they had climbed. During the first two days the men suffered extreme privations. But their gallant leader shared in their hardships, having no baggage, and sleeping under cover of a hut, hastily constructed for him by the men of the 87th, of boughs cut from the green trees.* By the 20th of February the supplies and tents were brought up, and the roads were prepared for a further advance. The enemy, vexed and disheartened at Ochterlony's unexpected discovery of the route across the first barrier of mountains, continued to retreat from stockade to stockade, until they came to the town of Mukwanpoor, which stands on a hill, and which had both a fort and a stockade. On the 27th, Ochterlony occupied a hill in front of Mukwanpoor, and within two miles of that town. The Gorkhas endeavoured to recover this hill. In their first attack they drove in a weak outpost, and killed the commanding officer, Lieutenant Tirrell. A small village on the hill was, however, gallantly maintained, after the fall of Tirrell, by Lieutenant Kerr and Ensign Impey (a grandson of Sir Elijah Impey), who were both publicly thanked in general orders for this service. Ochterlony threw forward the flank companies of the 87th and the 25th regiments of native infantry. On the other side, the Gorkhas poured forth 2,000 men from their stockade in front of Mukwanpoor, and showed a determination to gain the village and recover all the ridge of the

* Henry T. Prinsep. Memoir of Ochterlony, in 'East-India Military Calendar.'

hill. The English general then threw forward four more companies of the 87th and the second battalion of the 12th native infantry. Again, on the other hand, the Gorkhas reinforced their columns of attack. Ochterlony brought his guns to play along the ridge; and thereupon the Gorkhas brought up some of their guns, and fired hotly on our camp and line, where the general and his staff were conspicuous objects. After a stern contest, the enemy yielded to our superiority of artillery, and to a bayonet-charge made by some of the British soldiers; and they fled beyond a deep hollow which separated the ridge from Mukwanpoor. There, however, and in a jungle, they maintained themselves for some hours, keeping up, across the hollow, a hot fire of artillery, which did little mischief, and an incessant fire of musketry from the jungle, which did a good deal. But towards sunset, Ochterlony brought up a fresh sepoy battalion, and Major Nation, putting himself at the head of it, dashed across the hollow, charged with the bayonet, and captured the nearest of the guns. After this the Gorkhas retired behind their stockades or into their fort, leaving their dead and wounded behind them. Hitherto they had always shown the greatest devotion in carrying off their wounded. Their loss was very severe; they acknowledged themselves that it exceeded 800 men. Our loss in killed and wounded rather exceeded 200.

The day after the battle of Mukwanpoor, Colonel Nicol, who had been detached with his brigade to the left, joined Ochterlony, having succeeded in penetrating into the country by a pass near Ramnuggur, and by the winding valley of a river. Colonel Kelly, who had been detached with his brigade to the right, had also succeeded in finding a route which led him across the mountains to the important fortress of Hureehurpoor. As usual, this fort had a strong stockade in its front. But the Gorkhas committed the same mistake here which they had committed at Mukwanpoor, by abandoning an eminence at about 800 yards' distance from their stockade. This ridge was instantly seized by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran. The enemy sallied in full force to recover the ridge, and O'Halloran had to sustain an unequal fight from six in the morning until near the hour of noon. But when a strong reinforcement came to the ridge of the hill with two six-pounders and two howitzers mounted on elephants, the enemy fell back to

their stockade. They left a considerable number of killed and wounded on the hill, and they made no further attempt to regain possession of it. On the side of the victors, only four Europeans and four natives were killed, and five English officers, twenty-three English soldiers, and twenty-five natives were wounded. Both the stockade and the fort of Hureehurpoor were evacuated in the course of the ensuing night. Colonel Kelly converted the fort into a depôt, and was preparing for a further advance when he received intelligence that the war was over.

The defeat at Mukwanpoor had carried consternation into the court of Catmandoo. The Nepaul rajah put the red seal to the previous treaty which he had refused to ratify, and sent an envoy to General Ochterlony's camp. The earl of Moira had very wisely instructed the general not to conclude a treaty until the enemy should be sufficiently humbled to make it safe to rely on their sincerity. To humble the pride of these warlike tribes and destroy their prestige in the eyes of the peoples and rulers of India, was more important than to make acquisitions of territory. General Ochterlony, however, determined to do both. He told the envoy that the Company must now retain all the territory in Nepaul which their troops occupied, including the valley of the Raptée, Hureehurpoor, etc.; that the rajah must write a submissive letter to the governor-general; and, finally, that he, the Gorkha negotiator, must present the ratified treaty on his knees at his (General Ochterlony's) durbar, in the presence of all the vakeels in camp. To all these conditions the court of Catmandoo was obliged to submit. The country was now becoming very unhealthy; but our army did not quit the hills and forests of Nepaul until two important forts were surrendered, in conformity with the treaty, to our ally, the rajah of Sikkim.*

All the articles of the treaty were executed with rare punctuality. The rajah of Nepaul bound himself never to disturb the Company's frontiers or the territories of any of its allies; never to advance any claim to the territories which had formerly been disputed, or which were now ceded; never to retain in his service any British subject, or the subject of any European or American state, without the consent of the British government; to allow the permanent

* Henry T. Prinsep.

residence of an English minister at the court of Catmandoo, and to send accredited ministers of his own to reside at Calcutta. The governor-general, as a politic act of conciliation, restored some of the territory which had been conquered, after a straight and even frontier for the Company's dominions had been drawn and marked at certain distances with pillars of masonry, to prevent any future disputes.

One of the many curious circumstances attending this war in Nepaul was the chance of an English army coming in contact with an army of the celestial empire. The Chinese, whose real dominions extended to the feet of the Himalaya, claimed a fictitious dominion over the whole of Nepaul; and their claim was so far admitted, that the Nepaulese sent, every three years, some trifling tribute to Pekin. During our first campaign of 1814-15, the Nepaulese called upon the emperor of China for assistance, declaring that the quarrel with the English had arisen in consequence of their having demanded to be put in possession of the passes through the mountains, in order that they might invade China. At first the Chinese gave no credit to this falsehood; but when they heard from their own officers commanding on the Himalaya frontier, that the red coats were really advancing through Nepaul, they believed the story. It was accordingly determined by the court of Pekin that an army should be sent into Nepaul. But the first campaign and the second were ended, the war was over, and the rajah beaten and humbled, before the army of the celestials was heard of at Catmandoo. The governor-general sent explanations, which were deemed satisfactory by the Chinese. The Gorkhas, who were now afraid of the assistance they had invited, asked the English resident at Catmandoo whether, in case the Chinese should invade their territories, they might depend upon the co-operation of a British army in resisting them! The celestials, after lying some time on the reverse of the Himalaya, marched back to Pekin.*

The lesson which the Nepaulese received from Ochterlony made a lasting impression; they have never since given us any trouble; and, instead of fighting against us, some of their best and bravest men have long been fighting for us.

* For further particulars relating to these very curious transactions we refer the reader to Mr. Prinsep's very interesting and accurate work. From the situation this gentleman held under the marquis of Hastings's administration, he had ample means of obtaining the best information.

The Gorkhas in our pay have been faithful to the Company and valorous on the field of battle.

The able officer who had so well managed the second and last campaign was properly honoured and rewarded.* He was a man of genius, and not above learning what was useful even from a semi-barbarous enemy. If he had been a man of routine, or a formalist and pedant, attached exclusively to one art of war, either he would never have threaded the passes and labyrinths of Nepaul, or he would have been sacrificed with his whole army long before reaching Mukwanpoor. But Ochterlony saw that the resource of stockades would be equally available to an invader; that it might be made to cover and secure every advance of the British, and be thus turned against the invader; and that it placed the issue of the war in the power of continuance. He therefore adopted the Nepaulese system of stockading both in his first and second campaign; and to this he was principally indebted for his success. By this means the operations of our divisions which penetrated the hills were converted into a war of posts, and depôts and weak detachments were put in a position of security when the main divisions were far away.† He also attended sedulously to his commissariat, establishing and stockading good magazines of provisions as he advanced. If, at any time, he had been compelled to retreat, his troops would have food and shelter provided for them in these fortified depôts.

The governor-general had found it extremely difficult to procure the funds necessary for this unusually long war in Nepaul. The treasury had been drained by the great expenses attending Lord Minto's armaments in the Archi-

* He received the order of the Bath, and was afterwards created a baronet. The East-India Company voted a pension of £1,000 per annum to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., and K.C.B., in acknowledgment of his splendid services in the Nepaulese war.

† Little advance was made in Nepaul until we adopted the plan of stockading posts, which the nature of the campaign frequently rendered it necessary to place beyond the limits of prompt succour. Had this plan been adopted at the beginning, several serious disasters would not have happened. "It was, however," adds Mr. Prinsep, "altogether a new thing to the Bengal army; for, from the earliest days, there had never been works thrown up for the defence of an outpost. . . . Sir David Ochterlony has the merit of having first resorted to this plan, and of having adopted it, too, as a resource of prudence which occurred to his own mind, not taught to him by the experience of disaster, as was the case with others."—*History of Political and Military Transactions, &c.*

pelago. The increasing value of gold bullion in England had also made itself felt in India. Specie seemed to be disappearing in Bengal, and credit was sadly deranged. But the war in Nepaul must be prosecuted, remittances must be made to England, or disgrace or ruin must ensue. The crisis was far from being so bad now as then, yet the earl of Moira acted much upon the same plan which Warren Hastings had pursued, in the first instance, in 1780, when the French and the Mysoreans were threatening the overthrow of our empire. He cast his eyes upon the nabob vizier of Oude, and determined to make his coffers contribute to the support of the Nepaul war and to the fast-sinking credit of the Company. Saadut Ali was known to be fond of hoarding, and was believed to be very rich. It was represented to him that his territories had suffered as much as our own from the aggression of the Nepaulese, and that therefore it was but just that he should pay part of the expenses of the war. But just at this financial crisis the avaricious nabob vizier departed this life, dying at Lucknow on the 11th of July, 1814, as the governor-general was on his way from Calcutta to that city. Two of his sons claimed the musnud. Ghazee-ud-Deen, who paid down two crores of rupees, was preferred by the noble marquis, and put in possession by the Company. But for this money, rather more than £2,000,000 sterling, the pride and power of the Nepaulese could not have been broken, and the disastrous issue of a war in the mountains would have been instantly followed by insurrections and wars in the plains of Hindustan.

The marquis was much more fortunate than his great predecessor in opportune deaths.

In the course of the year 1816, when money was again wanted to put the frontiers of the Company in a good state of defence against the Pindarrees, and to provide for the contingency of a fresh war with the Mahrattas, the old Fyzabad Begum, whom Warren Hastings had squeezed, was carried to the tomb. She died worth fifty-six lacs of rupees; and, as she could not take her beloved money with her, she bequeathed it to the Honourable Company, on the condition of its providing annuities for her friends and dependants, equivalent to the interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum—then, for India, a very moderate rate.

During our war in Nepaul the people of Cutch had committed depredations in the territories of our allies the

peishwa and the Guicowar families. A small force under Colonel East took the field, and captured the fortress of Anjar, in Cutch. The ruler of that lawless country agreed to give compensation for the damages to our allies, and to yield to the English the permanent possession of Anjar, on condition of their assisting him to reduce some of his rebellious subjects. The Rao also engaged to prevent his subjects in future from crossing the gulf or runn for hostile objects, and from carrying on the practice of piracy, in which they were great adepts. All those lawless regions were to be thoroughly reformed; but the British at Anjar were solemnly bound not to outrage the religious feelings of those robbers by killing bullocks and eating beef. The inevitable course of events, or the natural course of expansion, was gradually yet quickly advancing the Company's frontier towards the mouths of the Indus. In the year 1800, when Surat was assumed, it was stated and believed that the Taptee river on the Gulf of Cambay would be our *ne plus ultra* in this direction; but now, in 1816, we got beyond the Gulf of Cutch, and close upon the Runn of Cutch, by possessing ourselves of Anjar, which place was not much more than two geographical degrees from the Koree, or most southern mouth of the Indus.

The court of Poonah had been guilty of various infractions of the treaty of Bassein. The peishwa had given his friendship and entire confidence to a menial servant named Trimbukjee, and had almost ceased to consult his own prime minister Munkaseir. Trimbukjee was a man of a violent character, and very hostile to the English, who had laboured hard to introduce order and law into the peishwa's country. He committed sundry outrages on our ally the Guicowar, who despatched an ambassador or vakeel, named Gungadhur the Shastri, to Poonah, to remonstrate with the peishwa. The peishwa referred the Shastri to Trimbukjee; and this ruffian most barbarously and treacherously murdered him in a Hindū temple.

The Shastri's people had to search for "the bits of his body." He was a Brahmin of the very highest caste, and of great reputation for sanctity and learning.* Bad as they were, the Mahrattas had a detestation of assassination; and the crime in the present case was the more horrible in their eyes,

* He was called the Shastri, on account of his familiarity with the Shastras, or sacred Sanscrit books.

from the character of the victim and the holiness of the place. The Mahrattas and all the Hindūs predicted that the vengeance of their gods would fall upon Trimbukjee, and that the peishwa would date his ruin from this atrocious deed. As soon as the horrible circumstance came to the knowledge of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, our resident at Poonah, he insisted that Trimbukjee should be given up; and as the general voice of the Mahratta people backed the demand, the peishwa, Bajee Rao, found himself under the necessity of yielding. Trimbukjee was arrested and thrown into the strong fortress of Thanna, on the island of Salsette, not far from Bombay. But his imprisonment was not of long duration. A common-looking Mahratta groom, with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the English commandant of the fort. He was accepted. The stable, where he had to attend his horse, was close under the window of Trimbukjee's prison. He was observed to pay more than usual attention to his steed, and to have a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing snatches of Mahratta songs. At length, in December, 1816, Trimbukjee disappeared from his dungeon, and both horse and groom from the stable.

It was believed that Trimbukjee fled straight to his infatuated master the peishwa, who concealed him, and solemnly declared to the English resident that he knew nothing about him. The murderer's love for the English had not been increased by the captivity he had suffered; and, wherever he might be, it appeared very certain that he urged the peishwa to throw the whole treaty of Bassein to the winds, to form a new Mahratta league, and to make war upon the Company.

In the mean while our Indian armies were drawn into the field by a more contemptible enemy.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE Pindarrees were not a distinctive race, but a numerous class of men, of different races, religions, and habits, gradually associating and assimilated by a common pursuit. They were all horsemen and all robbers. They were something like the first Mahrattas in their habits of life and warfare, but unlike them in not being united by nationality and one religious faith. Their name first occurs in Indian history about the end of the seventeenth century. From obscure freebooters, they rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful auxiliaries by the different Mahratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their own habits. From their preceding or accompanying Mahratta armies, the Pindarrees became occasionally confounded with the Mahrattas, though they were always considered by the latter as essentially distinct, and so immeasurably inferior as not to be allowed to eat with them, or even to be seated in their presence. Occasionally the Mahratta rulers purchased their aid by grants of land, or by a tacit admission of their right to possess tracts which they had already usurped. But the more usual price paid for their assistance was the privilege of plundering, even beyond the ordinary license given to a Mahratta army.*

What their numbers were could at no time be correctly estimated. They varied with circumstances, being thinned by failure and swelled by success. "It is also to be observed," adds Sir John Malcolm, "that the Pindarrees were fed and nourished by the very miseries that they created; for, as their predatory invasion extended, property became insecure, and those that were ruined by their depredations were afterwards compelled to have recourse to a life of violence, as the only means of subsistence left them. They joined

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Memoir of Central India.'

the stream which they could not withstand, and endeavoured to redeem their own losses by the plunder of others." The strategy of these overgrown bodies of banditti will show at once how difficult it was either to suppress them or intercept them.

"When they set out on an expedition, they placed themselves under the guidance of one or more chosen leaders, called Lubburiahs, who were selected on account of their knowledge of the country that it was meant to plunder. The Pindarrees were encumbered neither with tents nor baggage; each horseman carried a few cakes of bread for his own subsistence, and some feeds of grain for his horse. The party, which usually consisted of two or three thousand good horse, with a proportion of mounted followers, advanced at the rapid rate of forty or fifty miles a day, turning neither to the right nor left till they arrived at their place of destination. They then divided and made a sweep of all the cattle and property they could find, committing at the same time the most horrid atrocities, and destroying what they could not carry away. They trusted to the secrecy and suddenness of the irruption for avoiding those who guarded the frontiers of the countries they invaded; and before a force could be brought against them they were on their return. Their chief strength lay in their being intangible. If pursued, they made marches of extraordinary length (sometimes upwards of sixty miles), by roads almost impracticable for regular troops. If overtaken, they dispersed, and re-assembled at an appointed rendezvous; if followed to the country from which they issued, they broke into small parties."*

"Their wealth, their booty, and their families were scattered over a wide region, in which they found protection amid the mountains and in the fastnesses belonging to themselves, or to those with whom they were either openly or secretly connected; but nowhere did they present any point of attack; and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of one of their strongholds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another, generally of more desperate fortune, and therefore more eager for enterprise."†

* Sir John Malcolm, 'Memoir of Central India.'

† Ibid.

They never fought when they could run away; they considered it wisdom to plunder and fly, but folly to stay and fight. Even when acting with the Mahrattas as auxiliaries, their object was plunder, not war. They went before, indeed, but it was only by surprise, or in defenceless provinces. They were, from their very origin, the scavengers of the Mahrattas; and, though in the van, they had little more pretension to martial conduct or valour than had the birds and beasts of prey that followed in the rear. Some of their chiefs, however, united to the qualities so essential to their profession—activity, cunning, ready enterprise, presence of mind, and promptitude of resources—a wonderful strength of mind (or it might be apathy) in bearing the reverses of fortune and the privations of their lot.

Foremost among these chiefs was Cheetoo. This man first attracted the attention of the English towards the end of 1806, when raising himself on the temporary ruin of Kureem, another Pindarree chief, who had incurred the displeasure of one of the Mahratta potentates, and had been inveigled and made prisoner, he united the durras or bands of many other leaders under his own standard, and prepared to commit depredations on an unprecedentedly grand scale. Numerous and profitable to himself, and altogether ruinous to the inhabitants of many wide districts of Hindustan, were the expeditions undertaken by Cheetoo.

As soon as the earl of Moira assumed the government of India, he turned his attention to this subject. His lordship thought it better, even on the score of humanity, to risk a long and sanguinary war than to leave the people of the country exposed to these terrible irruptions, which came as regularly, year after year, as the tempests of the monsoon. He endeavoured, as Lord Minto had done, to establish a subsidiary alliance with the rajah Bhoonsla of Berar, whereby our most exposed frontier, or the line from Bundelkund to Cuttack, might be covered and defended. But the rajah Raghoojee Bhoonsla persisted in rejecting the English alliance, although the Pindarrees had threatened to plunder Nagpoor, his capital, and annually devastated some portions of his dominions. Other attempts made to establish a friendly connection with the states of Bhopaul and Sacur were not more successful; the truth being, that the felon and murderer, Trimbukjee, had more influence than the governor-general in these native courts.

In October, 1815, when our main army was fully occupied in forcing the stockades of the Gorkhas, Cheetoo crossed the Nerbudda with nearly 8,000 of his Pindarrees. On the southern side of the river they broke into two parties and took opposite routes. Major Fraser, with 300 sepoys and 100 irregular native horse, surprised one of the parties in a bivouac, and made them suffer some loss before they could mount, gallop off, and disperse. But this did not deter them from continuing their depredations as far as the Black River, the Krishna or Kistna. The other party, which had met with no such molestation, traversed the whole of the territory of our ally the nizam of the Deckan, from north to south, and also appeared on the banks of the Kistna. The territories of our Madras presidency lay on the other side of the river, and were saved from devastation only by the fortuitous circumstance of the river's continuing not fordable so unusually late in the season as the 20th of November. "Finding the Kistna impassable, the freebooters took a turn eastward, plundering the country for several miles along its populous and fertile banks, and committing every kind of enormity. On approaching the frontier of Masulipatam, they shaped their course northward, and returned along the line of the Godavouree (Godavery) and Wurda, passing to the east of all Colonel Doveton's positions, and making good their route to Nemawur (Cheetoo's head-quarters) with an immense booty collected in the nizam's dominions, and with utter impunity."*

Elated by his success, Cheetoo planned and proclaimed a second lubburr immediately upon the return of the first. The Pindarrees again flocked in from every side to join in it; and by the 5th of February, 1816, 10,000 horsemen had again crossed the Nerbudda from Nemawur. This time the Company's territories did not escape. On the 10th of March, leaving plundered and burning villages in their rear, the Pindarrees appeared on the western frontier of the district of Masulipatam, under the Madras presidency. From

* Henry T. Prinsep, Esq., 'History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.'

Every unmentionable horror was perpetrated by the savages in the incursions. A committee appointed to examine the amount of mischief, presented a report which cannot be read without shuddering. An abstract will be found in Mr. Prinsep's valuable work.

this point they pressed southward. On the 11th they made a march of thirty-three miles, plundered seventy-two villages, and committed the most horrid cruelties upon the inoffensive and helpless villagers. On the next day they destroyed fifty-four villages, marched thirty-eight miles, and arrived at the civil station of Guntoor. Here they plundered a considerable part of the town, and the houses of all the civil officers; but, steady to their system of never risking life or limb in battle, they shrunk from the collector's office, where the government treasure and the persons of the British residents were protected by a handful of sepoy and invalids. The robbers went off as they came, suddenly and noiselessly. That night there was not one of them to be seen in the neighbourhood, and before the next day closed they were more than fifty miles from Guntoor. They swept through the Kirpah or Cuddapah district, and, after being twelve days within the Company's frontier, they re-crossed the Kistna. Many were spurring after them, but none could catch them. Shortly after re-crossing the Kistna the marauders broke up into separate bodies. The greater part moved along the north bank of the Kistna, passing south of Hyderabad, until they approached the peishwa's dominions. Then, turning short to the north, they retraced their steps to the Nerbudda. Colonel Doveton came close up with one of the divisions as it was passing a ghaut, but still the robbers escaped untouched. Another and a larger division was equally fortunate in escaping from the colonel.

Lord Moira, who saw the Nepaul war brought to an advantageous conclusion, at the very moment when both the Mahrattas and the Pindarrees were confidently calculating on its duration, was most eager to employ the unreduced strength of his armies in the accomplishment of the important object of securing the peace of Central India by the extirpation of the robbers. A large part of the Bengal army was kept in advanced cantonments, ready to take the field at any moment. His lordship obtained certain information that the peishwa, Scindiah, and other Mahratta potentates, were in close correspondence with the Pindarrees. But at this juncture the interests of the Company were greatly served by the death of two of our enemies. The nabob of Bhopaul and Raghojee Bhoonsla, the rajah of Nagpoor, both died in the month of March, 1816. The succession to these two musnuds was disputed, as usual, and

the successful claimants, feeling their seats insecure, were glad to purchase English assistance by concluding treaties favourable to our interests. Apa Saheb, who was installed at Nagpoor, accepted a subsidiary force of six battalions of our sepoy and a regiment of native cavalry; for this force he was to pay seven and a half lacs of rupees per annum, engaging at the same time to keep on foot a contingent force of his own of 5,000 men, and to allow this force to co-operate with the English in putting down the Pindarrees.

And simultaneously with these negotiations, others were carried on with the rajah of Jypoor, whose alliance had been so unwisely (and not without dishonour) thrown up by Sir George Barlow, in 1806. Since then, Jypoor had been desolated by the constant attacks of the Mahrattas and Patans, and our reputation had been tarnished by the sufferings of an old and faithful ally. At the end of 1815, the Jypoor rajah, in an extremity of misery and woe, called upon the governor-general, imploring to be received under the wing of protection.

Contrary to the decided opinion of some of the members of the supreme council, the governor-general resolved to carry into immediate execution the suspended orders, and to extend the protection of British arms to Jypoor. His lordship thought that this would aid his great plan for suppressing the Pindarrees, and that the measure, apart from any general plan of operations, was good in itself, as it would cripple the resources of one of the predatory powers (the Patans), and save a fine territory from ruin and devastation.* No doubt his lordship also conceived that it was high time to remove the foul blot which had fallen upon our national reputation. Accordingly, a subsidiary treaty was offered to the rajah of Jypoor, whose capital was actually besieged by Meer Khan and the Patans. As long as the siege lasted, the rajah seemed eager to comply with every article of the proposed treaty, and with every requisition made by Mr. Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, to whom the negotiation was principally confided; but when the siege was raised, when the Patans were bought off by a large sum of money, the rajah listened to the counsels of some of his proud Rajpoot chiefs, who were opposed to the English connection,

* H. T. Prinsep.

as destructive of the independence of their country and of their own feudal-like power (a power in virtue of which they often made war upon one another, or engaged in hostilities with their neighbours), and his vakeels at Delhi raised so many doubts and difficulties about the treaty, that Mr. Metcalfe dismissed them, and broke off the negotiation. But a loud murmur was raised by the suffering people of Jypoor, and by some of the nobles, who preferred peace and security under British protection to a tumultuary and uncertain independence, and the rajah's ministers and advisers found themselves under the necessity of sending their vakeels back to Delhi to solicit a renewal of negotiations. The vakeels, however, advanced several propositions which could not be acceded to: they asked for large pensions for themselves, and for English assistance to enable the rajah to make conquests over some of his neighbours.

Mr. Metcalfe dismissed the vakeels with some indignation; and the troops which had been collected to march to Nagpoor for the support of their rajah were sent to the Nerbudda in order to be employed in the campaign against the Pindarrees.

The plan of this campaign was now completed, the governor-general having received the sanction of the home authorities to his scheme for breaking up the confederacy and power of the banditti. To overawe the Mahrattas, and to cover the frontiers of our allies, nearly 40,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, besides artillery and the contingents of the native powers, were collected in positions near the territories of Scindiah and Holkar.

By the end of October, 1816, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker took up a defensive line on the southern bank of the Nerbudda, with the main body of the subsidiary force which the Company had sent into Nagpoor. This defensive line, being nearly one hundred and fifty miles in length, was loose and weak; but the first appearance of a British army in the valley of the Nerbudda spread consternation amongst the robbers, and induced Cheetoo to prepare to quit the northern bank of that river and cross the mountains into Malwa. Perceiving, however, that the red coats did not cross the Nerbudda, the Pindarrees recovered confidence; and on the 4th of November they resolved to push small parties between Colonel Walker's posts, and round his flanks; and a party crossed the river, and then dividing into

two, took different directions. Colonel Walker, in attempting to intercept one of the divisions, unexpectedly fell upon the other as it was bivouacking in a jungle: he inflicted some loss; but the nimble robbers were soon in the saddle, and before long they had re-crossed the river. On the 13th of November, all the durras were in motion. Cheetoo had discovered that Walker's cavalry was all on his left flank, and he therefore threw forward more than five thousand of his well-mounted thieves to turn Walker's right flank. This band, which appears to have been followed by others, crossed the river in sight of the infantry post, on the extreme right of our line, and then dashed on with a rapidity which left our infantry no chance of stopping or harassing their march. When collected on the southern side of the Nerbudda, the Pindarrees separated into two great bodies. One swept due east, through forests and over mountains, and fell unexpectedly upon the Company's district of Ganjam, the northernmost frontier of the five Circars, with the evident intention of proceeding to Cuttack and Juggernaut, to plunder the rich stronghold of Hiudū superstition, to carry off the idols and the votive offerings and rich donations of the pilgrims and devotees. But this lubbur was met by a small body of the Company's troops, almost as soon as it entered Ganjam, and was driven back with considerable loss. The other lubbur, which had gone off to the southward, rushed into the nizam's territory before Colonel Doveton could come up with it. It then marched leisurely along, plundering and destroying, until it came near to the town of Beeder, the capital of a province of the Deckan, and about seventy-three miles north-west from Hyderabad. Here it came to a halt, and its chiefs to a disagreement as to the further course which ought to be pursued. While the leaders were in this state of indecision, Major Macdowall, who had been detached from Hyderabad, fell upon the lubbur by night with the van party of his light troops, and cut it up completely, although it was six thousand strong, and the first attack made by a mere handful of light cavalry. The robbers abandoned most of their horses, and the greater part of their booty, dispersed themselves over the country, and thought of nothing but their personal safety, and of the means of returning to the northern side of the Nerbudda. But one leader, named Sheikh Dulloo, had abandoned this lubbur altogether a few days before Macdowall's exploit,

and had gone off with from three to five hundred Pindarrees to act for himself. He dashed across the peishwa's territory, descended into the Konkan, and thence shaped his course due north, plundering the western shores of India, from the 17th to the 21st degree of north latitude, and returning by the valley of the Taptee, and the route of Boorhanpoor, the capital of the Candeish province of the Deekan. This was the only lubbur that met with any success this season. The only loss it sustained from British troops was on its return to the Nerbudda, in the following March. Here Sheikh Dulloo and his people were within a few miles of home, or of Cheetoo's cantonment; but they found the ford by which they had hoped to cross the river guarded by a redoubt, occupied by a small party of our sepoy. Several of the robbers were shot in attempting to dash across; but the sheikh himself, with the main body and best-mounted followers, retiring from the ford, boldly swam the river lower down, though not without a further loss of men and horses. Those who had worse horses or less courage dispersed, and fled into the jungle on the English side of the Nerbudda, where the greater part of them were cut off by the wild inhabitants of the country. By the various accidents of flood and fire, more than one half of those who had followed Sheikh Dulloo perished; but the rest reached Cheetoo's durra with a rich booty in their saddles.*

Two or three smaller lubburs had contrived to cross the Nerbudda; but they met with nothing but hard blows and disappointment. One of them was cut to pieces by the 4th Madras native cavalry, led on by Major Lushington. Another was almost annihilated on its return homeward. Hosts of them were cut off by the people whom they had plundered in their advance. They had been continually fleeing before a handful of men, and had been beaten every time they had been met with.† Still, however, their depredations during this campaign, or season of 1816-17, had embraced a more ample expanse of territory than had

* H. T. Prinsep.

† However great their own number, and however small that of their pursuers, they were always beaten when our sepoy or native cavalry could get up with them. Many English officers were invalidated in consequence of the terrible fatigues of the pursuit; but hardly any of our people were killed. In Major Lushington's brilliant affair one English officer was, however, slain by a Pindarree spear.

ever before been attempted, extending from shore to shore of the peninsula of India, and including all the intermediate provinces they had omitted the preceding year.

By this time it was very completely demonstrated that stationary posts of defence could not prevent the Pindarrees from crossing the Nerbudda and getting into our territories; and that it would not be possible to deal properly with those plunderers and murderers, unless our troops advanced into the country north of the Nerbudda, to the "procreant cradle" of the infamous race. The marquis of Hastings (the patent conferring this new title was dated the 7th of December, 1816) resolved to defer no longer the full execution of his plan, but to throw his armies across the Nerbudda. But troubles, excited or encouraged by the Mahrattas, broke out in the Company's district of the Doab, in Rohilcund, and in other quarters, and before moving onward it was necessary to put an end to them. In the province of Agra, Dyaram Thakoor and Bulwunt Sing, having obtained possession of some strong forts and castles, had begun to levy contributions on the Company's subjects, and to interrupt the trade of the upper provinces; robbers and cut-throats were repairing to their banners from all the neighbouring districts, and the laws were openly set at defiance nearly everywhere between Agra and Delhi. The marquis detached a considerable force, under General Marshall, to drive Dyaram Thakoor out of Hatras, his stronghold, and one of the strongest forts in India, garnished at this moment with 500 pieces of ordnance of all sorts. Being well provided with heavy artillery, General Marshall fully succeeded in his object. On the evening of the 2nd of March, one of his shells struck a huge powder-magazine, which blew up within the place, destroying half the garrison and nearly all the works; Dyaram, with a few horse, rushed out of the place and made his escape in the darkness of night, the rest of his people surrendering at discretion. Bulwunt Sing, the ally of Dyaram, agreed, on the first summons, to dismantle the fortress he held, to restore the plunder he had made, and to live honestly and peaceably for the future.

One whiff of grape-shot sufficed to put an end to the troubles in Rohilcund.

Apa Saheb, whom we had installed at Nagpoor, was neither a grateful nor a creditable ally. He disgraced the

musnud with blood and crime, and then sent vakeels to the peishwa, to Scindiah, to Holkar, and to all the powerful Mahratta chiefs, to solicit their alliance and assistance in expelling the English. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, our able, accomplished, and energetic resident at Poonah, soon ascertained that, notwithstanding the peishwa's solemn assurances to the contrary, that prince was still guided by the invisible Trimbukjee; that troops were collecting in the hills to the south-east of Poonah; that troops were levying in other directions; that the peishwa's officers were repairing his forts, and sending agents and money into Malwa, to recruit for his service. Mr. Elphinstone demanded that all these things should cease, that the felon and murderer Trimbukjee should be given up, and that the adherents and the members of Trimbukjee's family should be put under restraint, instead of being continued in favour and office. The crafty Mahratta prince put part of Trimbukjee's family under arrest, and declared to our resident that the troops in the hills were only a set of desperadoes, driven into insurrection and armed by Trimbukjee, whom he would put to death if he could catch him.

But Mr. Elphinstone was not duped by this juggling. He called down the subsidiary force to Poonah, and told the peishwa, who was preparing to go and join Trimbukjee, that he must not leave his capital. As soon as the Company's troops assembled in some force, a portion of them were detached to the Mahadeo hills, where they discovered and dispersed the pretended insurgent army, and the rest were drawn round Poonah, within which city the peishwa had 6,000 or 7,000 foot, a large body of cavalry, and a fortified palace. Mr. Elphinstone's first intention was to demand hostages for the surrender of Trimbukjee, and for the punctual performance of the treaty of Bassein, and, in case of a refusal, to storm the palace and seize the person of the peishwa; but he shrunk from the carnage and destruction which might attend a war of streets, and a battle in the centre of a populous city, all the peaceful inhabitants of which continued to regard the English not as enemies, but as their best friends. Our resident therefore waited events, not without a hope that the peishwa would throw off the unaccountable spell which that low ruffian Trimbukjee had cast upon him, and would listen to the advice of better counsellors and to the wishes of the majority of his subjects

for a continuance of peace with the Company. But while Mr. Elphinstone waited, the adherents of Trimbukjee took possession of several of the peishwa's forts, stopped the post in Cuttack and other places, and thus cut off our resident from all communication with the governor-general and the council at Calcutta. At the most critical moment of this trying crisis Mr. Elphinstone was left without instructions, to act as his own judgment might prompt and on his own responsibility. But his sagacity and good judgment never failed him, and with the training he had had, he was not the man to be bewildered or intimidated by any amount of responsibility. We can only briefly sketch the particulars of his conduct; but they were such as obtained for him universal admiration. If the peishwa should escape to Ryeghur, which is situated among the ghauts of the Konkan, it would be impracticable to follow him till after the monsoon torrents; and, once in that strong position, he might make it his centre of operations, and unite behind its walls all the Mahratta chiefs that were bent upon a war with the English. Mr. Elphinstone, therefore, determined to wait no longer, and drawing his troops more closely round Poonah, he demanded that the peishwa should, within twenty-four hours, solemnly engage to deliver up Trimbukjee, the source of all the mischief, within a month, and put the English in possession of his forts of Ryeghur, Singhur, and Poorandur, as pledges.

The peishwa hesitated, but the aspect of our troops was alarming, and the temper of the people of his capital scarcely less so, and, within the four-and-twenty hours, he accepted the conditions offered to him, and the forts were immediately placed in our possession. But true to no line of policy, steady to nothing except in his infatuation for Trimbukjee, the Mahratta potentate repented of the bargain he had made, and endeavoured to break it. Finding, however, that the attempt was for the present too hazardous, he offered a reward for the apprehension of Trimbukjee, dead or alive, and confiscated his property and that of twelve of his partisans. Yet, at the same moment, he took measures to provide for the safety and concealment of that foul robber, and secretly remitted him some money.

A few days after this, on the 13th of June, the peishwa signed a treaty offered to him by Mr. Elphinstone, as the only mode of removing doubts and jealousies. By this

treaty the peishwa, among other things, engaged to renounce all negotiations with powers hostile to the Company; to renounce all right of supremacy over our ally the Guicowar; to give up all rights and pretensions in Guzarat, Bundelkund, and every part of Hindustan Proper; to surrender to the Company in perpetuity the fort of Ahmednuggur and certain other territories; and to dissolve the great Mahratta confederacy by abandoning all connection with the other Mahratta powers, and consequently his station as their peishwa or head. He also agreed to an important alteration in the treaty of Bassien. By that treaty he had bound himself to furnish to the Company in time of war a contingent of 5,000 horse and 3,000 foot, with ordnance proportionate; but this was now exchanged for an engagement to furnish to the Company the means of paying and maintaining an equal force. Altogether the revenue ceded by the peishwa was estimated at thirty-four lacs of rupees. The treaty was ratified by the governor-general within a month, or on the 5th of July, 1817. The peishwa's perfidy, and his preparations for joining the worst of our enemies at the moment when we were about entering on a connected plan of operations for extirpating the Pindarrees, merited a more severe chastisement.

But in the Konkan, whither he would have retired had he been able, some of his chiefs resisted the English. This resistance, however, was soon put down by Colonel Doveton and Colonel Scott. Doveton routed and expelled the partisans of Trimbukjee in Khandesh; and Scott, making ladders of his tent-poles, gallantly escalated and stormed the strong fort of Dorana. After the loss of this their chief stronghold, Trimbukjee's adherents ceased to make head, and the murderer himself fled to the jungles in the valley of the Nerbudda, where he could communicate with Cheetoo and his Pindarrees. It should appear that Trimbukjee found means of communicating with the peishwa also; for at the very moment that the English army was ready to cross the Nerbudda, in order to fall upon the robbers, the Mahratta potentate threw the treaty of June to the winds, and fell upon the English at Poonah.

As soon as the imposing force which Mr. Elphinstone had assembled round that capital, had retired to its cantonments, the peishwa's kettle-drum was beat in every direction for recruits and volunteers; and by the beginning of

October masses of cavalry, prodigious in their numbers, were collected at various stations. To the English resident, the peishwa represented that he was raising troops for no other object than that of complying with the request of the governor-general to co-operate against the Pindarrees. But Mr. Elphinstone's experience did not allow him to trust to any Mahratta protestations or oaths; and he soon discovered that the peishwa's agents were attempting to corrupt the Company's sepoy's belonging to that portion of the subsidiary force which had been left at Poonah.

Upon this discovery the sepoy's were removed from the town to the village of Kirkee in the immediate neighbourhood. There was only one brigade of sepoy's in all, but the position was admirably strong, being protected by a river in the rear and on the left, and supported on the right by the village. Moreover, there were other battalions cantoned a few miles off, to the west. The peishwa, however, took it into his dull head that the English confessed their fears by evacuating the city; and this too in spite of the evident fact that Mr. Elphinstone remained behind at the residency. He pushed forward his confused hordes to Poonah, and drew up a plan for surrounding the English camp at Kirkee and preventing the arrival of reinforcements. Some of these Mahrattas were constantly riding round the camp, and abusing our men and officers. An English officer was attacked, plundered, and wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed. It was not until these unequivocal demonstrations had been made that Mr. Elphinstone called up from Seroor a light battalion and a corps of 1,000 auxiliary horse. These forces left Seroor on the 5th of November, and marched half-way to Poonah. As soon as the peishwa heard of its being in motion, he put his own unwieldy army in motion also, and threw a strong battalion between the residency on the skirts of the town and the camp at Kirkee, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between the two. Mr. Elphinstone, who demanded the reason of this hostile proceeding, was told that the peishwa had only anticipated the hostile movements of the English, being determined to be no longer the victim of his irresolution. And, as if to prove that he had screwed up his valour to the fighting-point, the peishwa mounted his horse immediately after, and joined the main body of his army on a hill a little to the south-west of Poonah. The host forthwith advanced on the residency.

Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had barely time to mount their horses and cross the river towards the English camp, ere the Mahrattas took possession of the houses, from which there had not been time to remove anything. All were plundered in the twinkling of an eye, and were afterwards burned. Much valuable property was destroyed, but the most irreparable loss was that of Mr. Elphinstone's manuscripts and library.

Meanwhile Mr. Elphinstone and his party made good their retreat along the left bank of the river, skirmishing with some Mahratta horse that followed them, and passing under the fire of the battalion which had been thrust between the residency and the camp at Kirkee. Generally the civil servants of the Company were ambi-dextrous, or capable of wielding with the same hand the sword as well as the pen. As soon as Mr. Elphinstone was safe in the camp, and had been greeted as he deserved, it was resolved not to stand there on the defensive, nor to wait the arrival of the troops that were marching from Seroor, but to recross the river and attack the Mahrattas immediately. The brigade, commanded by Colonel Burr, was now about 2,800 strong, and the Bombay European regiment was in it; the Mahrattas mustered at the least 25,000 men, and they had many guns; but the peishwa was a rank coward, and the mass of his force a mere armed rabble. The combat did not commence until late in the afternoon, and before nightfall it was ended by the flight of the Mahrattas, who either threw themselves into Poonah or into a fortified camp near the town. They left about 500 on the field. Our loss was eighteen killed and fifty-seven wounded. During the battle Mr. Elphinstone remained on the field, in order to give Colonel Burr the advantage of his very perfect local knowledge. On the following morning, the 6th of November, the light battalion and irregular horse from Seroor joined Colonel Burr. The Mahrattas drew up in order of battle, but did nothing except mutilate some women and dependents of the Company's brigade whom they had surprised and seized in the old cantonments.* As their numbers seemed to increase,

* After the poor women had been brutally mutilated, they were let loose to find their way to the brigade. In other instances which occurred during the 5th and 6th of November, the Mahrattas too plainly showed with what a ferocious spirit they took the field. Two of our officers, Captain Vaughan and his brother, who were travelling with a small escort,

and as the city and the old cantonments which the English had occupied afforded rather formidable means of defence, Colonel Burr and Mr. Elphinstone determined to wait the arrival of Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, who was advancing from the banks of the Godavery. Smith, who had but very little cavalry with him, and no regular cavalry at all, was molested on his march by hordes of Mahratta horse, who succeeded in plundering some of his baggage; but his division reached the English camp in front of Poonah on the 13th of November. Owing to some unexpected difficulties, the British did not advance against the city and the cantonments (which were further fortified in the interval) until the 16th. A large Mahratta force, which attempted to dispute their advance, was discomfited, after a smart combat, which cost us sixty men and an officer. This decided the affair; in the course of the ensuing night the peishwa fled, and on the following morning, when our troops marched up to the intrenched camp, they found that the tents were left standing, but that there was not a single Mahratta there.* General Smith posted his artillery and threatened the city of Poonah with a bombardment; but the only garrison there consisted of a few hundred Arabs, and these, by the persuasion or by the threats of the inhabitants, were induced to retire. The citizens opened the gates, and our troops took quiet possession of the city. In all this the far greater portion of the peishwa's subjects saw nothing but the direct vengeance of Heaven for the horrible and sacrilegious crime committed in murdering Gungadhur Shastri within the precincts of the holiest of their temples. On the 19th, General Smith, having been joined by a regiment of the Madras cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, started in pursuit of the peishwa. In the course of the day Captain Turner, of the light division, succeeded in capturing eighteen guns with their tumbrils and ammunition, and a great quantity of baggage. But the peishwa and the forces with him moved too rapidly to be caught: he threw himself into

were induced to surrender by promise of quarter, and were both hanged. Ensign Ennis, of the Bombay engineers, who was taking a survey some fifty miles from Poonah, was shot; and Lieutenants Morisson and Hunter, of the Madras cavalry, were attacked as they were marching towards Poonah, from the nizam's dominions, utterly unconscious of the rupture.

* The peishwa had, however, succeeded in carrying off all his guns except one, which was of an enormous size, and too heavy to be removed with any speed.

the wild and elevated country in which the river Krishna takes its rise ; and, continuing an erratic course, he eluded pursuit until the following year.

Apa Saheb, at Nagpoor, like the peishwa at Poonah, reckoned with certainty on his ability to overwhelm the small English force stationed at his capital. Throwing off all disguise, he declared for the peishwa, not knowing that he was already beaten. Mr. Jenkins, the resident, called in a brigade from its cantonments, and posted it round the residency, which was situated a little to the west of the city of Nagpoor, and separated from it only by a small ridge. The brigade was scarcely posted ere infantry, cavalry, and artillery, natives and wild Arabs, began to gather round the residency. On the following day, the 26th of November, some of the rajah's infantry and artillery commenced a fire upon the ridge, which was now occupied by our brigade. This continued from sunset till two hours after midnight. Our troops suffered severely: Captain Sadler, the first in command, was killed; and Captain Charlesworth, the next in command, was wounded. But several assaults made to carry the hill were repulsed with great loss to the enemy. When the firing was over, our troops laboured to strengthen their position; they had but few intrenching tools wherewith to make artificial defences; but they placed along the exposed brow of the hill sacks of flour and wheat, and any thing else capable of affording some cover. At daybreak the enemy recommenced their fire with greater fury; masses of their cavalry showed themselves all round our position, and the Arab infantry, in the rajah's service, displayed great resolution and confidence. An accident happening to one of our guns, these Arabs rushed up the hill, seized it, and pointed it with murderous effect against our next post, having first put to the sword all the wounded that had fallen round the gun. Their first shot from that gun killed Dr. Neven, the surgeon, and Lieutenant Clarke; the second, a round of grape, killed the resident's first assistant, Mr. George Sotheby, and totally disabled four men besides. The camp-followers and the women and children of our sepoy set up a wild shriek, and our position was *entamée* by the fierce Arabs: the day seemed lost and a horrible butchery inevitable, when Captain Fitzgerald made a brisk and most gallant charge with the cavalry of our brigade, which consisted of only three troops of the 6th Bengal regiment.

Heading the little column himself, and dashing across a nullah and over the bridge, Fitzgerald charged one mass of the enemy, drove them from their guns, turned them upon themselves, and then retired towards the residency, dragging the captured guns with him, and firing as he retired. Our people on the ridge set up a joyous shout, and a detachment of them advanced against the fierce Arabs, who kept their ground, though those who ought to have supported them were running away. These Arabs, however, could not stand bayonet-charge; they were driven from the post, the guns they had captured were recovered, and two other guns, which the enemy had brought up, were taken. In heading this desperate charge, Captain Lloyd and Lieutenant Grant particularly distinguished themselves. Grant was wounded three times, and his third wound proved mortal. The Arabs lay thick round the guns among the British and sepoys they had butchered. As soon as this charge was crowned with success, Apa Saheb's troops gave way on every side, and about the hour of noon they fled from the field in panic-disorder, leaving all their artillery to the conquerors. Thus ended a conflict more desperate than any that had taken place in India since the early days of Clive. Apa Saheb sent vakeels to the resident to express his grief, and to disavow having himself authorised the attack. He also employed the women of his family as intercessors for pardon. Anon, Company's troops poured into the country from every quarter. As early as the 29th, Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan arrived at the residency with two battalions and three troops of horse, two galloper-guns, supplies of ammunition, &c. But it was of the utmost consequence that Apa Saheb should be entirely crushed with the utmost rapidity, in order that the grand campaign should proceed against the Pindarrees and their supporters, and that other vacillating allies should be deterred from following his example by learning the terrible example of English vengeance—by hearing, in one breath, that the rajah of Nagpoor had risen in arms, that the rajah of Nagpoor had been beaten, and his power annihilated.

Accordingly the marquis of Hastings, who was himself on the Nerbudda, sent still more troops to Nagpoor, under Major Pitman, Brigadier-general Doveton, and Brigadier-general Hardyman. These troops being up, our resident, on the morning of the 15th of December, informed the

rajah that if he did not immediately submit to terms, and disband all his Arabs, no conditions would be allowed him. Apa Saheb endeavoured to temporize. But in the evening General Doveton beat to arms, approached the town walls, and there bivouacked for the night. At six o'clock the next morning the rajah sent to say that his Arabs would not allow him to go over to the English, and that he must beg for a respite of two or three days. All the respite General Doveton would give was for two hours: Apa Saheb must come in by 9 o'clock, or abide the consequences. As 9 o'clock came, and as the rajah came not, our army advanced in order of battle to a position close upon the enemy's camp; and upon this, Apa Saheb, giving way to his fears, mounted his horse, galloped away from the camp to the residency, and delivered himself up as a hostage. He there gave a written order that the artillery in the arsenal and in the camp should be surrendered. General Doveton, suspecting mischief, if not from the treachery of the rajah, from the desperation of the Arabs, instead of sending a party to take possession of the guns, advanced his whole line by open column of companies. The arsenal, containing thirty-six guns, was taken without resistance; but as Doveton proceeded, a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon his front and right flank. Through the general's prudence and foresight, he was not unprepared for this attack: his cavalry and horse artillery were with him; and, while his infantry charged up in front, these made a detour, and got on the enemy's flank. In less than an hour all the batteries were carried, the Arabs were put to flight, and seventy-five more guns, mortars, and howitzers, forty-five elephants, the entire camp, and all Apa Saheb's camp equipage were in our hands. But the fire of those fierce Arabs had cost us in killed and wounded thirty-nine British and 102 native soldiers. Part of the Arab infantry rallied in the city, occupied the fortress, within which were the rajah's palaces and other strong buildings, and there they maintained themselves with such desperation, that it was not until the 30th of December that they could be driven out. Doveton's siege artillery had not yet had time to come up, and in an attempt to storm the fort through an insufficient breach, he lost ninety in killed and 179 in wounded. With the departure of these daring Arabs, resistance ceased; the rajah, his city of

Nagpoor, and all his country were at our feet. The fate of Apa Saheb remained in suspense for a few months.

In the meanwhile the Pindarree forces had been shattered and scattered, in spite of the extensive combinations made to support them as the great vanguard of the Mahrattas. The marquis of Hastings took the field in person, and directed the main operations of this campaign. His preparations were all on a gigantic scale. The army of the Bengal presidency, commanded by the governor-general in person, and called the "Grand Army," counted 40,000 fighting men. The Madras troops, which took the field under the designation of the "Army of the Deckan," numbered 70,400 fighting men. A part of the Bombay army was put in motion from the side of Guzarat, to co-operate in the general objects of the campaign. Counting the irregular cavalry supplied by the allies or dependents of the Company, the whole force brought into the field must have exceeded 130,000 men; and of these forces above 13,000 were British soldiers. No such army had ever yet marched under our colours in India. It was not possible to estimate the varying force of all our enemies; but it may be roughly stated that the Mahratta confederacy had 130,000 horse, 80,000 foot, and 580 guns, while the different fragments that remained of their Pindarree allies would form a total of about 15,000. But it was not the number of these undisciplined barbarians that was to be taken into consideration: it was the very extensive—the indefinable field of the war, the number and strength of the fortresses in Central India, the facilities which the Mahrattas possessed for making flying marches, and for embarrassing the movements of our columns by lighting up the flames of war at nearly the same moment at many and distant points, that demanded the employment of a large force and of great forethought. The material and the military means we possessed in India at this period were stupendous; but our Indian army had still much to learn, and it was still defective in several very essential departments. It had hardly any sappers and miners, and the engineering department had only a few scaling-ladders, and a miserable supply of intrenching tools and the other tools and small stores indispensable to the proper execution of siege-work. The number both of the artillery and engineer officers was small and disproportionate; nor were the heavy battering-trains adequate to the work in hand.

Through these deficiencies the sieges of this war were prosecuted occasionally at an unusually heavy cost of life and limb, and were, some few times, absolute failures. The army, moreover, had no equipment of pontoons, or of other means for the military passage of rivers. Hence the troops, in pursuing the fitting enemy, were often delayed by the numerous small streams which intersect part of the Deckan, and the Mahrattas were allowed to escape when their ruin seemed inevitable.*

The governor-general knew not who would prove friends or enemies as he advanced up the country. His lordship crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, 1817. As it was necessary that a part of the forces should traverse the territories of Scindiah, Captain Close, the resident at the durbar of Scindiah, who now held his court in the strong fortress of Gwalior, was instructed to press for the conclusion of a treaty which had been for some time on the tapis. Scindiah, who had promised to support the peishwa, and who was corresponding not only with the Pindarree chiefs and with the rajah of Nagpoor, but also with the Gorkhas of Nepaul, in order to excite those formidable enemies to a new war, and bring them down on the right flank and on the rear of our advancing army, hesitated, and sought all kinds of subterfuges, and did not sign the treaty proposed to him by the governor-general until the 5th of November, when two of our *corps d'armée*, one under the immediate command of his lordship, and the other under that of General Donkin, were within one march of his frontier. Then Scindiah engaged to afford every facility to the British troops in the pursuit of the Pindarrees through his dominions, and to co-operate actively towards the extinction of those brutal freebooters. Meer Khan and other chiefs of Mahrattas and leaders of Patan bands followed the

* Colonel Valentine Blacker, quartermaster-general of the army of Fort St. George, 'Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818, and 1819.'

Edward Lake, lieutenant of the Honourable East-India Company's Madras Engineers, 'Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819, with Observations on the System according to which such Operations have usually been conducted in India, and a Statement of the Improvements that appear necessary.'

This last work was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir John Malcolm.

Both works eminently deserve the attention of all young officers serving in India—or, indeed, in any other country.

example of Scindiah, and precisely from the same motives, or the fears of the stupendous armaments that were sweeping through the country. If the marquis of Hastings had attempted to negotiate before marching his army, another year would have been lost. The states of the Mahratta house of Holkar stood, with reference to the Pindarrees, in a somewhat similar position to those of Scindiah; but it was supposed that there was less to apprehend from their hostility. Our old foe, the hardy adversary of Lord Lake and General Wellesley, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, died mad in 1811, and his country had been in a state of revolution and anarchy ever since, more murders having been committed than would fill a Newgate Calendar.

During the rains of this year (1817), the Pindarrees made great efforts to recruit their durras, and to concert some general plan of operations; but disagreements broke out among their chiefs. When the rains were over, they made some very unsuccessful attempts to break into our territories. They were everywhere headed back, and they were soon pressed and pursued, and driven from their haunts by the several corps of Major-general Marshall and Colonel Sir John Malcolm. Malcolm, being informed of Cheetoo's flight to the westward, followed him as the most able and dangerous of the robbers. At Agur he learned that Cheetoo had pitched his camp close to that of the Holkar Mahrattas, who were fully determined to support him, having just received from the peishwa a large sum of money. Upon this intelligence, Sir John Malcolm fell back to the neighbourhood of Oojein, a town of great celebrity in Malwa, where another *corps d'armée* was collected, under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop.

While these forces lay at Oojein, another revolution and murder took place in the Holkar camp. The young heir to the musnud was enticed away from the tent in which he was playing, and his mother, who was acting as regent, was seized at night and beheaded, as a traitress sold to the English. Having done these deeds, the Patan chiefs became clamorous for battle; and the whole Holkar army, advancing rapidly, plundered part of the English baggage. The next day (21st of December, 1817) they met their reward in the bloody battle of Mahidpoor. There, strongly posted on the bank of the Sipra river (into whose waters they had thrown the headless body of the regent), they were beaten,

bayoneted, cut to pieces, deprived of all their artillery, amounting to seventy pieces, and of everything that gave them the character of an army. The remnant of their force fled to the large walled town of Rampoor, in the heart of the province of Malwa. Sir John Malcolm formed the plan of the battle, and headed the assault on the left flank of the enemy. The British casualties were unusually severe, amounting to 174 killed and 604 wounded. Among the wounded were thirty-five officers, of whom fifteen were severely injured. In the pursuit, which was continued by Sir John Malcolm and Captain Grant, along both banks of the river Sipra, immense booty was obtained, including elephants, some hundreds of camels, &c.

Sir John Malcolm advanced rapidly towards the capital of the Holkars, being joined on the way by part of the Bombay army from Guzarat, under the orders of Major-general Sir William Keir. Those Mahrattas now agreed to and hastily concluded a treaty of peace, placing their territories under British protection, and surrendering in perpetuity to the Company various districts, forts, and ghauts. The treaty was scarcely concluded ere some of the Patan chiefs attempted to break it; but these desperadoes were defeated, and most of their adherents slaughtered in Rampoor by some detachments of infantry and cavalry. A few more marches and two or three stormings of forts, reduced the whole of the country of the Holkar Mahrattas to a state of tranquillity and obedience. These rapid successes kept Scindiah steady to the treaty which he had recently concluded, and deprived the wandering peishwa of almost his last hope. They also enabled our troops to follow the Pindarrees, who were now flying in all directions, like sea-fowls in a storm. Some of Cheetoo's durra had followed the Patan chiefs to Mahidpoor; but after our victory there, Cheetoo fled to shift for himself, seeing that no aid was to be expected from the Mahrattas. He was closely followed by the Guzarat army of Sir William Keir, who surprised him and cut up part of his durra in the neighbourhood of Satoolla. Harassed by the activity of Sir William's pursuit, and finding that other corps were closing fast round them, the marauders endeavoured to retrace their steps to their old haunts in the valley of the Nerbudda, and in parts of Malwa. Other chiefs failed, and were cut up in the attempt; but Cheetoo succeeded in baffling every effort made to intercept

him, or overtake him, and affected his object by penetrating through a most difficult country. He suddenly reappeared in Malwa, in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Dhar, situated among rocks, forests, and the sources of rivers; but his extraordinary march had cost him all his baggage and most of his horses. He was now lost sight of for some time; during which the best of his fellow-chiefs, with their durras, were extirpated in other parts. At last, his lair was discovered, and on the night of the 25th of January, 1818, a strong party of the British came upon him, and utterly broke up his band. Cheetoo, however, escaped, and for a short time wandered about Malwa, with some two hundred followers.

At this conjuncture, it struck Cheetoo that possibly the nabob of Bhopaul might make terms for him and the remnant of his durra with the English; and rapidly acting on the idea, he suddenly entered the camp of that prince. But when he learned that the nabob could offer or promise nothing beyond a slender personal maintenance in some remote corner of India, he decamped as suddenly as he had come. Though he had got safely off, he was presently pursued by the nabob's people and by parties sent out by Sir John Malcolm. This distressed him so much, that Rajun, one of his most faithful and valuable adherents, left him, and made his submission. Yet, after all this, Cheetoo found his way into the Deckan, and made common cause with the Arabs and chiefs of the peishwa's routed army. His end, however, approached; and it was tragical and singular. Having joined Apa Saheb, he passed the rainy season of 1818 among the Mahadeo hills; and upon that rajah's expulsion by the English in February, 1819, he followed him to Aseerghur. Being refused admittance, he sought shelter in a neighbouring jungle, and on horseback and alone attempted to penetrate a cover known to be infested by tigers. He was missed for some days, and no one knew what had become of him. His well-known horse was at last discovered grazing near the margin of the forest, saddled and bridled, and exactly in the state in which it was when Cheetoo had last been seen upon it. A bag of two hundred and fifty rupees was found in the saddle, together with several seal-rings and some letters of Apa Saheb, promising future reward to the great robber. A search was made in the cover for the body; and at no great distance

were found clothes clotted with blood, fragments of bones, and, lastly, the Pindarree's head entire, with the features in a state to be recognized.*

With Cheetoo ended the last of the Pindarrees, and the spirit which had animated their vast lawless associations. It is now a quarter of a century since that gallant officer, accomplished diplomatist, and able writer, the late Sir John Malcolm, said of them—"There now remains not a spot in India that a Pindarree can call his home. They have been hunted like wild beasts; numbers have been killed; all ruined. Those who espoused their cause have fallen. They were early in the contest shunned like a contagion, and even the timid villagers, whom they so recently oppressed, were among the foremost to attack them. Their principal leaders had either died, submitted, or been made captives; while their followers, with the exception of a few whom the liberality and consideration of the British government have aided to become industrious, are lost in that population from whose dross they originally issued. A minute investigation only can discover these once formidable disturbers, concealed as they now are among the lowest classes, where they are making some amends for past atrocities by the benefit which is derived from their labour in restoring trade and cultivation. These freebooters had none of the prejudices of caste, for they belonged to all tribes. They never had either the pride of soldiers, of family, or of country, so that they were bound by none of those ties which among many of the communities in India assume an almost indestructible character. Other plunderers may arise from distempered times, but as a body the Pindarrees are so effectually destroyed, that their name is already almost forgotten, though not five years are passed since it spread terror and dismay over all India."†

* Henry T. Prinsep, Esq., of the Bengal civil service, 'History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, 1813-1823.'

† 'Memoir of Central India.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WHILE the forces under the marquis of Hastings, and the divisions under Hislop, Malcolm, Keir, Adams, and other officers, were chasing the Pindarrees from moor and mountain, valley and jungle, or reducing the forts in Malwa, Brigadier-general Smith, who had been reinforced at Poonah, prepared for an active pursuit of Bajee Rao, the fugitive peishwa, who had flitted hither and thither, like an *ignis fatuus*. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, having organized a police and a provisional administration for the city of Poonah, accompanied General Smith's division, which began its march at the end of November. Gokla, one of the peishwa's evil advisers but bravest officers, attempted to defend a ghaut leading to the high land where the Kistna had its source, and where the peishwa had found a refuge and a rallying point; but the Mahratta was beaten, and the pass was cleared by the British with great ease. No fighting, but rapid and most wearying marches ensued, the peishwa's army flying in a sort of zigzag, and the peishwa himself always keeping in advance of his main body.

At last the Mahratta succeeded in getting round Smith's division; and then, passing between Poonah and Seroor, he moved northward as far as Wuttoor, on the road to Nassik. Here he was joined by his long-lost favourite Trimbukjee, who brought him a considerable reinforcement of horse and foot.

After he had discovered the direction the peishwa had taken, and had recruited his own worn-out cattle, General Smith, on the 22nd of September, started again in pursuit. This headlong race to the northward brought Smith close upon the rear of the Mahrattas; but, with the lubricity of eels, they slipped through his fingers, and making a flank movement behind some hills, they turned suddenly to the south, and retraced their steps towards Poonah. Colonel Burr, who commanded in that city, appre-

hending an attack, solicited the reinforcement of a battalion from Seroor. Captain Francis French Staunton,* of the Bombay establishment, was forthwith detached from Seroor with about 600 sepoy, 300 auxiliary horse, and two six-pounders. The distance was only two short marches. Staunton began his march from Seroor at eight o'clock in the evening of the 31st of December, and at ten the next morning he reached the heights of Corregaum, about half-way to Poonah, when looking down upon the plain which lay between him and that city, he saw the whole of the peishwa's army, estimated at 20,000 horse and several thousand foot. His march to Poonah was intercepted, and he himself was in great danger of being cut off. The brave officer did what the circumstances of the case required: he made a dash at the village of Corregaum (which stood on the heights, and which was composed of a number of stone houses with strong stone walls round the gardens), hoping to gain possession of it before it could be obtained by the enemy. But the Mahrattas, or rather the Arabs, who composed the main body of their infantry, were as near to the village as was Captain Staunton; and, as he entered on one side and took possession of some of the houses, the Arabs entered at the opposite side and took possession of other houses. A terrible struggle ensued, at first between the Company's troops and the Arabs for the possession of the whole of the village, and then between our handful of men and nearly the whole of the Mahratta army. Unfortunately Captain Swanston, who commanded our 300 auxiliary horse, was wounded early in the day, and his weak squadrons could not show themselves in face of the masses of Mahratta cavalry. The enemy, who had been running too fast to carry artillery with him, brought up only two guns; but if there was an equality in this particular arm, their infantry exceeded ours by ten to one. Nevertheless our admirable sepoy maintained their post, and kept up an incessant fight from the hour of noon till nine in the evening, during which time they had no refreshment, and not even a drop of water to drink. Attack after attack was made under the eye of the peishwa, who stood, no doubt at a safe distance, on a neighbouring hill. They had all failed, when Lieutenant Chisholm, the officer of artillery, with most of his men,

* Subsequently Colonel F. F. Staunton, C.B.

having been killed at a post near a pagoda, and all the European officers having been disabled except three, the Arabs charged and obtained possession of one of our two guns, which was stationed at the pagoda. Our wounded were lying thick round that building, and among them were Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, Captain Swanston, and Lieutenant Connellon. The wild Arabs immediately began to massacre these helpless wounded men and to mutilate the bodies of the slain. Poor Wingate was literally hacked to pieces, as was the body of Lieutenant Chisholm, the officer of artillery. But the Arabs did not long enjoy their bloody triumph; the three undisaibled officers, Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Assistant-Surgeon Wylie,* though almost exhausted, and with their men fainting from want of water, headed one more charge, the last of the many that they had made during the day, recaptured the lost gun, and slaughtered the Arabs in a heap. The charge was utterly desperate, for every man felt that there was nothing between him and victory except torture and death. On this occasion Lieutenant Pattinson, who had been wounded and carried into a house, appeared again at the head of his men, and continued to exert the little strength he had left until he received another wound, which proved mortal. Captain Swanston and Lieutenant Connellon were rescued; and every man of the Arabs who had penetrated to the pagoda was bayoneted without mercy. By a little after nine, the enemy were completely driven from the village and all the ground near it, and our fainting sepoy were then enabled to obtain a supply of water, the only refreshment they got during the whole day and following night. Where the desperate Arabs had failed, there was but slight chance that the cowardly Mahrattas would renew the attempt. Captain Staunton and his people passed the night without any molestation. At daybreak on the following morning the Mahratta army was seen hovering about the village, but none of them would

* The medical officers fought just as hard and as bravely as the other officers. With so small a force, and so very few English officers, it was necessary for every man to throw himself into the heat of the fight.

"The medical officers also led on the sepoy to charges with the bayonet, the nature of the contest not admitting of their attending to their professional duties; and in such a struggle the presence of a single European was of the utmost consequence, and seemed to inspire the native soldiers with the usual confidence of success."—"Division Orders by Brigadier-General Smith, C.B., East-India Military Calendar."

venture near; and this day also passed without any molestation. Captain Staunton had consumed so much powder during the nine hours' fighting of the preceding day, that he had only a few rounds of ammunition left; and provisions in the camp there were none, and none were to be procured in the village. Despairing therefore of being able to reach Poonah, he determined to move back to Seroor. He began his retreat in the dark on the night of the 2nd of January; he sacrificed much of his baggage in order to provide the means of conveying his numerous wounded, but he brought off not only his guns, but likewise all his wounded, and with them reached Seroor by nine o'clock the next morning, the 3rd of January. The men had had no refreshment but water from the 31st of December. Three officers were killed and two wounded; sixty-two men were killed and 112 wounded, exclusive of the auxiliary horse. The loss of men was most severe in the artillery, twelve being killed and eight wounded, out of a detail for two six-pounders only.*

Like the defence of the presidency at Nagpoor, this was an affair of which Clive himself might have been proud. Captain Staunton's superiors were men quite capable of appreciating his heroism, and of expressing their admiration in an eloquent and hearty manner. The governor-general, who forthwith nominated Staunton an honorary aide-de-camp, and soon afterwards conferred on him the command of the important fortress of Ahmednugur, repeated the observation which General Smith had made, in his official report to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, that the action of Corregaum was "one of the most brilliant affairs ever achieved by any army, in which the European and native soldiers displayed the most noble devotion and most romantic bravery, under the pressure of thirst and hunger almost beyond human endurance."

In the course of the 3rd of January, the day on which Captain Staunton got back to Seroor, Brigadier-General Smith, with his strong division, reached the village of Corregaum, which had been so nobly held. The peishwa and his Mahrattas now fled back to the table-land near the sources of the Kistna. General Smith followed them closely, and Brigadier-General Pritzler, with another division,

* H. T. Prinsep, 'Division Orders by Brigadier-General Smith, C.B.,' dated 'Camp, near Seroor, 7th January, 1818,' in 'East-India Military Calendar.'

was moving from another point to intercept them. The Mahrattas continued to turn and twist like eels, and though Pritzler trod upon their tail more than once, and cut off part of it, they could not be so overtaken as to be brought to a general action. Our troops were exhausted by this harassing pursuit, which seemed to produce no visible advantage. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone had the merit of recommending a better plan of operations. This was to storm the many strong places in the country, to deprive the peishwa of the means of subsistence, to reduce Sattara, which was still the nominal capital of the Mahratta empire, and to reinstate the Sattara family in an independent sovereignty.

The fortress of Sattara surrendered to Brigadier-General Smith, on the 10th of February, the day on which he first appeared before it. Other places were in process of reduction when the peishwa made certain rash movements which enabled General Smith to fall upon him at Ashtee, on the 20th of February, with the 2nd and 7th regiments of Madras light cavalry, and two squadrons of his majesty's 22nd dragoons. Bajee Rao, the dastardly peishwa, deserted his palanquin and his army, mounting a horse and galloping away as soon as the battle began; but Gokla, his general, seeing that he must either fight or lose the baggage and everything else, made a bold stand, out-flanking Smith's small force, and at one moment threatening it in the rear. But the British dragoons charged his *gole*,* and killed him in the charge. From this moment all was confusion and panic, each mass of cavalry breaking as our dragoons approached it. Some faint resistance was attempted in the camp; but our dragoons dashed in, put the Mahrattas to flight, and made good booty. Twelve elephants and fifty-seven camels formed part of this prize. General Smith was slightly wounded on the head, and Lieutenant Warrant, of the 22nd dragoons, was wounded by Gokla, who fought fiercely in the *mêlée*, and wounded several of our men before he fell; but no one was killed on our side, and only seventeen or eighteen of the soldiers were hurt.

The remnant of the peishwa's army fled towards the north, being daily thinned by desertion. Brigadier-General Pritzler, General Monro, and Colonels Prother and Deacon, reduced all the forts that remained; the Mahratta flag was

* A mass of Mahratta cavalry.

fast disappearing, and so were the hopes of the Mahratta chiefs. Our divisions and detachments in the field, in almost all parts of India, were too numerous and too well posted to allow of any junction being effected between the peishwa and the forces of any of our other enemies.

After the battle of Ashtee, Brigadier-General Smith repaired to Sattara, in order to assist Mr. Elphinstone in setting up the rajah. In this way the peishwa gained a few days' respite, during which he continued to press to the north-west, with the design of throwing himself into the territories of the nizam of the Deckan, which he hoped to find ill-furnished with troops.

But turning back from Sattara, General Smith renewed his pursuit of the peishwa on the 10th of March; and General Doveton, with his division, moved in another direction, in the expectation of intercepting the Mahrattas. Nevertheless the peishwa traversed the nizam's dominions from west to east, and appeared on the banks of the Werda on the 1st of April. But as his van was crossing that river, it was met and driven back by a small detachment under Colonel Scott. The perplexed prince then tried to cross the river at another point, but here he was met by Colonel Adams, and was informed by his scouts that General Doveton was getting close upon him. Without waiting the arrival of Doveton, Adams followed the Mahrattas, came up with them near Soonee, in Berar, and with only one regiment of native cavalry and some horse-artillery, gave them a signal overthrow. The enemy fled through the jungles, leaving behind the peishwa's much-sunken treasure, three elephants, and 200 camels. More than 1,000 of the Mahrattas were killed by our horse-artillery, or by our cavalry in their flight. They can scarcely have stood anywhere, but Colonel Adams's total loss was only two wounded. General Doveton was near enough to Soonee to hear the firing of Adams's guns; but it was found necessary to halt our troops, in order to wait for supplies; and then mistakes were committed as to the direction in which the pursuit ought to be continued. Nor was it easy to avoid these errors, seeing that the peishwa's army split itself up into various detachments, and each took a route of its own. Two-thirds of his people quitted his standard altogether, and fled in small parties for their homes. Bajee Rao's sole object now was to get back to the north-east; but here he found his progress stopped by

General Sir Thomas Hislop, who was returning from Malwa to the Deccan.

On his way Sir Thomas had resorted to a measure of unusual severity. The fort of Talnere, or Thalnir, situated on the north bank, and commanding a ford across the river Taptee, was one of the places ceded to the English by Holkar, under the late treaty. Sir Thomas had in his possession Holkar's own orders for the quiet surrender of the place ; yet a fire was opened upon his troops from the fort. The Mahratta killadar, or commandant, was warned that if he resisted the order of his master, he would be dealt with as a rebel : without heeding the message, the killadar continued to fire. When Sir Thomas had thrown open the gates and our storming parties had entered the place, the killadar came out by a wicket and surrendered. But after this surrender some wild Arabs, who formed part of the garrison, fell upon a weak party of English, who expected no further resistance, butchered Major Gordon and Captain Macgregor, wounded Lieutenant-Colonel Murray and two lieutenants, and killed or wounded all the ten or twelve men that were with them. The rest of our storming party coming up, every man in the fort was slaughtered. Between Arabs, Patans, and Mahrattas 300 were sacrificed to the vengeance of our infuriated soldiery. On the next morning Sir Thomas Hislop had the killadar hanged on one of the bastions, on the twofold charge of rebellion and treachery. The conduct of Sir Thomas Hislop, in ordering the execution of the killadar, was severely censured in several quarters ; but the example was useful, and upon knowing that the commandant of Talnere had been executed, the killadars of the much stronger forts of Gaulnah, Chandore, and other places which Holkar had ceded, submitted upon summons, or as soon as they were shown Holkar's orders to admit the English.*

Bajee Rao had been running hither and thither for more than six months, but his race was now well nigh finished. North, south, east, and west, his road was cut off, and forces were moving round him from the intermediate points of the compass. Finding himself so sorely pressed, he attempted again to pass into Malwa ; but Sir John Malcolm, who was

* Colonel Valentine Blacker, 'Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India,' &c. Lieut. Edward Lake, of Hon. East-India Company's Madras Engineers, 'Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army, &c. in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, &c. &c.' London, 1825.

himself at Mow, a town or large cantonment in the Malwa province, had so stationed some forces under Lieutenant-Colonels Russel and Corsellis as to render this movement impracticable. On the evening of the 25th of May Sir John Malcolm learned that a vakeel from the peishwa had arrived at a place on the Nerbudda river, about forty miles from Mow. Malcolm immediately moved towards that place, and took his troops with him. On the 27th of May he met the vakeel or ambassador, who assured him that the peishwa was determined to come to him, and to trust to his friendship and generosity.* Sir John, being informed of the plan of disposing of the peishwa, which had been framed by the marquis of Hastings and Mr. Elphinstone, stated the conditions, and sent the vakeel back to his master, who was occupying a good position on a hill. The peishwa remained irresolute for several days, during which the division of General Doveton and other troops got close into his neighbourhood. At last, on the evening of the 1st of June, he came down to a village in the plain and met Sir John Malcolm. The Mahratta did not come alone, he had an escort 2,500 strong, and he brought his family with him. Malcolm, who had come to the appointed place with only a thin attendance, repeated the conditions, and demanded the immediate surrender of Trimbukjee. Bajee Rao declared that it was not in his power to give up Trimbukjee; that Trimbukjee had an army and camp of his own; that he was stronger than he was. "Then," said Malcolm, "I will attack him forthwith." "Success attend you!" replied the peishwa. The Mahratta prince further declared that he had been involved in a war without meaning it; that he was treated as an enemy by the English, who had supported his family for two generations; that he was now in a lamentable situation, but believed that he still had a real friend in Sir John Malcolm. He was told that he ought either to throw himself at once on the magnanimity of the British government, or prepare for further resistance. "How can I resist now?" said the Mahratta; "I am surrounded." Malcolm replied that this was quite true, but that still he might escape if he preferred becoming a free-booter and wanderer to accepting the liberal provisions which the English were ready to give him. Bajee Rao protested

* Sir John Malcolm had previously received a letter from the peishwa, full of compliments and outrageous flattery.

that Malcolm was his friend, his only friend, and that he would never leave him, but trust entirely to his good offices. Nevertheless the peishwa, on breaking up the conference, asked for a little delay, and in retiring to the ghaut from which he had descended, he took care to guard his rear and flanks with his resolute Arab infantry, and to show the muzzles of his guns over the rocks; and upon reaching his camp he sent trusty messengers to the camp of Trimbukjee to tell that favourite to beware of Malcolm. It was, however, utterly impossible for him to procrastinate very long, for he was completely hemmed in, and his supplies of provisions were failing. He informed Sir John Malcolm that he would go to his camp, and conclude the treaty as proposed to him on the morning of the 3rd of June. When that morning came, he tried one faint shuffle more. It was an inauspicious day, he had some religious ceremonies to perform; would not his dear friend Malcolm wait till to-morrow? Malcolm gave him to understand that he would not wait another hour; and this, with the not very distant firing of some English guns on one of his flanks or in his rear, had the effect of removing all further hesitation. At about eleven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd he came down to Sir John Malcolm's camp, and delivered himself up, with his family. Malcolm, like nearly all his distinguished Indian contemporaries, was a man of a large and generous heart: none knew better than he the demerits and the helplessness of the fallen enemy now before him, yet he agreed that the peishwa's allowance should not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum, and that a most liberal provision should be made for his courtiers, Brahmins, temples, &c. The supreme government at Calcutta thought that Sir John had granted too much; but as it was done, they confirmed the grants. Bajee Rao renounced for ever the dignity of peishwa, or supreme chief of the Mahrattas, together with all his claims of sovereignty.

The ex-peishwa quietly resigned himself to a life of luxury and ease, spending his £80,000 a year, not in raising troops or exciting combinations against the Company, but in mere sensual indulgences. The village of Betoor or Brimattwar, on the Ganges, near Cawnpoor, was finally fixed upon for his residence. His progress through Rajpootana and the Duab to the place of his exile excited hardly any sensation among the people. When settled at Betoor, he bathed

daily in the holy water of the Ganges, indulged in the highest living of a Brahmin, maintained three expensive sets of dancing-girls, and surrounded himself with low buffoons and sycophants. The rallying-point of the Mahratta confederacy was thus broken up, and if it was not quite so easy to change the character of the Mahratta people, and to introduce peaceful, industrious habits among them—if the unchanged character of that people prognosticated future troubles in India,—still their power of doing mischief was from this time vastly reduced.

To the restored family of the rajah of Sattara, whose hereditary claim to the sovereignty of the country, and to the dignity of peishwa, was held to be much better than that of Bajee Rao, only a very limited territory was allotted, upon his yielding all claim or pretension to the peishwa; a dignity now wisely and for ever abrogated. The management of the territories, and the superintendence of the rajah of Sattara's affairs, were assigned to Captain Grant, until the country should become tranquillized. Many of the hill-forts, which had been what the worst of our baronial castles were in the early part of the twelfth century—dens of thieves, cut-throats, and violators—were dismantled; and others, cleared of their occupants, were allowed to go to ruin. In 1821, when the young rajah became of age, he was invested with the administration of his dominions, which were then tranquil and prosperous.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty with Sir John Malcolm, all that remained of the ex-peishwa's army quietly broke up and dispersed. Not even Trimbukjee could keep a force together. This chief, knowing that the English would condemn him to imprisonment for life, fled with a few followers to the neighbourhood of Nassuck, a large town and place of pilgrimage on the Godavery, principally inhabited by Brahmins. Here, among crowds of Hindū pilgrims and fakirs, he remained concealed for some time, in spite of the active search making for him. At last, Captain Swanston, one of the heroes of Corregaum, being detached for the purpose by Mr. Elphinstone, succeeded in catching him. At first he was sent under a good guard to Tannah, the prison from which he had escaped through the ingenious aid of the Mahratta groom and songster. After a short time he was carried to Calcutta, and put into the cage which had been previously occupied by Vizier Ali, but he was very

soon conveyed to the rock of Chunar, near Benares, where he spent the remainder of his flagitious life. He had done great mischief and caused us an enormous expense; he was a murderer, an extortioner, and a grossly perjured man; yet his allowance was liberal and his imprisonment light and easy.*

It was soon discovered that Apa Saheb had woven a web of intrigue over all Berar and Malwa, and a good part of Hindustan, in spite of the favourable terms which had been granted to him by our resident at Nagpoor. As the peishwa and Trimbukjee had not been caught when these discoveries were made, our resident seized the rajah and his two ministers, and brought them to Nagpoor presidency, which had been so treacherously attacked and so bravely defended. The two ministers spontaneously confessed that a multiplicity of intrigues had been going on against the English, and that Apa Saheb had barbarously murdered his blind and helpless cousin and predecessor the Rajah Pursajee. When the peishwa had failed in his efforts to get to Nagpoor, where, if not arrested, the treacherous rajah would have given him the hand, Apa Saheb was packed off from the residency for the fortress of Allahabad. Our escort was vigilant as well as strong, yet the ex-rajah contrived to escape, on the 12th of May, 1818, as the sepoy of the escort were halting at Rychore.

This gave rise to another hard and long hunt. Though closely followed by half a dozen parties, Apa Saheb got fairly off, and reached the Mahadeo hills, behind Poonah, where Trimbukjee had so long lurked. Here he was harboured and concealed by the wild Gonds, a singular race, with broad, flat noses, thick lips, and very frequently curly hair, like the African negroes. Most of the tribes inhabiting the hills were absolute savages; but a large community, more advanced in civilization, had submitted to the government of a rajah or chief, named Chyn Shah. This chief joined heart and hand with Apa Saheb, and a new plan of operations was concerted between them. At the close of the rainy season of this eventful year, 1818, Apa Saheb collected round his standard some of the unemployed Mahratta troopers and wild Arabs, who had served in the peishwa's army until it was broken up; and with these bands, and the wild Gonds

* Bishop Heber paid Trimbukjee a visit in September, 1824, and has left an interesting account of the man, his pagoda, and pleasant little garden on the top of Chunar. See the bishop's 'Indian Journal.'