

In 1637, before Shah Jehán had returned to Dehly, one of the princesses was severely burned, by an accident, and her life being despaired of, an English physician was sent for from Surat, and Mr. Gabriel Boughton, the surgeon of an Indiaman, was despatched to the emperor's camp. His cure of the princess was successful, and he was desired to name his reward; when, in a noble and disinterested spirit, he would accept nothing for himself, but asked for extended privileges of trade in Bengal for his countrymen; and having obtained them, was sent across India, at the emperor's charge, to carry them out. While engaged there, he visited Ráj Mahál, where the emperor's son, Prince Shujah, had established his court; and was fortunate enough to render a second medical service of high value, and obtained permission to establish English factories at Balasore and Hooghly. Though the rival companies continued to struggle from 1635 to 1646, the establishment of the elder company in Bengal gave it considerable advantage, and in the latter year a new factory was established at Chenna-Putnum (the little city) in Madras, under permission of the Rajah, or Náik, of Chundergiri, the descendant of the Hindoo sovereigns of Beejanugger, who constructed a fort for the protection of the English traders, which mounted twelve guns, and was named by them Fort St. George.

Mr. Surgeon Boughton obtains privileges for the company's trade.

Factories at Balasore and Hooghly.

Factory at Madras.

Though the first success of the new, or Courten company, had been brilliant, it was not continued. Its proceedings became more desultory than the old, and the establishment of a mint, and use of a debased, or counterfeit coinage, gave it an evil reputation. The civil war in England, however, affected the prosperity of both companies, and both petitioned Parliament—the old for the abolition of the new; the new for free trade; but the decision of the House was very vague, and by a resolution of January 1650, one company only was to carry on the trade, though any means for the amalgamation of the Courten company does not appear to have been suggested. In the same year the company renewed their complaint against the Dutch; but war was on the point of breaking out, and its actual occurrence caused all settlement to be postponed. During its continuance, however, the Dutch obtained some important advantages over the company in India. Three ships were captured at Gambroon, in the Persian Gulf, and the trade at Surat was seriously checked; but no further mischief seems to have been done, and after the conclusion of peace in 1654, the long-pending claims of the company were submitted, with those of

The rival companies petition Parliament.

War with the Dutch.

Arbitration of the Swiss cantons.

the Dutch, to the arbitration of the Swiss cantons. The company had claimed 2,600,000*l.*, but the final award in their favour only amounted to 88,600*l.* A very keen struggle now ensued between the rival traders, which lasted several years; but being

The rival companies are united under a charter.

finally considered in council, it was determined that the company and the 'Merchant Adventurers' should form one joint-stock company. This decision was ratified by Cromwell, and a charter issued, which,

however, has never been discovered. It was probably evident, at last, that a friendly settlement of mutual differences would be most beneficial to all parties, and no difficulty seems to have attended the adjustment of accounts. Surat was maintained as a presidency, with control over the Persian Gulf and the factories on the western coast of India. Madras, or Fort St. George, became also a presidency, with authority over the factories at Hooghly, Patna, Cossimbazar, and Balasore.

Cromwell died in 1658, and on the restoration of Charles II.

Charter of Charles II. extends the company's powers.

the company's affairs were improved. In 1661 they obtained a new charter, which, in addition to trading privileges, conferred upon them important political and judicial authority, with power to appoint governors;

and for them to exercise British laws within their jurisdiction. They were also empowered to make war with any power not Christian; to make reprisals for losses; to build fortifications, and the like; while suppression of the trade of unauthorised persons, or interlopers, was also committed to them. Under these arrangements, the power of the company became more respected in India; and their local position, especially at Surat, considerably improved. A slight check, owing to the indiscretion of an agent in Bengal, hindered affairs there for a brief period, but was

Cession of Bombay.

soon adjusted. By the marriage of Charles II. with the Infanta of Portugal, in June 1661, the island of Bombay was ceded to the English crown, and an expedition under the Earl of Marlborough was sent, in March 1662, to take possession of it. This was unsuccessful, inasmuch as an excess of demand of territory was made, over that named in the cession;

and while the earl returned to England, the troops, under Sir Abraham Shipman, were encamped on the island of Anjedera, the climate of which proved fatal to many soldiers and to their

Bombay transferred to the company.

commanders; but Bombay was eventually taken possession of in 1664, and transferred to the East India Company in 1688, with all the powers of local govern-

ment. The fortifications were then enlarged and strengthened, and the population soon rapidly increased; the admirable situation of the fort and harbour, and the strength of the place,

attracting persons of all nations, European and Asiatic. The transactions of the period, however, are singularly deficient in incidents of history; and although the French, as well as the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the Danes, held factories in India as well as the English, it does not appear that local rivalry led to any bad consequences.

In 1664, when Sivajee attacked the city of Surat, the English not only defended their own premises, but protected the property of their neighbours, and set Sivajee at defiance; and the emperor was so struck with the valour displayed, Gallant defence of Surat. that he remitted, by a special order, one per cent. of the duties levied at the port, with exemption from transit duties. In 1670, when Sivajee renewed his predatory expedition against Surat, he did not molest the English; Sivajee respects the English. but, on the contrary, sought to conciliate them. In the outset of his career, he had plundered the factory of Rajapoor, in the Koncan, and committed other acts of oppression against the English; but he now respected them, and in 1674, on the occasion of his second and more formal enthronement, invited the presence of an English ambassador. Mr. Oxenden was despatched for the purpose, with whom he made a treaty by which the amount of loss was compensated, and other privileges granted.

In 1673, a powerful Dutch fleet of twenty-two ships made its appearance on the western coast of India, and seriously The Dutch fleet in India. threatened Bombay; but President Aungier, aided by a squadron of French ships, made so strong a show of defence, that the attempt to attack the place was abandoned; the Dutch succeeded, however, in intercepting the company's ships from Bengal, off Masulipatam, on August 22 of the same year, and a partial action ensued, in which one ship was sunk and two captured; the rest escaped to Madras, where they found protection. The peace of 1674 afterwards prevented further molestation, and the trade of the East India Company became extended to China about the same period.

## CHAPTER II.

THE PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH (*continued*), 1674 to 1708.

THE struggles between Sivajee and the Seedees of Jinjeera created considerable uneasiness in Bombay in 1674. The harbour was the scene of several engagements by sea, Neutrality in Mahratta affairs. and the neighbourhood of Salsette by land. In this

contest, the English interfered on one occasion only, when the Mahratta fleet was dislodged from their position near the island of Kenery, at the entrance to Bombay harbour; in other respects, a perfect neutrality was observed. Bombay was now much strengthened by fortifications, on which 100 pieces of cannon were mounted, and a respectable garrison of European soldiers

was maintained; but they were difficult to manage in the absence of regular military law, and a mutiny occurred in 1674, which was only repressed by the firmness of the president, M. Aungier, who, blamed by some authorities for an undue exercise of power in the execution of

one of the soldiers condemned to death, yet appears justified by the necessity of the case, and the importance of enforcing military discipline. In 1676, the

company separated their officers into four classes. The junior class were 'writers,' who received 10*l.* sterling after the third year of their employment, and rose, after further periods of service, to be factors, junior merchants, and senior merchants; and these designations continued to the last. The retrenchments ordered

at Bombay between the years 1676 and 1683, proved a source of much disquiet and danger; and it is difficult to understand upon what ground of policy they could have been persevered in. By them the garrison was reduced to

an entirely inadequate number; the pay was insufficient, and the armaments and fortifications were still incomplete. Sivajee was dead, but his son, Sumbhajee, was aggressive, and engaged in war with the Moghuls. Bombay was then perpetually

threatened by both parties, and must have fallen had any real attack been made on it. In 1653, Captain Keigwin, the commandant of the garrison, which consisted of only 150 European and 200 native soldiers,

imprisoned Mr. John Child, the governor, and proclaimed the authority of the crown. He afterwards obtained some important privileges from Sumbhajee, and his energetic conduct and

character prevented any further encroachment by the contending powers; but his proceedings were the cause of much disagreement in England, where party

spirit ran high, and he was saved, perhaps by his surrender of the island to Sir Thomas Grantham, on November 19, 1684, on condition of a free pardon.

At this juncture, Sir Josiah Child was the head of the company in England, and became the author and director of a new policy. The presidency of Surat, a defenceless position, was removed to Bombay; his brother, Mr., now Sir John Child, was appointed to the chief command

Mutiny of  
Bombay  
garrison.

Separation of  
civil officers  
into classes.

Danger of  
the retrench-  
ments of  
expenditure.

Imprison-  
ment of the  
governor by  
Captain  
Keigwin,

who sur-  
renders to  
Admiral  
Grantham.

Sir Josiah  
Child's  
policy.

by land and sea in India; and measures of retaliation were to be carried out against native powers who interfered with, or otherwise oppressed, the existing trade. Hitherto, the transactions of the company in India had been uniformly conciliatory, if not unduly submissive. Exactions of any and every description had been patiently endured from the native powers, and though a retaliative policy might easily merge into one of aggression, such consequences do not seem to have been apprehended.

Transmission  
of forces to  
India.

The company's new expedition consisted of ten ships, mounting from twelve to seventy guns; with six companies of soldiers, and one company of regular infantry, altogether about 1,000 Europeans: and the point selected for the first operations was Bengal. Chittagong was to be taken possession of, and hostilities commenced against the imperial governor of Bengal. In October 1686, Captain Nicholson, with part of the fleet, had reached the Hooghly, when the town of Hooghly was cannonaded and partly burnt. The Moghul viceroy, a timid character, struck with amazement at these proceedings, would have made peace; but the exorbitancy of the British demands rendered this impossible. The company's agent in Bengal, Mr. Job Charnock, also repulsed the viceroy's attack upon the English factory, and retaliated with considerable advantage.

Captain  
Nicholson's  
proceedings.

In Western India, appearances had been kept up with the Moghul viceroy of Surat, until the result of the attack in Bengal should be known; and on receiving intelligence of the successes, Sir John Child threw off the mask. Being disappointed in his endeavour to bring off the agents at Surat, and the property in the factory, he seized a fleet of Moghul vessels in Bombay harbour, and forwarded to Surat demands upon various counts of exactions. By vessels sent from Bombay, several 'interloper' ships were captured, as well as the emperor's own vessels, conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and therefore accounted holy. It is strange now to contemplate these proceedings, and the feeble irritation of a vast power, on whose forbearance the very existence of the company depended. They were not the avowed acts of the company, or those of the English Government. The war was actually on the part of the Childs, and professed to be undertaken by the younger, on his own responsibility. Had it succeeded, Sir Josiah Child, and even the government of England, might have acknowledged it; and on receipt of the first news of success, a thousand guineas was voted to Sir John Child. But the project did not succeed. The Emperor Aurungzebe was enraged at the seizure of his pilgrim ships; and, in connection with the other

Transactions  
in Western  
India;  
attacks on  
Moghul  
possessions.

The Emperor  
Aurungzebe  
retaliates.

proceedings of the English, ordered them to be expelled from India. Attacks upon their factories followed. Mr. Charnock was forced to retire to an island named Ijellee, at the mouth of the Hooghly, where many gentlemen and soldiers perished from the insalubrity of the climate. Masulipatam and Vizagapatam were taken with some loss. The factory at Surat was seized, and the goods and stores sold; and the Seedee of Jinjeera, directed by the emperor to attack Bombay, had occupied a portion of the island, to the great annoyance and loss of the garrison. After Mr. Charnock's retreat to Ijellee, the Moghul viceroy in Bengal had opened negotiations with him and induced him to return to Chutanuttee, where a treaty was in progress; but on the arrival of Captain Heath from England with orders to persevere in the war, communication with the viceroy was suspended; all the officers of the Bengal factories were embarked on board his ships, and after cannonading Balasore, and reconnoitring Chittagong, the fleet sailed for Madras. Thus, Bengal was abandoned for the present, and the company's stations virtually reduced to Madras and Bombay.

In fine, it became evident that the foolish policy of war, which had been so rashly commenced, could not be maintained; and the President of Bombay, in a humble petition, sued for peace, despatching two envoys to the emperor's camp at Beejapoor for the purpose. The submission of the English was gladly received by the emperor, and in 1690 another firman or edict was issued, by which, on payment of 150,000 rupees (15,000*l.*), and promises of good behaviour for the future, the former privileges of trade with all the factories were restored to them. The emperor demanded the dismissal of Sir John Child, but he had died in Bombay while the negotiations were pending.

The English company, at this period, were, however, by no means the only traders from Europe. The Portuguese, notwithstanding their present obscurity, continued their traffic from Goa and Bengal. In 1604, the French had established an East India company, and about 1676, had formed a settlement at Chândernagore, on the Hooghly river. They were followed by the Dutch and the Danes, who settled at Chinsura, near Chândernagore; and on the eastern coast of India, the French had formed a powerful settlement at Pondicherry. These various trading interests no doubt interfered considerably with the company's monopoly; but they could not be resisted, and as their trade was with foreign countries, it did not affect that

Mr. Charnock  
retreats to  
Ijellee.

Other  
factories  
captured.

Bengal is  
abandoned  
by the  
English.

The English  
sue for peace,

which is  
granted by  
the emperor.

Death of Sir  
John Child.

Other traders  
to India.

The French,  
Dutch, and  
Danes  
establish  
factories.

Trade by  
'interlopers.'

of the company with England. The presence of other English traders, who were supported by parties in England, and who had paid heavily to the crown for their licenses, was productive of much more embarrassment. They were called 'interlopers,' and it was as much against their proceedings, as against the native authorities of the country, that the aggressions just detailed were directed. In 1698, they had applied for a charter, and had made offers of loans to the crown on moderate interest. In India their presence was in the last degree embarrassing; and on one occasion they seized, at Surat, the officers of the factory, and made them over to the Moghul governor, while they overbid and undersold the company in the chief markets. A new element of discord, too, appeared in the Scotch East India Company, which had been embodied in 1617 by King James I., and now issued its licenses for free trade. The result, as might have been foreseen, was great over-trading between the rivals; the English markets were glutted with Indian produce: calicoes, chintzes and silks, and the English manufacturers, feeling the effects of the excessive importation of these goods, petitioned for their prohibition, and obtained some relief in enhanced duties. All these circumstances caused alarm, both to the interlopers and to the company; and in 1702 brought about the eventual amalgamation of all traders to India, under the appellation of the United East India Company, which was established under Queen Anne's charter.

They apply for a charter.

Scotch East India Company.

Great over-trade with India follows.

Establishment of the United East India Company.

By the inventory of the company's possessions at that period, the various localities in India are more clearly detailed than elsewhere, and may be enumerated as follows: In Western India, the factories of Surat, Baroche, Ahmedabad and Swally, with Bombay and its dependencies—Anjengo, Carwar, Tellicherry and Calicut. In Persia, factories at Ispahan, Shiraz, and GAMBROON. On the Coromandel coast, Fort St. George or Madras, Fort St. David, with three square miles of territory, and the factories of Cuddalore, Masulipatam, Porto Novo, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam. In Bengal, Fort William, and Chutanuttee or Calcutta, and its territory; with factories at Patna, Maldah, Dacca, Balasore, Ráj Mahál, and Cossimbazar. Six years was allowed for mutual arrangements, and the final adjustment of the financial affairs of both societies was made under an award by Earl Godolphin, dated September 29, 1708. The previous proceedings had at least checked local irregularities, and the amalgamation of interests and capital no doubt strengthened the English connection with India in a

Enumeration of the company's possessions.

Earl Godolphin's award.

The English position strengthened by the new arrangement.

very remarkable degree, at a period when continued rivalry and dissension would have been attended with most disastrous results. Aurungzebe was dead, and his empire was about to experience the convulsions of a great, but expiring dynasty.

It will be evident that the position of the English had now materially increased in local as well as general power. In Western India, Bombay formed an impregnable position, highly favourable to trade; and the older factories subordinate to it were flourishing. On the Coromandel coast, Madras had grown to be a large city with a strong fort; and Negapatam, or Nág Puttun, with three square miles of territory, had been purchased from Rajah Rám, regent of the Mahrattas, and Fort St. David built on it; while the older settlements at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam, which had prospered under the protection of the kings of Golcondah, were now secured by grants from the imperial government. In Bengal, after the peace with Aurungzebe of 1690, Mr. Job Charnock had returned from Madras, and established the English factory at Chutanuttee, on the left bank of the Hooghly, which, with several adjacent villages, he was allowed to purchase. In 1698, Rahim Khan, the last of the once powerful Afghan chiefs of Bengal, rebelled, and for a time set the viceroy at defiance. The unprotected European settlements could not be assisted, and were told to make provision for their own safety; and thus the jealousy which had hitherto existed against all defences was relaxed. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes fortified their respective factories, and after the defeat of Rahim Khan by a Moghul army under the Prince Azim, and his death in the action, the English were permitted to complete the fortifications of their settlement, now called Calcutta, by the erection of Fort William, named after the reigning king of England.<sup>1</sup>

Details of  
factories.  
  
Calcutta  
established  
by Mr.  
Charnock.

Fortifica-  
tion of  
European  
factories in  
Bengal.

Fort William  
built.

### CHAPTER III.

THE PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH (*continued*), 1708 to 1746.

THE events connected with the decline of the Moghul empire had little effect upon the English, and their prosperity as traders continued unimpaired. Bombay was affected for a while by the piracies of Kanhojee Angria, a Mahratta chief, who, possessed

<sup>1</sup> *Note*.—The student is referred to Grant's 'History of the East India Company,' Bruce's 'Annals,' Mill's 'History of India,' Orme's 'Historical Fragments,' Anderson's 'Origin of Commerce,' Stewart's 'History of Bengal,' Beveridge's 'History of India,' for details of the events of the period embraced in this chapter.—M. T.

of strong fortresses upon the coast, claimed tribute by sea, as his fellow-chieftains exacted it by land. He respected no flag or nation, and defied alike the English and the Portuguese. In 1722, an expedition against his fort of Colaba was undertaken by the authorities of Goa and Bombay in concert; on which occasion Commodore Matthews commanded three vessels; but the attack failed, and was not renewed, and the Mahratta piracies continued. In 1727, a fine English ship, laden with a valuable cargo, was cut off by Angria, and his death, which occurred in 1728, was esteemed a relief, especially as his sons contested his possessions. In addition to the wars occasioned by their differences, the Seedee of Jinjeera was in perpetual strife with the Peshwah, and the neighbourhood of the Bombay harbour became the scene of frequent contentions. The authorities of Bombay, however, wisely preserved their neutrality, and the settlement flourished almost beyond expectation. In 1737, the Portuguese formally espoused the cause of Sumbhajee Angria, against his brother Manajee, who was supported by the Peshwah, and this led to a war between them and the Peshwah, and to an attack by his forces upon the island of Salsette, contiguous to Bombay, which the Portuguese still retained. On that occasion, the Fort of Tannah was captured by the Mahrattas, and the war continued during the ensuing year and 1739, under the direction of Chimnajee Appa, the Peshwah's brother, who carried on his operations with much skill and vigour. The Portuguese were expelled from Salsette, and on May 16, 1739, the fort of Bassein capitulated to the Mahrattas, after a close siege which had lasted from February 17. The siege and defence of this important place were alike creditable to the bravery of both parties. The loss of the Portuguese in killed and wounded was admitted to be 800 men, while that of the besiegers was acknowledged to be upwards of 5,000. During the war, the Portuguese accused the English of assisting the Mahrattas; and there is no doubt that some shells and shot had been sold to them. In other respects, they maintained a strict neutrality: though the fact of a new commercial treaty having been executed with Chimnajee Appa after the siege of Bassein was concluded, that is, in July 1739, has at best a suspicious appearance.

Piracies of  
Kanhojee  
Angria.

Death of  
Angria.

War between  
the Portu-  
guese and  
Mahrattas.

Bassein  
taken by  
the Mahrattas

In Bengal, the settlement at Calcutta also continued to prosper, in spite of the convulsions of the province. Under the government of the celebrated viceroy, Moorshid Kooly Khan, the country had attained a high degree of prosperity; and upwards of a million sterling, after paying the cost of troops and management, were annually remitted to Dehly. Moorshid Kooly

Prosperity of  
Bengal.

died in the year 1725, and his son-in-law, Shujah-ood-deen, was nominated in his stead—but to Bengal and Orissa only, Behar being separated from the viceroyalty. During his administration, the settlement of the Ostend India Company at Bunkipoor—against which the English and Dutch had protested—was attacked by a force sent by the viceroy under the orders of the emperor, and the company's representatives obliged to withdraw permanently from Bengal. On the death of Shujah-ood-deen, who had governed Bengal with considerable ability for fourteen years, he was succeeded by his son, Serefrax Khan; but his government was weak and of short duration. Aliverdy Khan, an Afghan officer, commander of his father's troops, intrigued against him at Dehly, outbid him with the emperor, and finally secured a patent of appointment for himself. Under these circumstances, both parties resorted to war, and in an action which ensued in the month of May 1740, Serefrax Khan was totally defeated and killed. Two days afterwards the conqueror entered Moorshidabad in triumph, and took possession of the government without further opposition. He sequestered the property of the ex-viceroy's family, and, as was the custom of the period, remitted it to Dehly; and 1,000,000*l.* sterling in coin, and nearly that amount in jewels and other valuables, is evidence of the wealth which in those days was derivable from such an office as an imperial viceroyalty.

Aliverdy's reign, for it can be called little else, was a vigorous one. He drove out of his territory all partizans of Serefrax Khan's party, and it has already been related how he dealt with the first Mahratta invasion; but their hold on Bengal was not a light one, and was materially assisted by the rebellion of Moostufa Khan and the Afghan troops in 1745, which they assisted. The defeat and death of Moostufa Khan for a time delayed their progress; but they returned year after year, and caused so much distress throughout Bengal, that Aliverdy Khan was eventually obliged, in 1751, to admit their demands—to cede to Rughoojee Bhóslay the province of Orissa, and to agree to pay thirteen lacs—130,000*l.*—personally as the chouth of Bengal. The English at Calcutta were perfectly neutral in all these contests—indeed, could barely defend themselves: and, often threatened by the Mahrattas, threw up around their settlement a ditch and rampart which, known under the appellation of the 'Mahratta ditch,' served for many years afterwards as the municipal boundary. The trade of the settlement seems to have been satisfactorily progressive, and the factories and other agencies

Ostend East India Company expelled.

Aliverdy Khan becomes viceroy of Bengal.

Serefrax Khan defeated and slain.

His wealth is confiscated.

Vigour of Aliverdy Khan.

Mahratta demands admitted.

The Mahratta ditch of Calcutta.

throughout the province were unmolested ; but no particular records of the period appear in any history, and it may be inferred that no events of any remarkable moment occurred.

In Madras, however, it was very different. In the year 1744, war was declared mutually between the English and French, which was destined to affect the Carnatic in a greater degree than might at first view be deemed possible. It is, however, necessary to take a brief

Events at  
Madras.  
War between  
the English  
and French.

retrospective view of Carnatic affairs, in order to understand the condition in which they stood at the period alluded to. The campaigns of Zoolficar Khan in the Carnatic, during the reign of Aurungzebe, have been already detailed.

Administra-  
tion of  
Zoolficar  
Khan.

He was succeeded, on his transfer to Dehly and the northern provinces, by Dáood Khan Punnee, who made personal friends of the English at Madras, and sometimes visited them, and joined the deep carousals which were features of the period. He was removed, as had already been related, to Guzerat, and killed

in the action with Hoosein Ally near Boorhanpoor, in 1715. On leaving the Carnatic, he had appointed Saadut Oolla as his deputy, who governed the provinces from 1710, to his death in 1732, with much moderation and ability. On his demise, his nephew, Dost Ally Khan, assumed the government, as it were independently ; for it does not appear that the emperor, the nominal, or Nizamool-Moolk, the real superior, were consulted at all.

Saadut Oolla  
acts as  
viceroy.

The latter, however, was too deeply engaged in the political events of Dehly and the Mahrattas, to alter the succession, and had he been even disposed to interfere, it would have given rise to a remarkable contest. Dost Ally had one son, Sufdur Ally, and had married two daughters, one to Moortuza Ally Khan, the other to Chunda Sahib ; and a struggle ensued for the government. While this was in progress, the Mahrattas under

Dost Ally  
Khan  
succeeds.

Rughoojee Bhósley invaded the Carnatic, and in an action with them, Dost Ally was slain. Sufdur Ally now made terms with Rughoojee, and on condition of the payment of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, was recognised as Nawáb of the Carnatic.

Local con-  
tentions.

But meanwhile, Chunda Sahib, on pretext of assisting the widowed Ranee, had obtained, by treachery, possession of Trichinopoly ; and Sufdur Ally was too weak to attack him. Rughoojee, therefore, returned to the Carnatic after his visit to Sattara in 1741, and renewed the siege, when Chunda Sahib was obliged to capitulate, and, as a measure of safety, was sent to Sattara. During these transactions, however, he had placed his wife and family in the French settlement of Pondicherry, under the charge of Monsieur Duplex,

Trichinopoly  
capitulates to  
Rughoojee.

the governor; and this act led subsequently to many strange and important events. In a year after his assumption of the government, Sufdur Ally was assassinated by Moortusa Ally, who was proclaimed Nawáb; but the family of Sufdur Ally had obtained protection in the English factory of Madras, and his son, a minor, was also proclaimed as successor to his father. To put an end to these convulsions, Nizam-ool-Moolk, as has been already related, marched from Hyderabad in 1743, at the head of an overwhelming force, and, setting aside the claims of Chunda Sahib, and Moortuza Ally, appointed Anwur-ood-deen, or Anwur Sahib, to the government of the province during the minority of the son of Sufdur Ally. The young Nawáb was, however, assassinated a few years later, and Anwur-ood-deen became Nawáb, or Nabob, of the Carnatic, and was thus the founder of the family which still exists. The foregoing sketch has been introduced in order to explain the relations which existed between Anwur-ood-deen and Chunda Sahib. The former had attached himself to the English, the latter to the French; and at this juncture the war between the English and French commenced.

Before the declaration of war—indeed, as early as 1741—the French ministry sent an armament to India under M. Labourdonnais, who, already distinguished by his talents, and by his successful government of Bourbon and the Mauritius, was also intimately acquainted with the politics and resources of India. He was to watch the progress of events in Europe, and be ready to act against the English in case war should be declared. These preparations were known to the English ministry, who, in order to check them, sent a squadron of four ships to India under Commodore Barnet, which for some time cruised successfully in the Straits of Sunda, and after the declaration of war proceeded to the Coromandel coast. On June 25, 1746, they fell in with the fleet of Labourdonnais, and an indecisive action ensued off Negapatam, which ended in the retirement of the English squadron to Ceylon, the reason assigned for the act being the unseaworthy condition of the flagship, a vessel carrying 64 guns. The retreat of the English fleet left the coast open to Labourdonnais. He proceeded to Pondicherry, where he in vain endeavoured to excite Dupleix to co-operation; but Dupleix had other schemes of his own in view, and was not to be moved. Labourdonnais was, however, by no means without energy. He knew how helpless and de-

Sufdur Ally  
assassinated.

Nizam-ool-  
Moolk  
appoints  
Anwur Sahib  
to the  
Carnatic.

Labour-  
donnais  
despatched  
to India.

Precaution  
of the  
English  
ministry.

Naval enga-  
gement off  
Negapatam.

The English  
retreat.

Labour-  
donnais and  
Dupleix.

fenceless Madras really was; he had a fine force at his command, and, with nine ships and two mortar vessels, anchored in the Madras roads on September 14. He immediately landed his troops, and commenced the siege of the fort with 300 European sailors and soldiers, 400 Indians, and 400 Africans: and had as many in reserve, with ample stores, and ammunition for his guns. Against these forces the Madras factory could oppose barely 300 Europeans; many of them, the merchants and clerks of the factory, were non-combatants. In addition to the land attack, the fort was bombarded from the sea: and though the factory held out for some days in hope of a diversion by the English fleet, it surrendered on September 25, the Council promising to pay a moderate ransom. This was subsequently fixed at 44 lacs—440,000*l.*—irrespective of the merchandise, and after three months, the settlement was to be evacuated, and to remain unmolested during the war.

Madras besieged by Labourdonnais.

Madras surrenders to the French.

To this convention Duplex gave his unqualified opposition, and declined to become a party to it. The fort of Madras, he said, should have been razed to the ground, and the English deported; and it was with dismay that the English found they were to remain at his mercy. Labourdonnais could not, or would not, stay in India; he sailed for the Mauritius, and on his arrival found he had been superseded, and had no resource but to return home. The vessel in which he sailed was captured, and he was taken to England, where he was honourably and hospitably received and entertained; but on his arrival in France, he was imprisoned in the Bastille, on March 2, 1748. Here he remained more than two years without a trial, and when it took place, was acquitted of all the charges made against him; but his sufferings had been great; he was reduced to poverty, and died, so to speak, of a broken heart.

Duplex refuses to sanction the terms of surrender.

Labourdonnais superseded.

He is imprisoned and tried, but acquitted.

His death.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH (*continued*), 1746 to 1751—  
THE WAR IN THE CARNATIC.

On the departure of Labourdonnais, Madras remained in possession of his troops, a member of the Council of Pondicherry being in charge of the local administration. If the English, under the

expectation of an attack from the French, had previously made an arrangement with the Nawáb of the Carnatic to afford them assistance, and had paid liberally for the services of his troops, Madras might have been better defended; but the Council was irresolute, entirely unaccustomed to war, and the opportunity passed by. The Nawáb, however, irritated by an attack upon the settlement within his jurisdiction, and from which he had derived friendly assistance, now remonstrated with Dupleix; but being haughtily refused satisfaction

Intervention  
of the  
Nawáb of the  
Carnatic.

His troops  
defeated be-  
fore Madras.

And again at  
Maliapoorum.

Violation of  
the conven-  
tion by  
Dupleix.

The English  
publicly  
degraded.

Failure of  
attack on  
Fort St.  
David.

Dupleix  
attacks the  
Nawáb's  
territory.

Who aban-  
dons the  
English.

Fort St.  
David re-  
lieved by a  
fleet from  
England.

by him, attempted to enforce his demands, and sent his son Mafooz Khan, at the head of 10,000 men, to drive the French from Madras. He attacked the place on October 21, but was defeated in a sally by the French troops, and took up a position at Maliapoorum, or St. Thomé, about four miles south of Madras, where he hoped to cut off succour from Pondicherry. Here he was assailed in front and rear, with great effect, by the French, and after considerable slaughter of his men, his army fled. Madras being now secure, Dupleix deliberately violated the convention made by Labourdonnais. On October 30, he summoned a meeting of the English, confiscated all their property, and offered them the alternative of remaining as prisoners of war on parole, or being sent to Pondicherry. Some escaped to Fort St. David: but the governor and most of the inhabitants were taken to Pondicherry, and publicly degraded by being marched through the streets.

Dupleix's next operation was an attack upon Fort St. David, a strong work fourteen miles south of Pondicherry, but in this he was unsuccessful; a portion of the attacking party was severely handled by a force sent for the relief of the place by the Nawáb, under his sons Mafooz Khan and Mahomed Ally; and a siege being impracticable, the troops, which had been commanded by a Swiss officer, named Paradis, retreated. Disappointed in this, and in a subsequent attempt to surprise the place, Dupleix now commenced reprisals against the Nawáb's territory about Madras, which excited so much alarm, that the Nawáb, now believing, from Dupleix's representations, that the English had no real power, abandoned them, and sent his son Mafooz Khan to Pondicherry, where he was received with great pomp. The fort of St. David still, however, held out, and had received a supply of money and a reinforcement of twenty men from Ceylon. On March 2, 1747, another French force was seen approaching for a third time, and the garrison drew up to receive them.

While the parties were interchanging distant cannon-shots, some ships were descried nearing the coast, which proved to be the long-looked for English fleet. Fort St. David was immediately reinforced, and the fleet passed on to Madras, where a French ship of sixty guns lying there was destroyed; but the approach of the monsoon rendered any operations against the place impossible, and the squadron returned to Ceylon.

The fleet returns to Ceylon.

Before another season opened, Major Stringer Lawrence, a distinguished officer, arrived at Fort St. David as commander of all the forces of the company in India, and some treacherous communications from natives were detected and punished, which events added to the security of the place. On June 7, the French fleet again attacked the settlement, but without effect. The enemy suffered heavy loss in an assault upon Cuddalore, the native town, and retreated precipitately; and on July 29, a large fleet from England made its appearance, and being joined by the squadron under Admiral Griffin, amounted to thirty sail of ships. The land forces at Fort St. David now amounted to 3,700 Europeans, and about 2,500 natives, partly disciplined.

Arrival of Major Lawrence.

Arrival of English fleet.

With this force, the siege of Pondicherry was decided upon, and the Nawáb, emboldened by the new exhibition of power and resources, promised co-operation. But the siege, from many causes—principally the unskilful direction of the engineer officers—proved an utter failure. It had lasted fifty days, the monsoon was commencing, and upwards of 1,000 Europeans had died from casualties and the effects of climate. It was therefore raised, and the troops returned to Fort St. David. Dupleix made the most of his success: writing to every native court in India, including that of the emperor, that the English were cowards, who, with overwhelming forces, had been unable to recover their losses, or retrieve their honour. Another campaign would, there is little doubt, have had a far different termination. The English were all powerful at sea; succours to the French could not approach them, and Madras would have been recovered. Meanwhile peace had been concluded between the nations of Europe, and Madras was given up.

Siege of Pondicherry fails.

Peace between England and France.

It was now that the real ambition of Dupleix began to show itself. The war with the English had been confined to purely local affairs; but during its continuance he had already witnessed the ease with which his handful of Europeans had overthrown a host of Moghul soldiers; he had already made some progress in disciplining natives; and if

Policy and aims of Dupleix.

he cast his military means into any of the disputes between native authorities, there could be no question of success, and of the foundation of a military power in India, far transcending in national glory and advantage anything to be derived from trade. The same thoughts, at the same time, seem to have influenced the English, who, with a fine force at their command, were lying inactive at Fort St. David. Sanhojee, a relative of the Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore, made offers, as a claimant to the throne—of which he had been dispossessed by an illegitimate brother—of immense sums and territorial cessions, if he were assisted by a force; and his offers were accepted. The first expedition, under Captain Cope, set out in March 1749; but a furious storm, which overtook it in April, so completely disorganised the equipments, causing also the loss of a ship of sixty guns, that it was abandoned. It was renewed under Major Lawrence, who captured Dévicotta, an operation rendered memorable by the conduct of Clive, who had recently joined the army, and whose brilliant services will be hereafter detailed. Sanhojee gained a pension by the movement, and the further progress of the English was stayed by the cession of Dévicotta by the Rajah of Tanjore, with a small territory, and payment of the expenses of the war. Thus concluded the first insignificant attempt, in India, of English interference in native affairs; but that of Dupleix was of a far different character.

It will be remembered that Chunda Sahib, on his surrender of the fort of Trichinopoly to the Mahrattas in 1741, had been sent prisoner to Sattara, and that his wife and family had been committed by him to the charge of Dupleix, who had afforded them a secure retreat in Pondicherry. Madame Dupleix, though of pure French parentage, had been born and educated in Pondicherry, and consequently spoke the vernacular languages as her mother-tongue.

She appears also to have been of an intriguing spirit; for it was she who managed the traitorous correspondence with the native troops of the English at Fort St. David, which was detected and punished. Madame Dupleix grew to be on terms of intimacy with the wife of Chunda Sahib, and readily listened to her schemes for obtaining her husband's liberty, to which want of money to bribe the court at Sattara seemed to be the only obstacle. Could he be released, there was no doubt, as he was a popular prince, and Anwur-odeen, the Nawáb, was much the reverse, that the people would declare for him; and, supported by Dupleix's army—now idle—would quickly give him the ascendant in the

Proposals of  
Sanhojee of  
Tanjore to  
the English.

Expedition  
of Captain  
Cope.

Major  
Lawrence  
takes the  
field.

Adjustment  
of the  
dispute.

Madame  
Dupleix's  
political  
intrigue.

Carnatic. This was the opportunity for establishing the political influence of his nation, for which Dupleix had long thirsted, and he eagerly embraced it. Seven lacs of rupees—70,000*l.*—were advanced by Dupleix, and remitted by Chunda Sahib's wife secretly to her husband, and he was at once set at liberty.

Dupleix enters into the transaction.

Early in 1748 Chunda Sahib left Sattara, accompanied by a few tried friends, and being a well-known leader, was engaged by the Rajah of Chittledroog, then at war with Bednore. In an action which ensued, however, he was taken prisoner and thus delayed; but at this juncture Nizam-ool-Moolk died, and Anwur-ood-deen, deprived of the aid of his master and patron, might not be able to resist. Consequent on Nizam-ool-Moolk's death, a contest now ensued between his second son, Nasir Jung, and his nephew, Mozuffer Jung, the son of Nizam-ool-Moolk's daughter. Mozuffer Jung was in no position to contest the Deccan, but he was joined by Chunda Sahib, who disclosed to him his connection with the French; and at the head of a respectable force they marched towards the Carnatic, being joined by a French detachment of 400 Europeans and 2,000 disciplined Sepoys, under M. d'Auteuil. Anwur-ood-deen prepared to meet the invasion with spirit; but it is somewhat unaccountable why he did not apply for assistance from the English. It is probable, perhaps, that their ill-success in the Tanjore affair had caused them to fall in his estimation as soldiers, or he may have deprecated any assistance from foreigners, which could only be obtained by great sacrifices. Be this as it may, he met the invaders at Amboor, where he had posted his army, and was defeated and slain in the combat. His two sons, however, escaped. The war was, for the present, at an end; the conquerors entered Arcot with great pomp; Mozuffer Jung was proclaimed Soobahdar of the Deccan, and Chunda Sahib Nawáb of the Carnatic. Thence the allies proceeded to Pondicherry, where Dupleix entertained his guests with regal magnificence, and received from them a grant of eighty-one villages near the town. Dupleix now urged his allies to complete their conquest of the province; but Chunda Sahib turned into Tanjore, from the rajah of which he hoped to exact a heavy sum of money, if not to dispossess him of his kingdom. The rajah made little resistance, and engaged ultimately to pay seventy lacs of rupees—700,000*l.*—by instalments. While the allies were occupied in these inconsequent operations, they received news from

Chunda Sahib released.

Nizam-ool-Moolk's death.

Chunda Sahib joins Mozuffer Jung.

A French detachment co-operates.

Anwur-ood-deen prepares to meet the invasion.

He is defeated and slain.

The allies at Pondicherry.

Grant of villages to the French.

Dupleix that Nasir Jung had arrived from the Deccan with an immense army, and was already in possession of Arcot. Thereupon they retired at once to Pondicherry.

Meanwhile the Council of Madras had fallen into great perplexity as to what course they should pursue. Was it preferable to remain neutral, or to take a part in the war? This question was in some degree decided by the impetuosity of Mahomed Ally, son of Anwur-ood-deen, who, after his father's death, had fled to Trichinopoly, where the family and treasure were deposited, and urgently besought assistance; 120 European soldiers were sent to him, but at the same time, by a strange inconsistency, the fleet of Admiral Boscawen was permitted to depart for England. The Council were, however, committed in their policy by the succour of Mahomed Ally; and as Nasir Jung, with his huge army of 300,000 men, advanced upon Pondicherry, they sent to his camp 600 Europeans under Major Lawrence, and Mahomed Ally also joined it with 6,000 horse. On the other hand, Dupleix augmented his force, with his allies, to 2,000 Europeans; but some disagreement, the cause of which has never transpired, existed between the French officers and Dupleix; they refused to fight, and with their men were sent to Pondicherry. On this, Mozuffer Jung surrendered himself to his uncle; but Chunda Sahib, fighting bravely, escaped. It might be supposed that the French combination was now broken up. Nasir Jung returned to Arcot, and Major Lawrence, unable to effect any object favourable to the English interests, returned to Madras.

Dupleix, however, was as active in intrigue as ever. He discovered, through an agent, that there was great discontent in the camp of Nasir Jung, and that the Patán chiefs of Kurnool, Cuddapa, and Savanoor, were in secret mutiny. He now sent an expedition by sea to Masulipatam, which was carried by assault. Mahomed Ally, with whom was an English detachment under Captain Cope, after some desultory movements, refused to pay its expenses, and it was withdrawn to Madras; upon which the French, in company with Chunda Sahib, attacked and routed him with great slaughter, and the reduction of Ginjee followed. Nasir Jung, now alarmed by these active movements and successes, sought to treat with Dupleix; but the French were now again masters of the situation, and Dupleix's demands rose in proportion. Mozuffer Jung was to be set at liberty, Masulipatam and its dependencies ceded to the French, and Chunda Sahib invested as Nawáb of the Carnatic. Nasir Jung would have resisted

Perplexity at  
Madras.

The Council  
assists the  
son of  
Anwur-ood-  
deen.

Advance of  
Nasir Jung.

Dupleix's  
intrigues.

He attacks  
Masulipatam.

The French  
and allies  
defeat Maho-  
med Ally.

Nasir Jung  
negotiates  
with Dupleix.

His demands

as Nawáb

these hard terms, and ordered his army to fight; but it was one thing to order and another to execute. The army was well-nigh immovable, and Nasir Jung, having in vain tried to advance for the recovery of Ginjee, was obliged to accept the demands, heavy as they were, and to draw up the treaty. But there had been delay: and delay was intolerable to M. Dupleix. He had no assurance that the treaty would be executed, and he ordered an advance of his forces at Ginjee to enforce it; they amounted only to 800 Europeans and 3,000 Sepoys, who marched from Ginjee on December 4, to the attack of an army believed to be upwards of 300,000 strong, with 100 guns. When they neared the camp, which extended for eighteen miles, they were led, by a guide from their confederates, to the division occupied by Nasir Jung, and attacked it at night. Early in the morning Nasir Jung mounted his elephant to ascertain the progress of the fight, and soon discovered he was betrayed. Upbraiding the Nawáb of Kurnool with his treachery, he was shot dead by that chieftain as he spoke, and the conflict was at an end.

Dupleix's demands accepted.

Dupleix attacks the army of Nasir Jung.

Nasir Jung shot.

Mozuffer Jung was at once proclaimed Soobahdar of the Deccan; and accompanied by M. de la Touche, the French commander, proceeded to Pondicherry, where M. Dupleix, more than ever triumphant, and Chunda Sahib, gave him a magnificent reception. While it lasted, indeed, the result of his policy was more magnificent than Dupleix, in his wildest dreams, had ever perhaps contemplated. He had not only created a Nawáb of the Carnatic, but a Soobahdar of the Deccan. He was appointed governor of all the Moghul territory south of the Krishna; Chunda Sahib was to be subject to him; the coinage was to be struck at Pondicherry, and to the French nation was ceded Masulipatam and its dependencies, with other portions, yielding probably five lacs, or 50,000*l.*, per year. For his own share of Nasir Jung's treasure he was to receive twenty lacs, or 200,000*l.*, and the expenses of the war; and gratuities to the officers were provided for on equally liberal terms. But these were not the only claims which Mozuffer Jung had to satisfy. The three traitor Nawábs made their own demands. The territories they had usurped were to be confirmed; they were to be exempt from payment of tribute, and half the treasury of Nasir Jung was to be bestowed upon them. Mozuffer Jung, as well he might be, was afraid of these turbulent feudatories, and would not trust himself with them without a French escort. M. Bussy, therefore, the ablest officer at Dupleix's disposal, was detached with him in command of 300

Dupleix's success.

Is appointed governor of Southern India.

Demands of the Patán Nawábs.

M. Bussy detached with Mozuffer Jung.

Europeans and 2,000 Sepoys, and Mozuffer Jung marched for Hyderabad on January 4, 1751. On entering the territory of the Nawáb of Kurnool, an ambuscade was discovered; the French troops attacked and carried the defile, but in pursuing the Patáns, the Nawáb of Kurnool, finding escape impossible, turned upon Mozuffer Jung, whom Bussy had been unable to restrain, and slew him, himself being immediately killed. Instant action was necessary: and Bussy, without hesitation, sent for Salabut Jung, the third son of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and caused him, with the consent of the army, to be proclaimed Soobahdar of the Deccan. By this measure, tranquillity was at once restored; and it is impossible not to award to M. Bussy the highest meed of honour for his ready presence of mind, and great ability and vigour of conduct. He was not exacting in his demands on the new soobahdar. He might have required and exacted many additional concessions to his nation, and no opposition would have been made to them; but he was content with the confirmation of what had already been confirmed by Mozuffer Jung, and with this even M. Dupleix was satisfied.

The Nawáb  
of Kurnool  
kills Mozuffer  
Jung.

Admirable  
conduct of  
Bussy.

Mozuffer  
Jung's  
agreements  
are con-  
firmed.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH AND WAR IN THE CARNATIC (concluded), 1751 to 1754.

A STRANGE complication of affairs had now ensued. The English and French in the Carnatic, though their nations were at peace, had taken up different sides of native politics; and the real question at issue, the eventual local superiority, was to be fought out under cover of them. After the departure of Mozuffer Jung, the English would probably have acknowledged Chunda Sahib as Nawáb, if their ally, Mahomed Ally, were secured in Trichinopoly; but to this Dupleix would by no means consent: and Chunda Sahib's first act, after taking possession of Arcot, in February 1751, was to advance to the siege of Trichinopoly with his own forces and 800 French auxiliaries. The former weak garrison of English soldiers sent to the aid of Mahomed Ally from Madras, has been already mentioned: and Lieutenant Clive was now despatched with a further reinforcement; but Mahomed Ally, perhaps distrustful of them, and under apprehension from the superior forces of his rival, called in the aid of the Mahratta chief, Moorary Ráo of

Complication  
of Carnatic  
affairs.

Siege of  
Trichinopoly  
by Chunda  
Sahib.

Gooty, Nunjeráj, the regent of Mysore, and the troops of Tanjore. Meanwhile Clive, whose daring spirit and military talent were becoming more and more developed, conceived the bold design of seizing Arcot while the troops of Chunda Sahib were drawn off for the siege of Trichinopoly; and, on his return to Fort St. David, laid his plan before Mr. Saunders, the governor of Madras, who at once appreciated the boldness and strategetic utility of the measure. 200 European soldiers, 300 Sepoys, and ten field-pieces, were all that could be spared; and with these Clive marched directly upon Arcot, through a tremendous storm of wind and rain, reached it on August 31, and took possession of it, unopposed by the garrison, who had fled. It was almost an open town; but the fort was tenable, and by strengthening the defences, and scouring the country around for supplies, he made the position very formidable.

Clive's expedition to Arcot.

He takes possession of the city.

As he had supposed, his movement at once attracted the attention of Chunda Sahib, and a force was detached from Trichinopoly for the siege of Arcot. It is impossible to follow the details of this siege, which forms one of the noblest exploits of Clive's remarkable life; but for seven weeks, relief from Madras having failed to reach him, he bravely withstood the efforts of 10,000 native troops and 150 French. The fort was breached in several places; the scarcity was so great that the native troops drank the water in which rice was boiled, while they gave the rice to the Europeans; and the danger of capture seemed so imminent, that Clive despatched a messenger to Moorary Ráo, whose camp was about thirty miles distant, to come to his assistance. On November 14, however, the troops of Chunda Sahib, under their commander Rajah Sahib, advanced to the storm. There were two practicable breaches, and the defenders were reduced to eighty Europeans and 120 Sepoys; nevertheless the assailants were beaten back with great loss, and during the night evacuated the town. In the evening a reinforcement, under Captain Kilpatrick, arrived from Madras, and any further attack by the enemy was impossible. Clive now assumed the offensive, and was joined by about 600 Mahratta horse, his own force being 200 Europeans and 700 Sepoys. With this, however, he defeated a combined French and native army under Rajah Sahib, at Arnee, and following up his advantage, gave them another severe defeat at Caverypauk, where he captured twelve pieces of artillery. He would now have advanced to the relief of Trichinopoly, on which the strength of the French was concentrated; but the arrival of Major Lawrence

Arcot besieged.

Clive's noble defence.

The assailants are beaten and evacuate the town.

Clive takes the field.

His success.

from England placed him in a subordinate position. Never before, however, in India, had British troops fought as they had under Clive, and never had native Sepoys so bravely emulated them. They had beaten the French in every encounter, and had risen immensely in native estimation.

The operations begun under Clive were successfully continued under Lawrence, who advanced to the relief of Trichinopoly, against which the French and Chunda Sahib had effected very little. Mahomed Ally's allies from Mysore and Tanjore, with those of Moorary Ráo, augmented his forces to an equality with those of Chunda Sahib, and in addition there were the English under Lawrence. After a series of operations, which are interesting and well repay the perusal of the

student,<sup>1</sup> the French and Chunda Sahib were shut up in the fortified pagoda of Seringham on an island in the Cavery, opposite to Trichinopoly. Here they were summoned to surrender at discretion, and M. Law, their commander, agreed to the terms offered. 600 Europeans with 300 Sepoys laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war, and thirty pieces of cannon with a large quantity of military stores were taken possession of. Chunda Sahib had previously obtained permission to depart, and had fallen into the hands of Monajee, the Tanjore general. His fate is thus related by Major Lawrence,

who states in his narrative that at a council on the subject, at which the native chieftains could not agree, 'I proposed that we should have the charge of him, and keep him confined in one of our settlements; this was by no means approved, and we parted without coming to any resolution; but some of Monajee's people put an end to the dispute by cutting off his head, which was done on June 3, 1752,' and it may be added that Major Lawrence was in no position to prevent the act. The

war did not, however, end with the death of Chunda Sahib. The Mysore and Mahratta troops joined the French, for Mahomed Ally had failed in all his agreements with his allies, and most notably in respect of surrendering Trichinopoly to the Mysore troops, as he had promised to do. Lawrence urged that the whole of the Carnatic should be first cleared of the enemy; but this opinion was overruled by Mr. Saunders, who sent a totally inadequate force against the great fort of Ginjee, which proved a miserable failure. This raised Dupleix's hopes for a time, and his troops took the field; but they were encountered at Bahoor, near Fort St. David, on August 27, and totally defeated by Lawrence

Military operations at Trichinopoly.

The French in Seringham surrender to Lawrence.

Chunda Sahib is beheaded.

Continuation of the war, 1752.

The French defeated at Bahoor.

<sup>1</sup> Vide 'War in the Carnatic, 1761,' Orme's 'History,' Mill's 'History,' vol. iii.; Beveridge's 'History,' vol. i. &c.

with the loss of eight guns, and all their military stores; the officer in command, M. Kirjean, with 100 Europeans, being taken prisoner. This action, with the capture of Covelong and Chingleput by Clive, which were in reality two very desperate enterprises, closed the campaign of 1752.

In 1753, as soon as the monsoon closed, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans having meanwhile gone over to the French, the war was opened by an attack by the allies upon Trichinopoly, in which an English garrison had been left under Captain Dalton. It had been occupied in perpetual checks of the Mysore troops, which sought to gain possession, and at length endeavoured to reduce the garrison by famine. Dalton's provisions were nearly at an end, when he apprised Lawrence of the fact, who marched at once to his relief; and by a curious coincidence, arrived on the same day as a French detachment, which reinforced the troops already in possession of the Seringham pagoda. After a series of minor operations, an action ensued near the fort, on September 20, 1753, in which the French, in a spirited charge with the bayonet, were defeated, and their commander, M. d'Autuc, taken prisoner. The forces of the allies were still, however, very numerous, and Major Lawrence and a considerable number of the troops being temporarily absent, the fort was assaulted on the night of November 27; but the attempt failed, and the loss of the French was very severe. The repulse was, however, followed by a success, in which a convoy from Madras was surprised and cut off by the allied Mahrattas and Tanjoreans, assisted by the French, and in this manner the war continued till October 1754, the one party at times pressing the siege, and the other endeavouring to raise it, which occasioned many interesting and varied achievements.

Campaign of  
1753.

Action at  
Trichinopoly,  
and the  
French  
defeated.

The French  
repulsed from  
the fort.

At this crisis, M. Dupleix found himself superseded by M. Godeheu, who had been specially sent from France to put an end to the war, and who reached India on August 2, 1754; and on October 10, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon between the French commissioner and Mr. Saunders, governor of Madras, which was continued for three months in anticipation of a general treaty. On December 26 the more formal treaty was executed, the first article of which specifies that the companies should renounce all 'Moorish dignities,' and refrain from further interference with native powers. The possessions of each were to be equalised, and are specified in the articles; and the treaty was to continue in force as made, pending the confirmation or otherwise of the respective authorities in Europe. At first sight there undoubtedly appears a decided sacrifice of interests by

Arrival of  
Commissioner  
Godeheu.

Suspension  
of hostilities.

Treaty be-  
tween the  
English and  
French.

the French; and if the relinquishment of the Northern Circars had been actually included, no doubt would have been so. These territories, however, had been assigned by Salabut Jung to Bussy, in payment of his troops; and so fell out of the general category.

Failure of M.  
Dupleix's  
schemes.

But M. Dupleix's masterly policy for the sway of the Carnatic had been unduly broken up, his ally Chunda Sahib was dead; and though his son, a minor, survived, and was even put forward by Dupleix, the opposite party, strengthened by the English, had become too powerful. Dupleix's fate was

Fate of  
Dupleix.

a melancholy termination to his ambitious schemes. When he went back to France, his accounts proved his large claims on the Government; for, in support of his policy, he had not only used his own private funds to the extent of 300,000*l.*, but had borrowed largely. These debts were, however, repudiated by the French Government; and though a letter of protection was granted to him against his creditors, he died of anxiety and vexation, and in poverty—a second victim to the short-sighted policy and ignorance of the French nation. Nor can the eminent services

Services of  
Mr. Saunders.

of Mr. Saunders be passed over without remark. It is questionable whether they were ever recognised; certain at least, that they were never rewarded as they should have been. But for his undaunted resolution, and perseverance under all difficulties, Mahomed Ally, unworthy as he was, would never have been adequately supported. Mr. Saunders, with true good faith which never swerved, was determined that the French should not possess a governor of the Carnatic wholly dependent upon them; and, amidst all difficulties and perplexities, calmly and perseveringly worked out his purpose till the arrival of M. Godebeu placed the question beyond issue, in the treaty which was obtained from him, which, more than success against them in the field, humiliated the French in the opinion of the natives of India, and laid the foundation of British ascendancy.

Meanwhile M. Bussy had accompanied Salabut Jung, and the army had advanced as far as the Krishna river, when it was met by that of the Peshwah, who, instructed from Dehly, was acting in the interest of Ghazee-ood-deen, the late Nizam-ool-Moolk's eldest son, and therefore the real successor to his dominions. An action was imminent, when the Peshwah received news from Sattara which obliged him to return. Shao had died in 1751; but before his demise, having no male offspring, he was induced to adopt Rāma, or Rām Rajah, the son, as was alleged, of the second Sivajee, whose existence had hitherto been concealed; but before Shao's death the Peshwah had contrived to obtain an instrument from him, in which he and his descendants

Proceedings  
of Bussy.

were created the executive rulers of the Mahratta State, on condition of governing it in the name and on the behalf of the great Sivajee's posterity. Sukwar Bye, the widow of Shao, would no doubt have opposed this arrangement, but under the effect of a taunting message from the Peshwah, who had discovered her conspiracy against him, she burned herself with her husband's body. It was a base and cruel alternative, and was assisted by the unhappy lady's brother; but it secured the Peshwah's present power, and its hereditary descent to his successors. The news received by the Peshwah now was that Tara Bye, the grandmother of Rám Rajah, had, with the assistance of several great chiefs, made a revolution at Sattara, by which Rám Rajah was to be delivered from the power of the Peshwah; but the attempt proved abortive: the Rajah was kept in close confinement by Tara Bye herself, and the Gáikwar, who had aided her movement, was secured and imprisoned.

The Peshwah's office confirmed hereditarily.

The Peshwah was now at liberty to proceed against Salabut Jung, who, with M. Bussy, had reached Ahmednugger. Thence they advanced upon Poona, and the Mahratta army was defeated by a night attack on November 22, 1751. On the 27th, Salabut Jung was attacked in turn, and was saved only by the gallantry of the French; and the campaign continued, with occasional advantages, now to one side and now to the other, till Salabut Jung's troops, already discontented by arrears of pay, threatened to mutiny. Under Bussy's advice, therefore, the Peshwah's overtures were accepted, and an armistice ensued. Although the terms of these overtures did not transpire, they may be readily imagined. The Peshwah had been in treaty with Ghazee-ood-deen, now on his way to the Deccan, and had been promised extensive territorial cessions for his assistance in the inevitable contest with Salabut Jung; and it is therefore probable, that these cessions were also promised by Salabut Jung should he succeed. Thus the Peshwah's neutrality was, for the present, apparently secured; while he evidently perceived that the side he should support in the contest must eventually prove victorious. Meanwhile, Rughojee Bhósley, during the campaign between Salabut Jung and the Peshwah, had invaded Western Berar, taken Gawilgurh and Narnalla, and occupied the country as far south as the Godavery. Ghazee-ood-deen was not opposed by his brother on his entry into the Deccan, and he was joined by the Peshwah, who, abandoning his promised neutrality, accompanied him to Aurungabad, and obtained from him the cession of the whole of the territory

War between the Peshwah and Salabut Jung.

Defeat of the Mahrattas.

An armistice ensued.

between the Tapti and the Godavery, which included Western Berar. While encamped near the city, Ghazee-ood-deen accepted an invitation from the mother of Nizam Ally, one of his father's widows who resided at Aurungabad, and partook of a poisoned dish, from the effects of which he almost directly expired. Whether the crime was instigated by Salabut Jung, or was one of the harem intrigues then only too common in great Mahomedan families, is nowhere explained; but no odium seems to have attached itself to Salabut Jung, now without a rival in the Deccan. As to confirmation from Dehly, it was not now needed as a matter of security, and would be acknowledged only as an honorary compliment. No opposition to Salabut Jung was offered, and under Bussy's advice, though unwillingly, he confirmed the grants to the Peshwah, already made by his brother, by which the Peyn Gunga became the southern boundary of the Mahratta possessions of Berar, the posts taken up by Rughojee as far south as the Godavery being entirely withdrawn.

Bussy's conduct throughout these events is entitled to the highest praise. It will be readily imagined that a foreigner, entirely unsupported, and dependent only upon a prince's precarious favour, would become a mark for jealousy and conspiracy. He had no private means of his own, and must depend upon what he could locally obtain for the pay of his troops. After some struggles with the executive minister, Syed Lushkur Khan, who desired the dismissal of the Europeans, Bussy, who had been obliged to go to Masulipatam for change of air, suddenly returned to Hyderabad, and marched to Aurungabad, where the court then was. His presence once more secured Salabut Jung, who dismissed his enemy; and, as a provision for the French auxiliaries, assigned to M. Bussy the whole of the eastern provinces, called the Northern Circars, the revenue of which amounted to fifty lacs, or 500,000*l.*, per annum. No European power in India had ever acquired such a possession. It was fertile and productive; its coast was open for 600 miles, and communication with Hyderabad was easy and rapid. Nor did the convention of Pondicherry affect this possession, so long as M. Bussy remained the servant only of a native power. The country was well and moderately managed, and Bussy became as much distinguished by his civil administration as by his military talent.

Ghazee-ood-deen poisoned, 1752.

Salabut Jung viceroy of the Deccan.

Bussy's conduct.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH (*continued*),  
1754 to 1756.

ALTHOUGH the treaty of Pondicherry put an end to the actual war in the Carnatic between the French and English, it did not prevent further undertakings in concert with native powers; while, on the other hand, the late allies could not understand why they should be debarred from action by its provisions. Nunjeráj, the regent of Mysore, declared he would not depart till he had obtained Trichinopoly; while Mahomed Ally, the nawáb, considering he had a right to tribute from Madura and Tinnevely, two small States to the southward, called upon the English for assistance.

Situation of the English and French and their native allies.

The Mysoreans were obliged to abandon their pretensions under an invasion of their dominions by the Peshwah; but the Madura expedition, which may be considered the first deliberate breach of the treaty, continued, and was prolonged by various circumstances for several years. In 1754, the Peshwah proceeded to the Carnatic to levy the national tribute, and Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy, also marched in the same direction. While Salabut Jung protected Mysore from the Mahrattas, he was bent upon exacting his tribute from that State, already impoverished by the expenses of the Carnatic campaign; and under these separate interests

The Peshwah and Salabut Jung visit the Carnatic.

Bussy's position.

Bussy was placed in a delicate position, as his nation was in alliance with Mysore; but he contrived to extricate himself from it with his usual address, claiming to Mysore that his presence alone had prevented the Peshwah from plundering the country—which, indeed, was true.

Colonel Clive, who had been absent on leave in England, returned to India in 1755; being sent out to Bombay in command of a large detachment of troops. While

Clive returns to India.

in England, he had afforded much information in regard to the effects of the treaty of Pondicherry, and the real strength and position of M. Bussy in the Deccan; and had shown clearly that, as he said, 'so long

His statements in England.

as there was one Frenchman in arms in the Deccan, or in India, there could be no peace. For his own part, he desired nothing better than to dispute the mastery of the Deccan with M. Bussy; and it was perhaps then as privately clear to his

mind as it was avowedly so afterwards, that the whole of India must belong to the conqueror. At this time, the character of the English was fast rising in popular estimation in India. The faithful manner in which they had supported the Nawáb of the Carnatic, in spite of their own weakness; the manner in which they had been reinforced, and their superiority by sea, were becoming gradually observed.

In Bombay, their neighbour the Peshwah was not a person to neglect his own interests: and though he had not been able to avail himself of English aid in reducing Surat, another opportunity now presented itself. Toolajee Angria, who held possession of the coast between Bancote and Sawunt-warree, south of Bombay, had defied the Peshwah's authority, whereas his brother Manajee acknowledged it. Toolajee's piracies were very active and mischievous: and the Peshwah, as also the English at Bombay, had severely suffered from them. Independent of Toolajee Angria, the chief of Sawunt-warree and the Rajah of Kolapore employed piratical vessels; and by these means the coast had become extremely unsafe. In March 1755, the Peshwah prepared to co-operate with the English officers at Bombay for the reduction of these piratical forts; and though there were none of the king's ships present, they sent Commodore James on March 27, with a vessel of forty-four guns, and a bomb-ketch, to be supported by the Mahratta fleet, against Severndroog, which was gallantly attacked and captured. It was made over to the Peshwah, according to stipulation; and the English obtained from him Bancote, which was their first territorial possession, except Bombay, on the western coast. The season was too far advanced for further operations, and the Bombay Council, as well on that account as their paucity of means, deferred them till the arrival of Colonel Clive's force, and the fleet under Admiral Watson. Even, then, the question of employing Clive against Bussy in the Deccan, in which the Peshwah would no doubt have joined, instead of against Angria, was some time under consideration. The Madras Council would have preferred action by land, and strenuously urged this measure, but the authorities of Bombay were doubtful whether, under the treaty of Pondicherry, they could enter on such a campaign against Salabut Jung and Bussy, and it was finally decided to reduce Angria.

The armament was prepared and dispatched in February 1756.

It consisted of fourteen vessels, three of which were ships of the line, and carried 800 Europeans and 1,000 native soldiers. Before the fleet sailed, the chief officers

The English character begins to be estimated in India.

The Peshwah and Bombay Government coalesce to repress piracy.

Severndroog captured.

The Peshwah cedes Bancote.

Expedition of Admiral Watson and Clive against Gheriah.

had met and determined to divide the prize-money without reference to the Mahrattas, who, independently of the English, had already taken several of Angria's forts; but they had not succeeded against Gheriah, which they had only invested by land. On February 12, Admiral Watson opened fire against the fort, and Colonel Clive, landing the troops, took up a position between the fort and the Mahratta army. There was an attempt on the part of the Mahratta commander to prevent the English getting possession of the place, by asserting that Toolajee Angria was already negotiating with him for its surrender; but this was disregarded, and next day Angria's fleet was burned, and the fort surrendered. About ten lacs of rupees—100,000*l.*—was Gheriah surrenders. divided among the captors as prize-money, and for the present Gheriah was retained. Bancoote was offered in exchange for it: but this was refused by the Peshwah, and the settlement of the question remained in abeyance. Colonel Clive now proceeded to assume command of Fort St. David, to which he had Clive proceeds to Fort St. David. been appointed in England, and all schemes against M. Bussy, on the part of the English, were for the present necessarily postponed.

But there were other intrigues against Bussy in progress which were more important than the remote chance of a conflict with Clive. If the Bombay Government had consented Intrigues against M. Bussy. to allow Clive to join the Mahrattas, Bussy, as well as his master, Salabut Jung, would have been attacked by the Peshwah, in 1755. Disappointed at their determination not to assist him, the Peshwah applied to the Council of Madras for artillery and gunners; and on April 14, 1756, they wrote, that if he would send troops to meet them they would be forwarded. This, however, did not happen. The Peshwah was employed against the Nawab of Savanoor, who had defied both himself and Salabut Jung: and for the present they had united their forces in order to reduce him. During the siege of Savanoor, the success of Siege of Savanoor. Bussy's magnificent artillery won the admiration of the combined armies: and it is evident that he was thought too powerful for hostile influences to succeed presently against him. Certainly, so long as he was connected with Salabut Jung, it was clear to the Peshwah that he would have no chance of superiority, and Bussy was therefore, if possible, to be removed. Salabut Jung's minister, Shah Nuwáz Khan, had probably made his own terms with the Peshwah in this matter; but it is not clear how they combined to act upon Salabut Khan himself. Be this as it may, no sooner was Savanoor taken, than Bussy was informed that his Bussy is dismissed by Salabut Jung. services were no longer required, and he must retire with his European troops. Some of his Sepoys had

already been corrupted, and were disaffected towards him ; but others were still faithful, and with these, 200 European cavalry, and 600 infantry, he obtained passports to Masulipatam, and marched from the camp on May 25, upon Hyderabad, which lay in his route to Masulipatam. Directly after he had set out, he received a communication from the Peshwah, offering him the same position with himself as he had held with Salabut Jung, as well as an escort of 6,000 horse. The latter he accepted for a few days, till he should have crossed the Krishna and Bheema rivers ; but the offer of service he distinctly, though courteously, refused. Had he accepted it, as he might have done, under feelings of irritation at his sudden dismissal by Salabut Jung, and as he was now at liberty to do, there can be little doubt that the Peshwah would at once have attacked the army of Salabut Jung and shattered his power ; but Bussy saw his best interests lay in regaining his position with Salabut Jung ; and he probably confided the means of doing so to no one. The Krishna and Bheema proved fordable, and Bussy pursued his march to Hyderabad without opposition ; but they swelled immediately afterwards, and hindered the return of Salabut Jung's army for some days.

He marches on Hyderabad.

The Peshwah offers him service,

which he refuses.

His measures.

He arrives at Hyderabad, and takes up a position in the city.

The Char Minár.

Salabut Jung arrives with his army.

Efforts of the French officers.

On reaching the city, Bussy marched directly into it, and took possession of the Char Minár, and the buildings near it, with some of which were connected one of the viceroy's gardens. It was amply supplied with water, and afforded accommodation for all his troops. The Char Minár, a noble edifice of the Kootub Shahy period, consisted of four open arches of great size, with a lofty minaret at each corner, and formed a conspicuous object from all points of view. The roof was a large terrace, and was nearly a hundred feet from the ground. The place commanded the whole of the city within gun-shot, and was entirely unassailable ; and, manned by guns on the terrace above as well as below, was quite impregnable. Having laid in provisions, Bussy permanently occupied it on July 5. A few days afterwards, the advanced portion of Salabut Jung's army reached Hyderabad. Salabut Jung himself arrived on August 1, and Bussy's position was closely invested.

Meanwhile, the French officers at Pondicherry and Masulipatam, on receiving news of Bussy's difficulties, made strenuous efforts to reinforce him. M. de Leyrit dispatched 320 Europeans and 400 Sepoys, with six guns, from Pondicherry to Masulipatam, and before their arrival there 160 Europeans and 700 Sepoys had marched for Hyderabad, under M. Law.

Stress of weather had forced him to halt at Bézwarra, on the Hyderabad road, for a few days, and when the reinforcement from Pondicherry arrived, it was enabled to join him. For some marches he was not molested; but as he neared Hyderabad, he was attacked by troops sent from the city, and in a strange mood of despair, took up a position in the small fort of Mulkapoor, within a march of the capital, and wrote to Bussy that he could advance no further. Now Bussy had already gained over to his side the Mahratta officers, who were employed against Law's detachment, and who had agreed not to attack him, though they should appear to do so. There was, therefore, no danger which might not be overcome. He, therefore, wrote to Law to advance at all hazards, at the same time causing his own tent to be pitched outside the walls, as if about to march to attack Salabut Jung's troops. This ruse had the effect he had anticipated; no additional forces were sent against Law, who, after a night of sharp fighting in the Mulkapoor defile, reached Hyátnugger, in an open country. Bussy now sent a party of 140 Europeans with 1,000 of his best Sepoys, with conveyances for the wounded, to escort Law to Hyderabad. The march of both parties was unopposed, and on the morning of August 15, all reached Bussy's position in safety. Law had twenty-five Europeans killed, and sixty-five wounded; but the enemy acknowledged a loss of 2,000 men, chiefly from the field-pieces and the French musketry.

Law had no sooner arrived than a letter was received from Salabut Jung, who became almost abject in his submission, and Bussy was enabled to make his own terms, which, under the treachery he had endured, were wonderfully moderate. He imposed no new conditions, receiving only confirmation of his districts and his command; and having thus overcome intrigue and violence by his bravery and dignified conduct, he was more than ever respected by the people. His greatest apprehension during the siege of the Char Minár was, that the Madras Government, to whom he knew Salabut Jung had applied for assistance, might dispatch troops before succour could reach him from Pondicherry or Madras; but the efforts of his countrymen at both places had been energetically directed, and had proved successful. The Council of Madras would, there is little doubt, have embraced the opportunity of employing Clive in the service against Bussy, in which he had been disappointed at Bombay; but events in Bengal, which have now to be noticed, had put it out of their power to send a single

Law marches  
on Hyderabad.

Bussy  
secures the  
Mahratta  
officers.

Bussy rein-  
forces Law.

who finally  
reaches  
Hyderabad.

Salabut  
Jung's  
submission.

Bussy's  
moderation.

man. Bussy, therefore, became stronger than ever; but he held a position which depended solely upon his own indomitable will and energy, and which his country had neither the means, nor perhaps the inclination, to strengthen.

## CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REIGNS OF THE EMPERORS AHMED SHAH AND ALUM-GEER II., WITH EVENTS IN BENGAL, 1748 TO 1756.

It will be remembered, that when the Prince Royal, Ahmed of Dehly, had repulsed the Afghan king, Ahmed Shah Abdally, in an attack on his camp at Sirhind, he had received intelligence of the death of his father, the Emperor Mahomed Shah; and returning to Dehly, was crowned under the title of Ahmed Shah. Kummur-ood-deen Khan, the vizier, had been killed at Sirhind; and Sufdur Jung, the son of Saadut Khan, the late viceroy of Oudh, was appointed in his room. An attempt was then made to suppress the Rohillas, the descendants of the old Afghans who had settled in the country near Dehly, and who had grown very powerful; but it proved abortive, and it was not until the Mahrattas, under Sindia and Holkar, and Sooruj Mul, rajah of the Jâts, were called in to assist, that they were defeated; but the Mahrattas, as the price of their assistance, were allowed to plunder the country, and it was desolated. A defeat of the imperial troops in Marwar followed at a short interval, and was not redeemed; and after these examples of the growing weakness of the imperial government, a second invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdally ensued. His present demand was the cession of the whole of the Punjab, which, being unable to oppose it, was granted by the emperor. Sufdur Jung, the vizier, during whose absence this cession had been made, was discontented with the humiliation: and resented it by causing a eunuch, the emperor's favourite attendant, whom he believed adverse to himself, and the adviser of the Punjab cession, to be assassinated. This act precipitated matters between the emperor and Sufdur Jung, and he was superseded by Shahab-ood-deen, the son of the late Ghazee-ood-deen, viceroy of the Deccan, who, though only a youth, was promoted to the office of commander of the forces. This event produced a civil war, which deluged the streets of Dehly with blood,

Prince Ahmed succeeds his father, the Emperor Mahomed Shah.

Rebellion of the Rohillas.

The second invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdally.

The Punjab ceded to him.

Civil war in Dehly.

and was stayed only on the approach of the Mahrattas, whom Ghazee-ood-deen had called up from the Deccan; and Sufdur Jung, secure in his possession of Oudh, removed thither, and thenceforth became virtually independent. Shaháb-ood-deen, who succeeded to the office of vizier, in concert with his Mahratta allies, now entered upon a campaign against the Játs, and was occupied in besieging their strong forts, when the emperor moved from Dehly, possibly with a view of conciliating Sufdur Jung. This unlooked-for independent action it was necessary to check; and a Mahratta force was sent against him, by which he was defeated, and, with his mother, imprisoned. Shaháb-ood-deen then repaired to the camp, deposed the emperor, and having blinded him and his mother, created another of the princes emperor, who was crowned under the title of Alumgeer II., in July 1754.

The Mahrattas assist the emperor.

Campaign against the Játs.

The emperor is deposed.

Alumgeer II. succeeds.

In September of the same year, Sufdur Jung, viceroy of Oudh, died, and was succeeded by his son, Shujah-ood-Dowlah, when Shaháb-ood-deen made an attempt to assert the authority of the empire over the province, but could effect nothing. He afterwards proceeded towards the Punjáb, and in March 1755 had a narrow escape from death in a mutiny of a portion of his troops; but he reached the Punjáb safely. Lahore was then held on the part of Ahmed Shah Abdally, by the widow of Meer Munnoo, the late viceroy, acting on behalf of her son, who, though a minor, had been confirmed in the government. Shaháb-ood-deen was betrothed to a daughter of this lady; and having completely lulled her suspicions, surprised Lahore and carried her off to his camp. This insult to his authority was promptly resented by Ahmed Shah, who, marching rapidly from Kandahar, reached the vicinity of Dehly without opposition. Here he pardoned the vizier, who submitted to him; but Shaháb-ood-deen was too weak to prevent the king from proceeding to Dehly, and extorting a vast sum of money from the people by torture and massacre. Nor did his violence rest here. He deliberately attacked the rich city of Muttra, on the occasion of a religious festival, when thousands of Hindoo worshippers were slaughtered without mercy by the Afghans. Ahmed Shah also attempted to levy exactions upon the Viceroy of Oudh and the Játs; but they proved strong enough to resist him, and finding it impossible to delay longer in India, in consequence of the heat, he was about to proceed to Kandahar, in June 1757, when the emperor unexpectedly appealed to him for protection against the vizier, whose

The vizier attempts to regain Oudh

and the Punjáb.

Ahmed Shah Abdally resents the attack.

and plunders Dehly.

Plunder and massacre of Muttra.

perfidy he had so much reason to dread. Ahmed Shah therefore appointed Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, a Rohilla nobleman of ability and good repute, to be commander of the army, a nomination he hoped would be respected by the vizier; but no sooner had the king departed, than the vizier superseded his nominee, replacing him by a creature of his own, and calling in the Mahrattas to support his measures. The consequences of this step will be detailed hereafter, for it now becomes necessary to revert to the affairs of Bengal.

The emperor appeals to Ahmed Shah for assistance.

Mahratta intervention.

Affairs in Bengal.

Death of Aliverdy Khan.

Suráj-ood-Dowlah succeeds.

Shoukut Jung disputes the succession.

Kishen Das is protected by the English.

Suráj-ood-Dowlah's demands.

On April 9, 1756, Aliverdy Khan, the gallant and persevering defender of Bengal against the Mahrattas, died at the age of eighty, much regretted by the people, and by the European settlers. He had behaved well to them; had made fewer exactions than he might have done; and he had been able to appreciate the effects of their trade in advancing the prosperity of the great province. At his death, Bengal was virtually an independent kingdom, though its ruler professed a nominal attachment to, and dependence upon, the throne of Dehly: and the successor assumed his position without more reference to the court than etiquette, and the payment of fees and presents to the courtiers, required. Aliverdy Khan had no son; but he had three daughters, who were married to the three sons of his brothers, and he fixed upon Suráj-ood-Dowlah, one of his grandsons, and his especial favourite, to inherit his dominions, an arrangement which was publicly made known, and continued till Aliverdy's death. No opposition was therefore made to this bequest, and Suráj-ood-Dowlah took quiet possession of his grandfather's dominions; but his uncle, who had married the eldest daughter of his grandfather, and who had been in charge of the government of Purneah, had left a son, Shoukut Jung, who, having great wealth at his disposal, was now intriguing at Dehly for the vice-royalty: and Suráj-ood-Dowlah marched against him. Before he could reach the place, he received news that Kishen Das, the son of Rajah Ráj Bullub, the late governor of Dacca, had proceeded to Calcutta with a letter of introduction to Mr. Drake, the governor, from Mr. Watts of Cossimbazar, and that he had taken all his wealth with him. To get possession of this wealth had been the desire of Suráj-ood-Dowlah for some time past: and the manner in which Kishen Das had evaded him, and thrown himself upon the protection of the English, excited his anger to a furious degree. He wrote first to Mr. Drake, demanding that the fugitive should be given up with all his property; and again, that the new fortifications

of Calcutta should be destroyed. It was in vain that Mr. Drake, who evaded the subject of Kishen Das, protested that the fortifications had only been partially repaired in case they should be attacked by the French; the Nawáb would hear of no excuses, and marched with his whole army, 50,000 strong, upon Calcutta, in the month of June, and reached the city on the 17th of that month.

He marches  
on Calcutta.

Calcutta was entirely unprepared for defence. The fortifications had been only partially repaired by Colonel Scott, and at his death, in the preceding year, the works had been suspended. The gunpowder was bad, and only 174 men composed the garrison. There was no soldier-like feeling among the officers, and discipline had been neglected. The English outposts were quickly driven in, and some of their guns captured: and by the evening of the 18th, the factory was closely invested.

Weak con-  
dition of  
Calcutta.

During that night a council of war decided that the place was not tenable, and that the women and children should be sent on board the ships. This was immediately done, amidst much confusion, and the ships' commanders, alarmed by a sudden discharge of fire-

The factory  
is invested.

Women and  
children  
removed.

arrows, weighed anchor, and dropped two miles down the river. In the morning Mr. Drake, the chief, and Captain Minchin, the commandant of the factory, followed them. Mr. Holwell, however, was not dismayed, and preparations were made for defence. If the ships, or a

Mr. Drake  
abandons his  
post.

portion of their crews, had returned, there can be little question that the place could have been held; and there were many on board the fleet who would have cheerfully taken part in the defence; but to the last, the signals of distress from the fort, though perfectly visible in the ships, were not answered, and on the 21st, the enemy, seeing the helpless situation of the defenders, assaulted the place with much vigour.

Mr. Holwell's  
defence.

The factory  
assaulted.

Finding further resistance hopeless, and as some lodgments on the walls had been made, Mr. Holwell admitted a flag of truce sent by the Nawáb, and taking advantage of it, a rush was made by the enemy, and the officers and soldiers, most of the latter being intoxicated, were disarmed.

Mr. Holwell  
admits a  
flag of truce.

The English  
are disarmed.

In the afternoon, the Nawáb visited the fort in state; and after expressing his disappointment that there was no more than five lacs of rupees—50,000*l.*—in the treasury, and receiving Kishen Das with courtesy, took his departure. No one seems to have apprehended danger, and so far as the Nawáb himself was concerned, there perhaps was none; but in the evening, no other place being considered secure by the native officer in

The Nawáb's  
visit.

charge of the fort, the whole of the prisoners, without distinction —146 persons—were thrust into a room barely twenty feet square, without proper ventilation, which went by the name of 'the black hole,' and had been ordinarily used as a lock-up place for disorderly soldiers. The result is too well-known by the narratives of Mr. Holwell and others, and need not be repeated here. It was in vain that the prisoners, in their agonies of thirst and suffocation, implored the guards to have the Nawáb informed of their condition; they were told he was gone to rest, and could not be disturbed, and in the morning twenty-three ghastly figures emerged from the place—the rest lay dead within. Mr. Holwell was now sent to Moorshidabad in confinement, the property of all the English factories in Bengal was confiscated, and the company's servants imprisoned; and before the end of June, the English had not, so to speak, a single possession in Bengal remaining to them. The ships, one and all, dropped down to Fuldah, a town near the mouth of the river Hooghly, and sending news of their disasters to Madras, those on board of them awaited the result.

## CHAPTER VIII.

OF EVENTS IN BENGAL (*continued*), 1756 TO 1757.

News of the disastrous state of affairs in Bengal did not reach Madras till July 15, and caused some alarm, though by no means as much as might have been expected. A ship, the 'Delaware,'

was, however, dispatched to the Hooghly with 250 men on July 20, which, arriving on August 2, found the fugitives from Calcutta unable to act in concert with them;

and about the same time, the full extent of the Bengal loss became known at Madras. It is, however, now strange to consider, that, even under the pressure of this great national calamity, there were some there who would have preferred immediate action against M. Bussey on the requisition of Salabut Jung, to regaining a footing in Bengal; but it was at last wisely determined to act against Bengal, and Clive, chafing at his inaction in his subordinate post

at Fort St. David, was appointed to command the expedition. There were 2,000 English soldiers then at Madras; but 900 were considered sufficient, and with 1,500 Sepoys, and artillery, made up the force to be employed. Much time was lost by unseemly discussions and jealousies in the Council; but eventually five ships of the Royal Navy,

under the command of Admiral Watson, with fire of the company's fleet, sailed from Madras on October 16.

The garrison  
confined in  
the 'black  
hole.'

Assistance  
sent from  
Madras.

Clive ap-  
pointed to  
command the  
troops.

The expedi-  
tion sails  
from Madras.

They made a long passage to Bengal, for the monsoon was now adverse, and did not arrive till December 20; even then two were wanting. Clive began his operations at once; and as the ships, carrying nearly 400 guns, ascended the river with the semblance of a triumphal procession, such an armament had never before been witnessed by the people. At the first fort attacked—Buj-Buj—Clive narrowly escaped destruction by careless over-confidence; but broadsides from the fleet destroyed the fortifications, and a large force under the native governor of Calcutta fled in dismay. On January 2, 1757, the English fleet reached Calcutta, and cannonaded the fort; but the garrison almost immediately disappeared, and it was occupied without opposition by Captain Eyre Coote, who had landed from the fleet. Clive, who had marched with the troops by land, claimed possession, and disputed Admiral Watson's power to appoint Coote. He even bitterly regretted that he had ever assumed the command of the expedition; but he afterwards withdrew his opposition, and the quarrel was adjusted: it proved, however, the foundation of many subsequent disputes between king's and company's officers, which were never perfectly overcome.

Clive's progress up the Hooghly.

Calcutta attacked by the English, and recaptured.

Disputes of the English commanders.

Clive was now determined to show the Nawáb that he could do more than retake what had been lost; and on January 10, the town of Hooghly, some distance up the river, was cannonaded, breached, and stormed with but very slight resistance. The interval of rest which followed was marked by serious dissensions and bickerings between the members of Council and Clive. They protested against his independent exercise of power, and Clive has recorded a very mean opinion of them. They claimed his obedience, which he flatly refused, and he continued to maintain the authority conferred on him at Madras in spite of vexatious opposition, though with much distress of mind.

Hooghly captured.

Disputes between Clive and the Council.

Meanwhile the success of the English had irritated Suráj-ood-Dowlah to the highest degree. He not only prepared his own army, but he called upon the French, between whom and the English war had been declared in Europe, and who had 300 European soldiers at Chándernagore, to join him; but the French governor, anxious to avoid a local rupture with the English, declined to do so, and remained neutral. Even as it was, the strength of the Nawáb's army caused Clive some misgivings; and he was at this time reminded strongly from Madras, that he must return by the period allotted to him—that is, April. He did not, therefore, oppose the negotiations of the Committee for peace, which was conducted by

Proceedings of Suráj-ood-Dowlah.

Negotiations for peace.

Juggut Sett and Omichund, through whom the principal trade had been heretofore carried on. The Nawáb, however, marched from Moorshidabad; and on February 2, his army was near Calcutta, his outposts locating themselves even within the Mahratta ditch. He was not opposed, though Clive had formed a camp on the outskirts of the settlement; but the reception given to the deputies from the Council, and the disposition of the Nawáb's troops, left little doubt of his hostile intentions, and Clive determined to attack his camp in the morning. He had 650 European infantry, 600 sailors, 800 Sepoys, and 100 artillerymen, with six field-guns; and the Nawáb's army was 40,000 strong. Unfortunately a thick fog prevented the success anticipated, and Clive's loss was severe; but he inflicted a serious injury upon the enemy, and the Nawáb retired with his army for more than three miles, and again opened his negotiations with the Committee. The result of these was a treaty executed on February 9. It was highly favourable to the company: all their possessions were to be restored, they might fortify Calcutta as they pleased, and all their privileges were to be continued; but there were many who thought that the treaty did not go far enough—that public and private losses were not sufficiently provided for; and Admiral Watson was of opinion, as he bluntly expressed it, that 'till the Nawáb was well thrashed, he could not be depended upon.' Very probably Clive thought the same; for, whether by design or oversight, he had obtained no guarantee for the execution of the several provisions, which were left to such good faith as might hereafter be displayed.

At this juncture, Clive appears to have been most anxious to prevent the Nawáb from making any coalition with the French, which indeed the faithful execution of the treaty would not leave him a pretence of doing; for, in addition to the first articles, others had been subsequently added, of offensive and defensive alliance.

This secured, Clive considered he was at liberty to proceed against the French factory of Chándernagore, and caused the Nawáb to be sounded as to his willingness

to assist, on the basis of the treaty; but on this point he could obtain no decided promise, or indeed encouragement, and determined, therefore, to act on his own judgment.

On February 18, he crossed the river, at the head of the troops, and his design became evident to the French, who at once claimed the Nawáb's protection. Suráj-ood-Dolwah

was perplexed by the situation of affairs. He was threatened himself by an invasion from Ahmed Shah Abdally who was plundering Dehly, and needed aid.

The Nawáb  
marches on  
Calcutta.

Clive attacks  
the camp.

The Nawáb  
retreats.

A treaty of  
peace is con-  
cluded with  
the Nawáb.

Clive's opera-  
tions against  
the French.

Advances on  
Chánderna-  
gore.

Perplexity of  
Suráj-ood-  
Dolwah.

On the one hand were the English, flushed with victory; but, as appeared to him, in no great strength. On the other, the French, at Chândernagore, strong enough, he considered, to hold the place, would be reinforced by M. Bussy, who was already in the Northern Circars, at the head of a powerful army. Of the two, he deemed the French the most formidable, and the protection they claimed was granted. He sent them money, forbade the English to advance, and prepared a large body of troops to proceed to Chândernagore. This produced some delay, and negotiations with the French were carried on through Omichund, the great banker; but the French commissioners were obliged to admit, that though they might promise neutrality, they could not influence the decision of the chief authorities at Pondicherry, and the negotiations broke down. The possible junction of M. Bussy was a danger of which both Clive and Admiral Watson were fully aware. They also knew of the Nawáb's continued secret intrigues with the French, which were proved by his own letters, subsequently discovered; and Admiral Watson wrote to him, in plain terms, that the capture of Chândernagore was the only course upon which any future assistance could be founded, and pointed out to him how impossible it would be for the English to leave an enemy in their rear, if he required their services. Again he wrote, more sternly, that without he came to a speedy determination, 'such a war would be kindled in his country as all the waters of the Ganges should not be able to extinguish.' In reply, the Nawáb wrote two evasive letters, which are quoted by Orme; and finding delay as dangerous as it was useless, the commanders put their own interpretation on them, and determined to attack Chândernagore at all risks: a reinforcement had arrived from Bombay, and all the means which could be hoped for were now at their disposal.

The Nawáb  
assists the  
French.

M. Bussy's  
position in  
Orissa.

Admiral  
Watson  
remonstrates  
with the  
Nawáb.

His evasive  
replies.

Siege of  
Chânderna-  
gore.

Attack by the  
ships of war.

The garrison at Chândernagore had not meanwhile been idle. The defences of the place had been improved and strengthened, and some vessels had been sunk in the channel of the river which led past the town. On March 14, Clive invested the fort by land, and the siege operations were carried on till the 24th, when the ships could be moved up by a new channel, which had been shown by a deserter. At sunrise on that day, the land batteries opened fire, and at seven o'clock, three ships, the 'Kent,' 'Salisbury,' and 'Tiger,' sailed up and anchored near the fort. By an accident to her cable, the 'Kent' did not retain her proper position, and suffered very severely, receiving no less than 142 shots in her

hull, and the 'Salisbury' was altogether thrown out of fire; but the result was speedily manifest. Two hours afterwards, the garrison hung out a flag of truce, and by the afternoon terms of capitulation were agreed on; but the defence for nine days had been a noble one. The capture of Chándernagore was a severe disappointment and mortification to the Nawáb. He had expected to see it make a prolonged defence, and trusted that Bussy would be able to raise the siege, and co-operate with him for the destruction of the English; instead of which, he found Bussy had not moved, and Clive in no humour to retire, while to attack him was hopeless. Once, during the siege, a large portion of his army had approached the British camp; but dread of collision, or, as some assert, the bribery of its commander by Omichund, caused it to withdraw. The Nawáb now formed a camp at Plassy, on the river, about forty miles south of Moorshidabad, while Clive took up a position near Hooghly, and his letter to Mr. Pigott<sup>1</sup> explains the situation. The infatuated prince was still intriguing with the French; had not resolution enough to cast in his lot with the English, whom he detested; and was perpetrating acts of horrible cruelty and oppression among his own subjects, which induced his principal officers to enter into a conspiracy to dethrone him. He had secured the interest of Omichund, the banker, who was now his prime adviser, and by this step he increased the animosity of his own servants. It is impossible, within the limits of this work, to follow out the full course of this conspiracy, in regard to which volumes have been written; but the main facts are these. Meer Jaffier, the commander of the Nawáb's army, was the brother-in-law of the late viceroy, Ali-verdy Khan. He had been employed in many capacities; but his character was weak and treacherous, and he became a ready tool in the hands of able and unscrupulous conspirators. He could hope for no success except through the intervention of the English, and the English officers, who justified their conduct by the treachery of Suráj-ood-Dowlah, made no scruple of allying themselves by solemn treaty with him, and dictating their own terms. As he advanced upon Chándernagore, Clive had said, as it were prophetically, 'We cannot stop here;' and the future seemed even then to be dimly shadowed out to his mind. On the part of the English, Clive, Watson, Drake, Watts, and other chief authorities, swore 'on the holy Gospels,' that they would assist Meer Jaffier to be Soobah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with all

Capitulation  
of Chánder-  
nagore.

The Nawáb's  
hopes dis-  
appointed.

He encamps  
at Plassy.

Conspiracy  
against him.

Details of  
the con-  
spiracy.

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's 'Life of Clive,' vol. i. p. 199.

their troops. It would, however, have been more dignified and honourable to have done at first what was done at last, and, under the proofs of the Nawáb's treachery, to have openly declared war against him, and attacked him; but the English were not aware then of their own strength—the consciousness of it had to ensue, and the conspiracy proceeded.

After the treaty with Meer Jaffier had been executed, Clive threw off the mask. He summoned the troops he had dispatched to Calcutta, and set out from Chándernagore at the head of 900 Europeans, among whom were the 39th regiment of foot—who still carry on their colours 'Primus in Indis,' and 'Plassy'—and about 2,100 native soldiers; and after enumerating all the causes of grievance, declared that he was marching to Moorshidabad to have them settled in open council. He might have called in the assistance of the Mahrattas, for the Peshwah had written to him shortly before, offering higher terms of compensation and privilege than Meer Jaffier's treaty contained; but Clive knew that the price of the Mahratta assistance would be the plunder of Bengal, and declined it. What was to be done must be done alone, or not at all. At Cutwah, where he halted, the memorable council of war was held on June 21, and Clive himself even voted against an advance, on what at first sight appeared an hopeless enterprise. With 3,000 men he must attack 50,000 infantry and 18,000 cavalry, with a numerous artillery, posted in a strong position, from which his own escape, in case of defeat, would be impossible, while the amount of dependence he could place upon Meer Jaffier was even then doubtful; but, in the face of these doubts and dangers, Clive's bold mind recovered its wonted firmness during the night, and by sunrise on the morning of June 22, the whole army was crossing the Ganges. The rainy season had set in, with a violent storm at Cutwah, on the 19th; but this had cleared away, and the fresh bright morning gave a cheerful tone to the operation.

In many wonderful scenes have British troops been engaged; but it is questionable, considering the daring nature of the service, its importance in the world's history, or the beauty of its surroundings, whether any equals that crossing of the Ganges by the combined English and native troops, under Colonel Clive. That evening the little army, dragging its eight small field-pieces by hand, had marched to the grove of Plassy, fifteen miles distant, and about 1 A.M. took up a position in it. Clive discovered that the army of the Nawáb was not a mile distant from him, and the drums and trumpets of the night-watches and patrols sounded

Clive's proceedings.

He refuses Mahratta assistance.

Council of war.

He votes against an attack.

but eventually advances on Plassy.

close at hand. In the morning, early, the Nawáb directed the English to be attacked. A coward by nature, he took no part in the action, and when his commander-in-chief, Meer Mudun, was wounded, and died on being carried to his tent, he lost all hope, and mounting a swift camel, fled to Moorshidabad. The army dispersed at once, and on Clive's advance, about noon, he saw little except a few Frenchmen to resist him; the remainder were a flying rabble, whom he disdained to pursue. Everything in camp had fallen into his hands, and his own singularly modest and graphic account of the battle,<sup>1</sup> possesses even more interest now that the results of the victory can be estimated, than it did when it first excited the wonder and admiration of the people of England.

The English  
are attacked  
by the  
Nawab's  
army.

The Nawab  
flies to Moor-  
shidabad.

The Nawab's  
army, being  
defeated,  
disperses.

## CHAPTER IX.

### OF EVENTS IN BENGAL AND THE CARNATIC (*continued*), 1757 to 1759.

It is trite to say that the victory of Plassy was the foundation of the British empire in India, but it is no less true, as will appear from subsequent events. It had been gained with the trifling loss to the victors of seventy-two killed and wounded, while that of the Nawab's army was barely 300 of all ranks. As nearly as possible, 100 years before, the first great blow dealt against the Mahomedan power in India, was the slaughter of the army of Beejapoor by Sivajee in the wilds of the Western Ghauts; the direct result of which was the rise of the Mahratta power. That power had already broken down the Mahomedan empire, and now another was to rise upon the battle of Plassy, which was to subdue and extinguish both. The day after the victory, Clive was joined by Meer Jaffier, who had appeared with some cavalry on the outskirts of the combat, and had retired. Though he had taken no active part in the battle, he had done what had been expected from him, and was to receive his reward. Next day he proceeded in advance to Moorshidabad, followed leisurely by Clive, who, entering the city in triumph, on June 29, repaired at once to the hall of audience, where he placed Meer Jaffier on the throne, and declared him Soobah of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Effect of the  
victory of  
Plassy.

Clive pro-  
ceeds to  
Moorshid-  
abad,

and en-  
thrones Meer  
Jaffier.

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's 'Memoirs,' Dispatch to Secret Committee, vol. i. pp. 263-272; Orme, vol. ii. &c.; Mill's 'History,' vol. iii. book iv. chap. iii. &c.

When Meer Jaffier arrived in the city, Suráj-ood-Dowlah was still in the palace, preparing for flight; and taking with him one of his mistresses, a menial, and a casket of jewels, he escaped at night from a window of the palace into a boat, which had been prepared, and was rowed rapidly up the river, in the hope of meeting with M. Law, who, with 200 Frenchmen, had been coming to his assistance from Behar. But in this he was disappointed; and having landed near Ráj Mahál, in order to have a meal cooked in a lonely fakeer's hut by the river-side, found it tenanted by a man whose ears he had caused to be cut off a year before, and by whom he was instantly recognised and seized. Escape was impossible, for his flight was known to all, and the pursuit by land was close; and he was conducted back to Moorshidabad, amidst the execrations of the people. The night he arrived, he was put to death by Meer Jaffier's son, and his body, after being publicly carried about the city, was buried in his grandfather's tomb. He was twenty-five years old, and had reigned fifteen months. Clive is blamed by some for not having saved or protected him; but he was not informed of his capture, and to prevent his death was, therefore, impossible.

Suráj-ood-Dowlah escapes.

He is seized near Ráj Mahál,

and put to death at Moorshidabad.

Another tragedy, for so it proved in effect, resulted from the conspiracy and revolution. The name of Omichund has been already mentioned in connection with the intrigues in progress, in which he took a prominent part. Sometimes he favoured one party, sometimes another, and appears to have been equally ready to encourage Suráj-ood-Dowlah in his plots against the English, as he was to enter into the conspiracy against him; but, on the whole, he seems to have done more for the English than against them; and his losses in the capture of Calcutta had been severe. When the plot was ripe, he communicated his knowledge of it to the confederates, and made his own terms. They were heavy, and he agreed to receive thirty lacs of rupees, or 300,000*l.*, as his share of Suráj-ood-Dowlah's treasures, or five per cent. on their amount, for his silence. He did not betray the plot. If he had done so, none could have escaped the Nawáb's vengeance. Meer Jaffier, his family, the Sett bankers, all in fact at Moorshidabad, whom the conspiracy involved, must inevitably have perished. Yet it was nevertheless determined to balk his avarice, as it was called; to cheat the man who, had he pleased, could have cheated all. Clive, and the members of Council, were determined he should get nothing; yet no one dared openly refuse his demand, and it was ratified

Omichund's part in the conspiracy.

His stipulation with the confederates

The false treaty.

by a clause granting him twenty lacs of rupees—200,000*l.*—inserted, not in the real treaty with Meer Jaffier, but in a counter-part written on red paper, which was signed by all but Admiral Watson, who refused to be avowedly a party to it, though he allowed, as subsequently recorded in evidence, his name to be written by another. In the certainty that he was to receive enormous wealth, Omichund rested till the drama was played

The truth is told him, and he becomes insane.

out, and the treasures were being divided at Moorshidabad. He seems to have been gloating over the idea of his coming riches, when, as he sat apart, Clive and Mr. Scrafton went to him, and told him the red treaty was a trick, and that he was to have nothing. The revulsion of feeling proved too much for his mind—he fainted, and was carried away to his palankeen, and so to his house; but he never

Comments on the proceeding.

recovered his reason, and died, a drivelling idiot, in about a year afterwards. No act of Clive's life has been more commented upon than this. His own opinion was, that in this case it was necessary to meet fraud by fraud, that the end justified the means, and that he 'would do it over again a hundred times.' The act was one, however, of deliberate and unworthy treachery. The great object seems to have been to save the sum of 200,000*l.* for the Nawáb's treasury; and the question, like many others of equally doubtful character in history, will probably never be settled, whether, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and with the lives of so many persons hanging upon the chances of Omichund's silence, the act of deceit was not justified by necessity. At best it has a revolting circumstantiality, and is thus on a par with the general conspiracy, which, though successful, seems equally unjustifiable. It is at least certain that the subsequent history of India happily furnishes no parallel to either.

A remarkable episode of the war, the details of which are of extreme interest, was the chase of M. Law and his party, by a small detachment under Captain Eyre Coote, who proved, on this occasion, an excellent partisan officer; and although Law escaped, yet the indomitable perseverance by which European soldiers were marched literally hundreds of miles through an unknown country, and in the rainy season, had an effect upon people who had never before seen a European, which was never effaced.

It need hardly be recorded that the full amount of loss, public and private, was paid from the Nawáb's treasury. In addition to the sums specified in the treaty, Meer Jaffier made a present of 500,000*l.*—fifty lacs of rupees—to the army and navy; to each member of the Committee of Calcutta,

Compensation for losses and gratuities.

24,000*l.*; to Clive in that capacity, 28,000*l.*; while, on other heads, his total gain was, by his own account, 160,000*l.*, and in all, cannot have been less than 230,000*l.* Of the general funds, the first instalment of 800,000*l.*, or eighty lacs, was brought to Calcutta in a triumphal procession of boats from Moorshidabad, and the total amount of payment was 2,200,000*l.* sterling. Their total amount.

The division of the money among the various claimants gave rise to fierce disputes and heartburnings, which are of little value in detail, in the presence of the great fact, that the Nawáb, or Nabob, as he was called, of Bengal, had been seated on his throne by the company's power, that all their losses had been redeemed, that no impediment whatever existed to their trade, and that the French power in Bengal was utterly crushed. The local revolution was more complete than that in the Carnatic conducted by Dupleix; for no one remained to dispute it, and the English remained masters of the situation. Clive had been ordered by the Madras Government to return by April 1757, but that had been impossible. He was now in a position from which he could not withdraw, for he had been appointed President of Bengal.

During Clive's absence an attempt had been made to gain possession of Madura, which was unsuccessfully attacked in April 1757, by Captain Calliaud, the commandant of Trichinopoly. Events in the Carnatic. While thus engaged, the French dispatched a force to Trichinopoly, which invested the fort; hearing of which, Calliaud left Madura, and by a memorable march, succeeded in evading the enemy's positions and regaining his post, and the French commander retired. Wandiwash, the chief of which refused to pay tribute, was next attacked by Colonel Aldercron; but, on the French advancing, he was forced to raise the siege. Meanwhile, the Mahrattas had arrived, and demanded an arrear of chouth of forty lacs of rupees—400,000*l.*—which it was impossible for the Nawáb to pay; but their claim was eventually compromised for four and a half lacs. The Pután Nawábs, who were now independent of the Soobahdar of the Deccan, and Moorary Ráo, offered to join the English against the Mahrattas; but the Council had the wisdom to decline so irregular an alliance, and for the present the Mahrattas were content. In June, Calliaud renewed his attack upon Madura, and having breached the fort, attempted to storm it, but was repulsed with severe loss. Calliaud repulsed at Madura, As the investment continued, the garrison capitulated; and on August 8 he entered the town, receiving 17,000*l.* as arrears of tribute. which afterwards capitulated. Many other desultory movements and attacks of forts of a minor character followed, both by the French and the English, without any decided result on either side; their forces were nearly balanced in amount, and

neither possessed the power of striking a decisive blow. This state of affairs was, however, soon to alter.

Soon after the declaration of war in Europe, the French Government dispatched the Count de Lally as commander of the French forces in India, with a fine fleet, in May 1757. Lally had already highly distinguished himself as a soldier, and great expectations arose as to his future success.

Arrival of the Count de Lally. He took with him his own regiment of Irish, upwards of 1,000 strong; but the troops suffered severely from fever on the voyage, and the fleet did not reach Pondicherry till April 1758. He had no sooner landed than he marched for Fort St. David, which he invested. An English fleet, under Admiral Stevens, had, however, arrived at Madras, and joined some ships under Mr. Pococke; and the combined fleet, on April 29, fought an indecisive action with the French, which did not, however, prevent the French from landing troops and stores at Pondicherry, and the siege of Fort St. David was pressed with vigour. It was not well defended, and the ammunition running short, it capitulated on June 1. The Council of Madras now expected that the settlement would be attacked; but it escaped for the present. All the outlying garrisons were, however, as far as possible, called in. If Lally had had funds at his command, he would probably have attacked Madras at once; but he had brought none, and Pondicherry could supply none. An attempt was now made to enforce payment of a bond for fifty-six lacs of rupees—560,000*l.*—given by the Rajah of Tanjore to Dupleix in 1751; but it failed of effect, as, partly from assistance the rajah received from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, and partly from the arrival of an English fleet off the coast, Lally was obliged to raise the siege and retire. His reputation with the natives had, however, suffered severely, not only from his ill success, but from his cruelty. He had plundered a Hindoo temple of great antiquity and sanctity at Kivelloor, and had blown away some of the Brahmins attached to it from his guns; he had threatened to send the Rajah of Tanjore and family into slavery, and he had forced the people of the country, without distinction, to carry the burdens of his army. The moderation and courtliness of Dupleix were well remembered, and the contrast with these qualities displayed by Lally, had the worst effect among the people.

His Irish regiment. Fort St. David invested, and capitulates. Lally's efforts to obtain money. His violence and cruelty.

If these were not errors sufficient to bring about disastrous results to the French, Lally now committed a greater error in recalling Bussy, of whom he was intensely jealous. After recovering his position at Hyderabad, as has been previously

Lally recalls M. Bussy.

narrated, Bussy, at the close of 1756, proceeded, with 500 Europeans and 4,000 Sepoys, into the Northern Circars. Here he received pressing letters from Suráj-ood-Dowlah, to advance into Bengal against the English, and he moved up to the north-eastern frontier, to be ready to take advantage of circumstances; and, on receipt of the news of the fate of Chándernagore, he attacked Vizagapatam, the most important of the English factories on that coast, on June 24. The place was not capable of defence, and it capitulated; but before Bussy could enter upon further operations, he was suddenly obliged to march rapidly upon Aurungabad, where Salabut Jung had been driven to extremity by his brothers, Nizam Ally and Basalut Jung, who had usurped the whole power of the State. In twenty-one days, and by a route little known, Bussy reached Aurungabad, where he found not only the armies of the usurpers, but a Mahratta force, prepared to act as circumstances might require. The French troops with the Soobahdar had protected him from violence, and Bussy's presence restored order. Nizam Ally was induced to moderate his pretensions, to give up the great seal, which was now entrusted to Basalut Jung, and to accept of the government of Hyderabad instead of Berar. But further precaution was necessary; and Bussy, by the assistance of the deputy-governor of Dowlatabad, obtained possession of that fort, one of the strongest in India. A plot was now laid for the assassination of Salabut Jung; but it was defeated, and in a tumult which ensued, the prime minister, who had been the most active in Nizam Ally's interest, and Nizam Ally himself, at once fled to Boorhanpoor. By these masterly operations, Bussy's power was rendered, to all appearance, more secure than ever; but at this juncture the order of recall from Lally reached him, and was the direct cause of his ruin. He might have disobeyed the order, for he was the servant of a native prince, who was in sore need of his services; but, a true soldier at heart, obedience was his first care, and leaving his troops under the command of M. Conflans, he proceeded direct to Pondicherry, and joined Lally in the month of September, just before his expedition to Arcot.

Immediate advantage was taken of M. Bussy's absence from the Northern Circars, by Anundráj, chief or Rajah of Vizagapatam, who made an insurrection on his own account against the French garrison, with some success, as he gained possession of the place; but he was unable to prosecute this advantage, and was fearful of reinforcements to the French arriving. He therefore applied to Clive, who, now at rest in Bengal, was enabled to assist

Bussy's proceedings in the Deccan.

His march on Aurungabad.

Events at the Nizam's court.

Effects of Bussy's absence.

Clive assists the Rajah of Vizagapatam.

him. It was not only possible, he thought, to assist Anundráj, but to drive the French out of the Northern Circars. Bussy had delegated his authority in the Circars to M. Moraçin, the governor of Masulipatam; but he had been summoned to Pondicherry as well as himself, and Lally appointed the Marquis de Conflans to the vacant post. The proposal of

Clive sends Colonel Forde into the Northern Circars. Anundráj reached Calcutta in July 1758, but it was not before September that the expedition could be prepared, and it did not reach Vizagapatam till October 20 of that year. It was under the command of

Colonel Forde, whom Clive had selected for his especial fitness, and consisted of 500 Europeans, 2,000 Sepoys, and six field-pieces. After making a treaty with the rajah, and preparations for a march, the allies set out towards Rajahmundry; and on

December 3, encountered Conflans, who had with him 500 Europeans, 2,000 Sepoys, with a large park of artillery, and gave him a severe defeat, taking all his

guns. Forde followed him up by a forced march to Rajahmundry, but found the place evacuated. On January 28, 1759, the army marched for Masulipatam, but its progress was delayed by Anundráj on various pretexts, and Colonel Forde did not reach

Masulipatam till March 6. Meanwhile Conflans had summoned Salabut Jung, the Nizam, to his aid, by representing to him that both the English and Anundráj might be easily defeated. The war, therefore, had assumed a

very complicated character, for the aid of Salabut Jung was, doubtless, of a very formidable character. Forde did not, however, lose heart, but opened trenches against the fort.

Hardly had this been effected, when his Europeans Masulipatam besieged, broke into open mutiny, demanding not only arrears

of pay, but the plunder of Musulipatam should they take it. But on news arriving that the Nizam was only forty miles distant, they set to work in earnest, completed the batteries, and by

April 7 had made two breaches in the works. That day and taken by storm. the fort was stormed by 346 Europeans and 1,400 native soldiers. There were 500 Europeans in the fort, with 120 pieces

of cannon; but the defence had been miserable, and at its capture there were more European prisoners than assailants. Salabut Jung, after waiting at a respectable distance for assistance from Pondicherry, and on finding the French ships had arrived, but had again departed without landing the troops on board, gave

up all hope from the French, and turned his attention Colonel Forde's treaty with Salabut Jung. to the English, in the hope of obtaining their assistance in his contest with Nizam Ally. On the basis of the negotiation which now ensued, a treaty was concluded, which in

all respects was most important for the interests of the English. Masulipatam, with a large tract of country, yielding four lacs—40,000*l*.—per year, was ceded in perpetuity. The French were to possess no settlements or factories north of the Krishna river, and the Soobahdar engaged not to employ any of them in his dominions for the future. Thus had the power established by Bussy in the Deccan crumbled away, as it were, in the course of a few months; and in a manner which, though arising from the incapacity of M. de Conflans, almost justified Lally's opinion, that it was delusive and unsubstantial.

Masulipatam  
ceded to the  
English.

Bussy's  
power  
destroyed.

## CHAPTER X.

### OF EVENTS IN BENGAL, FROM THE BATTLE OF PLASSY TO THE DEPARTURE OF CLIVE, 1757 TO 1760.

It was one thing to set up a Nawáb of Bengal in the English interest, and quite another to control his actions, and to induce him to maintain a tranquil and respectable government. Meer Jaffier's treasury was utterly exhausted by his payments to the English; and he desired to resort to the usual Mahomedan practice of confiscation and extortion to supply his wants. The persons against whom he had begun these demands were his finance minister, Rái Doolub; the Hindoo governor of Midnapore, the Rajah of Purneah, and Rám Narráin, governor of Patna: and as many rebellions were the consequence. Unable either to effect his purpose, or to check these outbreaks, which it must be confessed had the sympathy of the people, the Nawáb applied to Clive, who, on November 25, 1757, arrived at Moorshidabad at the head of a small force, and a beneficial result was immediately apparent in a reconciliation between the Nawáb and his minister, who joined his master with 10,000 men. The Nawáb and Clive then proceeded to Patna, where a similar result with Rám Narráin followed, and Clive obtained from the Nawáb a monopoly of the saltpetre of the province, on fair terms, but not less than could have been obtained from other parties. Thus all the troubles passed off; but there were still apprehensions that Bengal might be invaded by the Soobahdar of Oudh, with whom was a party of French, under M. Law; and the Mahrattas had sent an officer to demand

Difficulties  
with Meer  
Jaffier.

Clive pro-  
ceeds to  
Moorshid-  
abad.

His measures  
there.

24 lacs—240,000*l.*—as the arrears of chouth. The principal elements of local disturbance had, however, been disposed of, and Clive was able to leave Moorshidabad for Calcutta on May 24. About a month later, a commission for the new government of the Bengal possessions arrived from England, which was strangely devised. There were to be ten counsellors, of whom the four seniors were to act as governors for three months each, in rotation; but no provision was made for Clive, and the Council at once elected him president. The fact is, that on the dispatch of the commission, Clive was supposed, in England, to have returned to Madras; and his appointment as President of Bengal was afterwards confirmed.

Although Clive had temporarily adjusted the differences at Moorshidabad, affairs did not continue in a satisfactory state. The Nawáb's son, Meerun, proved vicious and intractable; and would have sacrificed Rái Doolub, but for Mr. Scrafton's interference. Even with his aid it became impossible for the minister to remain; and he succeeded in obtaining an asylum in Calcutta, and in saving his property, of which the Nawáb and his son had designed to deprive him. The excitement of this event had barely subsided, when a new, and to some extent a formidable, danger appeared. The Prince Royal of Dehly, Ally Johur, wearied of inaction, and of the tyranny of his father's vizier, escaped to the Rohilla chief, Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, who, having been superseded in his office as commander of the forces, as already related in Chapter VII. of this Book, was the vizier's declared enemy. The emperor had conferred on his son the vice-royalty of Bengal, and a league was formed by the prince with the Soobahdar of Allahabad, the Nawáb of Oudh, and two powerful Hindoo rajahs, Bulwunt Singh and Soonder Singh, to carry out the invasion of the country. At the close of 1758, their preparations were completed; and the prince entered Behar at the head of 40,000 men, and invested Patna, which was well defended by Rám Narráin, the governor. Meer Jaffier alone would have been totally unable either to relieve Patna, or to oppose the invasion; and but for Clive, the results to him must have been in the last degree disastrous. It does not appear that Clive was distracted by the thought that the province had been really independent of the emperor, and that, as Mr. Mill justly observes, 'he had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to be his deputy in the government.' Clive had pledged his faith to Meer Jaffier, and did not hesitate to move forward in his behalf.

Commission  
for the  
government  
of Bengal.

Fresh  
difficulties  
at Moor-  
shidabad.

The Prince  
Royal of  
Dehly takes  
the field.

The prince  
advances  
into Behar.

Meer Jaffier  
is unable to  
oppose him.

It was in vain that the prince, when he heard of Clive's march, sent him letters, promising him large territorial cessions for his assistance; for, on the other hand, Meer Jaffier had received orders from the emperor, written, no doubt, by the vizier, to oppose his son, and if possible, to take him prisoner. Clive, therefore, continued his march at the head of 450 Europeans and 2,500 Sepoys, and passing Moorshidabad, sent forward a light detachment under Ensign Matthews, on the arrival of which at Patna, the confederates abandoned the siege and decamped. The Soobahdar of Allahabad had indeed preceded the general flight; for the Nawáb of Oudh, during his absence, had treacherously seized the fortress of Allahabad, and its recovery was doubtful. Forsaken by his allies, the prince would have thrown himself upon Clive's generosity; but as this would have been embarrassing, Clive dismissed him with a sufficient sum for his expenses. Meer Jaffier's gratitude for this service was, for the present, sincere. He obtained for Clive a patent of nobility from the emperor, with the title of Shoukut Jung, who conferred upon him an appanage, or jahgeer, of the value of three lacs, or 30,000*l.*, per year for its support. This consisted of the quit rent of the lands held by the company, which had hitherto formed part of the general revenues of the province of Bengal.

Clive advances in aid of Meer Jaffier.

Effects of Clive's advance.

The prince assisted by Clive.

Clive obtains a jahgeer, or estate, from the emperor.

Clive reached Calcutta in June, and the troops under Colonel Forde, or such portion of them as could be spared from the Northern Circars, arrived soon afterwards, in time to check a combination, as some assert, between the Nawáb, or his son Meerun, with the Dutch, who had a settlement at Chinsurah; or, according to other opinions, an effort of the Dutch government of Batavia to establish a counterpoise to the English power in Bengal. The latter supposition is hardly tenable, and, therefore, the probability of an intrigue with the Nawáb becomes the more possible. Meer Jaffier was Clive's guest at Calcutta in October 1759, when the Dutch fleet of seven ships, crowded with European soldiers, arrived in the river, and he took his departure somewhat abruptly, writing afterwards to Clive that he had granted some additional privileges to the Dutch. Holland and England were at peace; but Clive was by no means disposed to admit the presence of any rival European force, and he made preparations to resist the Dutch fleet as an enemy's. The Dutch were the first to commence hostilities, by seizing some of the company's vessels and grain-boats,

He returns to Calcutta.

The Nawáb's intrigue with the Dutch.

A Dutch fleet arrives in the Hooghly.

The Dutch commence hostilities.

hoisting their own colours upon them, and burning the storehouses  
Their fleet is defeated. at Fulta. These acts freed Clive from embarrassment.

The Dutch fleet was attacked by Commodore Wilson, on November 3, and defeated, six of the ships striking their flags, and one being taken in endeavouring to escape. They had, however, landed 700 Europeans and 800 Malays above Calcutta, and these, after a skirmish with Colonel Forde, formed a junction with their countrymen in Chinsurah, to which place Forde had pursued them. He was doubtful what to do, when Clive's memorable note, written on one of the cards with which he was playing when

Colonel Forde attacks the Dutch troops, Forde's dispatch reached him—'Dear Forde, fight them immediately, I will send you the order in council tomorrow'—decided the question. Forde had only 330

and defeats them. Europeans and 800 Sepoys; but he attacked the Dutch, who, far superior to him in force, were posted in the plain without Chinsurah, and severely defeated them, the

European Dutch soldiers being nearly all killed or wounded. The complicity of the Nawáb's son, Meerun, was afterwards apparent; for he suddenly appeared after the action, without cause, at the head of 7,000 cavalry, and there is little doubt, had been prepared to act against the English if the Dutch had proved victorious.

Clive restores the Dutch ships. The contest and temporary alarm were, however, at an end; Clive restored the ships, and a covenant was made that the Dutch should maintain only 125 Europeans for the protection of their factories; send away all other troops, and that they should pay for the damage and loss they had caused; and under their compliance with these stipulations, the affair ended.

The government of Madras was still in warfare with the French, as has been already related; but it was strong enough to

Clive returns to England. relieve any apprehension of danger; none was evident in Bengal, and Clive determined to proceed to England.

He had already written his views of the English position in Bengal to Mr. Pitt,<sup>1</sup> and had sketched, with a bold, but true, hand, the probabilities of the company obtaining the whole of Bengal, and extending the British power into India; and it is probable, believing from the political aspect of affairs among native States, that such a contingency might be near at hand, that he considered it his best course to explain these subjects personally to the minister, as well as to the Court of Directors. He, therefore, sailed for England on February 25, 1760.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Malcolm's 'Memoirs,' vol. ii. pp. 119-125.

## CHAPTER XI.

OF EVENTS IN THE CARNATIC (*continued from Ch. IX.*),  
1759 to 1760.

At this period, two fleets, nearly equal in force—one English, of seven sail, under Admiral Pococke; the other French, under the Count d'Aché, consisting of eight ships—were on the coast of Coromandel. Naval action on the Coromandel coast. Admiral Pococke had been too late to relieve Fort St. David; but he attacked the French squadron on two occasions, and on the last having gained some indecisive advantage, the French admiral escaped to Pondicherry, whence, notwithstanding Lally's earnest remonstrances, he sailed for the Mauritius. The actual, as well as the moral force of Lally's position, were both much weakened by this event; Lally's position. but it was necessary for him to do something to establish Rajah Sahib, the eldest son of Chunda Sahib, whom the French had proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic: and having entered into an intrigue with the native commandant of Arcot, which belonged to Mahomed Ally, he agreed to deliver up the place for 10,000 rupees; and Lally having marched thither, received a mock capitulation, and entered the town in triumph on October 4, 1758. He had hoped to capture Chingliput; but the authorities of Madras, fully alive to its importance, threw a strong garrison into the fort, and saved it. Arcot itself was of little value; and Lally's only hope appeared to be a successful siege of Madras. His own officers were, however, despairing. There was no money to be had at Pondicherry. Bussy, who had just arrived, could supply none, and all that could be collected was 94,000 rupees, of which Lally supplied 60,000 from his own funds; but, as the Count d'Estaing expressed himself, 'it was better to die by a musket-shot under the walls of Madras, than to starve at Pondicherry,' and under these circumstances the French marched for the siege of Madras in December.

Madras was fully prepared for the attack, but the forces were not sufficient to check the French advance, and after the occupation of the native town by the enemy, the fort Siege of Madras. was closely invested. The siege continued for nine weeks, with considerable loss to both sides, and a breach was effected, which

would have been stormed on February 16, 1759, when, on that day, a fleet of English ships, with a reinforcement of 600 King's troops, arrived in the roads. For some time past the French army had been without pay, and were short of provisions, as well as of powder and shot; further prosecution of the siege was, therefore, hopeless, and the French retired on February 17. The English loss on all heads had been 579 Europeans and 762 Sepoys, and that of the French was probably much greater. If Lally had retired upon Pondicherry, it would have been tantamount to a relinquishment of the struggle; but he moved to Arcot, and after some desultory operations by both armies, the English having also taken the field, they went into quarters early in May. To the English the sea was open, and they continued to receive troops and supplies; but the hopes of the French that their long looked-for fleet would arrive with money and stores was disappointed. On September 10, it was attacked by Admiral Pococke off Trincomalee, and dispersed; but a portion of it subsequently reached Pondicherry, and M. d'Aché having landed about 40,000*l.* in money and diamonds, with 500 Europeans, marines and sailors, could neither be induced nor commanded to remain, and again left India. Meanwhile, Wandiwash had been attacked by the English, who were repulsed with severe loss; and M. Bussy, who had obtained permission to return to the Deccan, to meet Basalut Jung, left that place with the troops which had been made over to him. He had no sooner departed, than the whole French army broke out into mutiny, and he was obliged to halt at Arcot for some days. This delayed his junction with Basalut Jung, who had approached the frontier of the Carnatic; but they met finally on November 10. Basalut Jung, instead of giving money, demanded it, and wished to be made sovereign of the whole Carnatic; all which being impossible, Bussy returned from an expedition which seems to have had no practical object from the first.

Before he could rejoin, Lally, who was unable, for want of funds, to keep the whole of his army together, now sent half of it to the south; and Coote, who had arrived at Madras, and who saw his error, determined to take advantage of it. His first operation was the capture of Wandiwash, which surrendered on November 29, and was followed by the fall of Canangooty, on December 10. After this, the movements of both armies continued till January 22, 1760, when they encountered each other near Wandiwash, which Lally was again besieging. The English had 1,900 Europeans and 2,100 native infantry, with 1,250 native cavalry and sixteen field-pieces; the French, 2,250 Europeans and 1,300 Sepoys, besides

Arrival of  
English  
ships.

The French  
retire.

The French  
fleet reaches  
India.

Coote takes  
Wandiwash.

General  
action.

their Mahratta horse, with twenty field-pieces. The forces, therefore, seem to have been pretty nearly equal on both sides. After a brilliant combat, the French, who had suffered very severely, as well by the fire of Coote's own regiment The French as from the bayonet, retreated. They had lost 600 defeated. Europeans in killed and wounded, that of the English being about 200. Bussy, who had led one of the charges, had his horse shot under him, and was taken prisoner; and if the English native cavalry had done their duty, the retreat of the French might have been severely harassed.

Coote now proceeded to attack Arcot; and on February 5 his batteries opened against the fort; and by the 9th a Coote's pro- breach had been partly effected, when the garrison sur-  
rendered. Other minor operations succeeded, and by the middle of March, with the exception of Pondicherry itself, Calicut was the only possession on the coast which remained to the French. This place fell to a detachment from Trichinopoly on April 5, and by May 1, the French were confined to Pondicherry by the English army, which was preparing to invest it. The condition of the French affairs in the Carnatic now appeared desperate. No fleet had arrived with supplies or money: and it was questionable, if any ships should reach India, whether they could approach the coast, as no less than eleven ships of the line of the English fleet were now present, and the English had secured further reinforcements of troops. In his despair—for it can be called little Lally applies else—Lally now applied to Hyder Ally of Mysore, who to Hyder. had risen into power, and was believed capable of rendering material assistance; but the negotiation was productive of no result. Hyder Ally was obliged to return suddenly to Mysore, and was followed as suddenly by his troops. Meanwhile Madras had received further reinforcements of King's troops, and the fleet was increased to seventeen sail of the line, besides the company's armed vessels. Ample means, therefore, existed for the Siege of siege of Pondicherry, and operations against it were Pondicherry. commenced without delay. The recently arrived fleet had, however, brought out a commission for Major Monson, who, as colonel, now virtually superseded Coote on the eve of the final triumph of the war he had so admirably conducted, and he prepared to depart from Bengal with his regiment; but, under the necessity of the situation, he allowed it to remain, and stayed also himself, at the request of the Madras Council; but for the present without command. The first operations, therefore, were commenced by Monson. After a partial attack upon the English camp by Lally, on September 4, which failed, the investment of the place was commenced; and in the first attack on the outposts and redoubts,

Monson was severely wounded. Coote, however, had not sailed, and now resumed his command; and the confidence of the army, which had been somewhat weakened, was fully restored.

At this period, Pondicherry was sorely straitened for provisions, and the expulsion of the entire native population was urged by Lally; but for the present it was not carried out. A gleam of hope presented itself in the arrival of the Mahrattas, who had returned to the Carnatic; but the negotiation with Ballajee Ráo Peshwah proved delusive. On November 16, the stores for the siege operations arrived from Madras, and Lally seeing that it would be no longer delayed, expelled 1,400 of the natives, who, of all sexes and ages, without provisions, wandered for seven days between the fort and the bound hedge now held by the British, subsisting upon roots of grass, or whatever they could pick up. Coote's desire was to drive them back into the fort, but they were fired upon from thence, and he at last allowed them to pass into the open country. On the 30th, a furious storm wrecked several of the blockading fleet, and damaged the trenches very seriously; but Lally was unable to take advantage of the disaster. The damages were soon repaired, and on January 12, 1761, the trenches were opened. On the 15th, about sunset, a party from the fort approached with a flag of truce, bearing letters from Lally and the Council. Both letters contained stipulations, some of which were acceded to; but in regard to the garrison, Coote replied that he would only accept terms of unconditional surrender, and these terms were agreed to. On the 16th, the Villenore gate was occupied by Coote's grenadiers, and the surrender of the citadel followed in the evening. There were only two days' provisions remaining, and to have protracted the defence would have been impossible. The troops in the town amounted to 2,072, and there were 500 pieces of cannon, with 100 mortars and howitzers, with small-arms, ammunition, and stores, in great quantities. At sunrise on the following morning, the British flag was hoisted, amidst the thunder of cannon from the ships in the roads and the artillery in camp.

Distress of the native population.

Lally expels the natives from the fort.

Progress of the siege.

The fort is surrendered.

Strange dispute as to the possession of the fort.

Lally, hooted out of the fort by his ungrateful countrymen, went to Madras, where the wife and family of Rajah Sahib also received an asylum. After the fall of Pondicherry, a question arose as to whom it should belong. It had been surrendered to His Britannic Majesty, and a council of war decided it should belong to the King; but Mr. Pigott, the governor of Madras, not only claimed it, but resolutely declared he would neither pay the troops, nor subsist the prisoners, unless it were made over to him; and the objection was speedily

withdrawn. Thus the capture of Madras was more than revenged; for the French power in India, after a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, was now completely overthrown. Extinction of the French power. Three places alone remained to them in India. Tiagar and Ginjee in the Carnatic, which were soon reduced, and Mahé on the western coast, which capitulated in February, to Colonel Monson. With all his faults, Lally was deserving of a better fate than he experienced. His enemies in India and in France had exaggerated his losses, and the weak points of his Fate of Lally. character, and all the odium of the defeat in India was thrown upon him. On his arrival in France he was imprisoned for eighteen months, tried, and condemned to death; and was executed by the guillotine on the day his sentence was known, being conveyed to the scaffold with a large gag in his mouth to prevent his speaking to the people. Thus perished the last of three victims to French policy in India, at the hands of their own ungrateful nation, and the fortifications of Pondicherry, constructed at immense cost, being afterwards razed to the ground by the Madras authorities, the humiliation of the French in India was completed.

## CHAPTER XII.

MAHRATTA PROGRESS, TO THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT,  
1757 to 1761.

THE main object of Salabut Jung the Nizam's treaty with Colonel Forde at Masulipatam, was to engage the services of the English against his brother Nizam Ally, who, since Contest between Salabut Jung and his brother. his flight from Aurungabad, and the departure of M. Bussy, had become again powerful. He had raised troops at Boorhanpoor, and had been joined by Ibrahim Khan Gardee, an officer who had been educated in his profession in the French corps, and who understood the management of artillery. Basalut Jung, who had been created minister under Bussy's advice, sent Janoojee Bhósley with his Mahratta forces against Nizam Ally, and he was forced to retire; but his artillery being now completed, Nizam Ally again took the field, and defeated Janoojee with great loss. Salabut Jung had proceeded to Hyderabad, and when he marched for Masulipatam, to the assistance of M. de Conflans, Nizam Ally not only took possession of Aurungabad, but proceeded to Hyderabad. From these circumstances, the desire of Salabut Jung to obtain the assistance of the English will be fully apparent; but, as has been already explained, Colonel Forde

was in no position, even had he been free to do so, to engage in Deccan politics, and Salabut Jung returned to Hyderabad. Here, after much discussion between the three brothers, the office of minister was conferred upon Nizam Ally, and Basalut Jung departed to his province of Adony.

In the year 1757, the Peshwah had proceeded into the Carnatic for the purpose of levying the usual chouth, which had fallen considerably into arrears; and in March of that year, he appeared before Seringapatam with an army of 60,000 men, and cannonaded the town; but after negotiation with the minister and regent Nunjeráj, the Mahratta demand was compromised for thirty-two lacs of rupees—320,000. The Peshwah had contemplated further operations for regaining possession of Shahjee's districts; but the approach of the monsoon rendered these impossible, and he returned to Poona, leaving a force under Bulwunt Ráo Méndlee, to resume the campaign in the ensuing season. Bulwunt Ráo was an active and enterprising officer. He defeated the Patán Nawáb of Kurpa and Kurnool on September 24; but he was unable to attack Hyder Ally, who was in the field on behalf of the Mysore Government, which now refused to make the payments that had been agreed on. At this time, the events in the Deccan obliged the Peshwah to concentrate his forces, and instead of being able to reinforce the army in Mysore, he was obliged to recall it. Hyder thus obtained leisure to mature his own plans, of which he took full advantage.

For some time past, the relations between the Peshwah and the Nizam had been in an unsatisfactory state. On the one hand, the chouth had fallen into arrears; and, on the other, the surrender of the important fort of Ahmednugger to the Mahrattas by its governor, was an insult which could not be endured by the Nizam, who declared war, and moved his army northwards, with the intention of its recovery. The Peshwah was not slow to meet him. Taking command of a portion of the army himself, he moved towards Ahmednugger, while he detached another and larger portion, under Sudasheo Ráo Bhow, to operate upon the Moghul left flank. Sudasheo Ráo had taken into the service the corps of Ibrahim Khan Gardee, which Nizam Ally had, in deference to his brother, dismissed; and his army was both complete and numerous. Salabut Jung and Nizam Ally had proceeded together northward by the usual road to Aurungabad, where the great army was to assemble, and had nearly reached Oodgeer, when Sudasheo Ráo, whose scouts had been watching their movements, now hurried on to attack them. Some light troops, sent in advance, were sufficient to interrupt the progress of

the brothers, who, with their comparatively small force of 7,000 cavalry, occupied the town and fort of Oodgeer, hoping for and awaiting reinforcements. These, however, did not reach them; and on the approach of Sudasheo Ráo, with <sup>Defeat of the Nizam.</sup> 40,000 horse, they made an attempt to pursue their march, but with great loss. The old Moghul spirit was not entirely extinct: Sudasheo Ráo's proposal for them to surrender was met with a refusal, and an attack on Ibrahim Khan's brigade, which was nearly destroyed, followed; but the Mahratta cavalry charged the right wing of the Nizam's army in turn, and almost annihilated it, nearly 3,000 Moghuls being slain. Escape was now hopeless, and Nizam Ally sent his seal to Sudasheo Ráo, thus submitting to his generosity; but the terms, though less than might have been exacted, were <sup>Terms of peace.</sup> yet very heavy. Dowlatabad, Beejapoor, and Aseer-gurh, including the province of Beejapoor and much of Aurungabad, yielding a revenue of sixty-two lacs of rupees a year—620,000*l.*—were ceded in perpetuity, and the Moghul possessions in the Deccan were thus circumscribed to a comparatively small space, which would be difficult of defence.

Sudasheo Ráo's success met with the warm approval of his cousin, the Peshwah; but other events were in pro- <sup>Events in Hindostan.</sup> gress in Hindostan, which were not of so favourable a character. Shaháb-ood-deen, who is styled by some authorities Ghazee-ood-deen, the vizier of Alumgeer II., had called in the aid of the Mahrattas to support his authority against Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, who had been nominated commander-in-chief of the imperial forces, by Ahmed Shah Abdally, and who was in possession of Dehly. Rughonath Ráo, who is better known under his familiar appellation of Rughoba, was in Malwah; but he at once obeyed the summons, and repaired to Dehly. The royal fort stood a siege of a month's duration, but was taken, and Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah escaped. The emperor had thus fallen a second time under his vizier's control. It is very possible that Shaháb-ood-deen was at a loss how to employ his Mahratta allies; but the Punjab was perhaps recoverable, and if they could be engaged there, he would at least be relieved of them for the present. At this juncture, Rughoba was invited by Adina Beg, who was himself in rebellion against the Prince Timoor, viceroy of Lahore, on behalf of his father, Ahmed Shah, to join him, and he at once accepted the <sup>The Mahrattas at Lahore.</sup> proposal. In May 1758, he defeated the local governor, and entered Lahore a conqueror. The Mahrattas had thus fulfilled the prophecy of Sivajee, that they should water their horses in the Indus and in the Hooghly; but their new acquisi-

tion proved only delusive. Rughoba returned to Poona, where he was severely taken to task by Sudasheo Ráo Bhow, for a conquest which yielded nothing, and had already cost a million sterling. It was in vain that he pleaded the value of the Punjab, and the necessity of its retention; and the dispute ended by Rughoba's resigning the command of the army of the north, which was assumed by Sudasheo Ráo, under the Peshwah's sanction.

On leaving Hindostan, Rughoba had divided his forces into two portions, one of which was at Lahore, the other at Dehly, under Duttajee Sindia. The latter was induced by Shaháb-ood-deen to undertake a campaign against Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah and the Rohillas; but, after some success, and the plunder of 1,300

Ahmed Shah Abdally enters the Punjab and defeats the Mahrattas.

villages, the force under Govind Punt was routed, and driven across the Ganges. Meanwhile Ahmed Shah Abdally was advancing, in September 1759, to recover the Punjab. On his arrival in the province, the Mahratta commander at Lahore was defeated with serious loss, and fell back upon Dehly. Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, who had formed a junction with Ahmed Shah, assisted him with supplies, and under his guidance, Duttajee Sindia was surprised, and totally overthrown, with immense loss in men. Holkar, who at first obtained some advantages over the Afghans, was in turn pursued, defeated, and his army utterly routed; but the unfortunate emperor did not escape: before he could be rescued by Ahmed Shah and Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, Shaháb-ood-deen, dreading the

The Emperor Alunjeer II. is murdered by the vizier, November 1759.

effect of his restoration to power, caused him to be murdered, in November, and raised to the nominal throne a son of the Prince Kámbuksh, who, however, was never acknowledged. At this period, Ally Johur, the real prince imperial, was a fugitive in Bengal, and thus the Moghul empire was virtually extinct. The perfidious vizier, who dared not trust himself at Dehly, betook himself to the protection of the Rajah of the Játs; and there can be little doubt, had the Mahrattas defeated Ahmed Shah, that Duttajee Sindia would have proclaimed the Peshwah emperor of India.

News of these disasters reached the Peshwah after his victory over Salabut Jung and Nizam Ally, and produced much excitement. Sudasheo Ráo Bhow at once volunteered to lead the Mahrattas to conquest, and boasted that he would drive the

The Mahratta army marches for Hindostan.

Afghans across the Indus. The army which set out from the Deccan was the most complete and magnificent that had ever taken the field. In addition to 20,000 chosen cavalry, the corps of Ibrahim Khan

Gardee, composed of disciplined infantry and artillery, was 10,000

strong; and these forces were augmented by the various contingents of the Mahratta chieftain. Wiswas Ráo, the son and heir of the Peshwah, accompanied Sudasheo Ráo, who proceeded direct to Dehly, of which he took possession; and having plundered the royal palace of all its valuables, and stripped the hall of audience of its ceiling of silver, which, when Sudasheo Ráo plunders Dehly. coined, produced no less than seventeen lacs of rupees, or 170,000*l.*, took up a position for the monsoon. These acts of spoliation, with others of destruction, coupled with the peevish rejection of his advice, so disgusted Sooruj Mul, the able leader of the Játs, that he left Sudasheo Ráo, and retired into his own territory. His advice had been, that Sooruj Mul Ját recedes from the Mahrattas. the Mahrattas should trust to their ancient method of warfare, and cut off all supplies to Ahmed Shah; and that their heavy artillery should not be used in the contest. Sudasheo Ráo, however, had placed more than ordinary confidence in Ibrahim Khan's corps, and treated Sooruj Mul's advice, with similar counsel from many of his own most experienced officers, with scorn. As the monsoon declined, he raised Mirza Prince Mirza Juwán Bukht created emperor. Juwán Bukht, the son of the prince imperial, Ally Johur, to the throne, and appointed Shujah-ood-Dowlah, viceroy of Oudh, to the office of vizier. He then moved into the field, and about the same time Ahmed Shah crossed the Jumna above Dehly, and skirmishes between the armies commenced.

The Mahrattas had 55,000 horse, 15,000 foot, and 300 pieces of cannon; the Mahomedans, 41,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and 70 pieces of cannon; the irregular troops on both Relative forces in the field. sides were also very numerous. On October 25, Sudasheo Ráo moved with his whole army to Paniput, the great battle-field of India since the age of the Máhábharat, and where its fate had frequently been decided; and Entrenched position of Paniput. threw a wide ditch and rampart round the camp, the town being in the centre of his position. Ahmed Shah also entrenched himself at a short distance; and thus the parties lay, watching each other for two months, scarcely a day passing without severe conflicts, with varied advantage. But provisions ran short in the Mahratta camp; and as no supplies arrived, the army, both officers and men, could endure the privation no longer. On January 6, 1761, they implored to be led against the Battle of Paniput. enemy, and Sudasheo Ráo, having no other resource, gave orders for battle. Next morning, before break of day, the Mahrattas were in motion, and formed their line regularly. Ahmed Shah, whose personal activity had been surprising, had just fallen asleep in his tent, but he was already dressed, and,

mounting his horse, proceeded to reconnoitre. A glance showed him that an action must be fought, and his army took up their several positions. The details of the great battle, given at length by Elphinstone, vol. ii. pp. 642-652, and Grant Duff, vol. ii. pp. 143-156, are more than usually interesting, but need not be repeated here; suffice it to say, that after an obstinate combat, and varying fortune, King Ahmed at length, watching his opportunity, directed charges of bodies of 10,000 cavalry to be made in succession at a gallop on the Mahratta centre. They proved successful, and the Mahrattas, fighting desperately, finally broke and fled, being pursued with a vast carnage. Of all that were taken in the camp, women and children became slaves, and next morning the males were cruelly butchered in cold blood. Wiswas Ráo and many other chiefs were slain, and a body, believed to be that of Sudasheo Ráo, was afterwards found.

Thus, at the zenith of their power in Northern India, the Mahratta forces were destroyed so completely that any junction or re-formation of them became impossible. The Peshwah had moved up to the Nerbudda in support, in November; and when, in his anxiety for news, and fears that disaster must have occurred, he was crossing the river in January, he received advice of the national defeat, which had been written by a banker to his correspondent in the following terms:—'Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up.' The details soon followed, and the Peshwah never recovered the shock caused by them. His mind became affected, and he returned to Poona, where he lingered till June; and about the end of September, Mahdoo Ráo, his second son, then about seventeen years of age, was invested in his room.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

### OF THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA, 1761.

THE various revolutions which had already altered the territorial divisions of India will have been traceable from the narrative of its history; but a brief definition of them, as they existed at the battle of Paniput, may be found useful to the student, and may serve as an introduction to the further changes which were to ensue.

<sup>1</sup> Grant Duff.

I. The great empire of Dehly had virtually ceased to exist; and with the murder of Alumgeer II., in 1760, the last of the emperors had passed away. His son, Ally Johur, a fugitive in Bengal at the period of his father's death, subsequently ascended the throne, under the proud title of Shah Allum, or king of the world, when, in fact, all that actually remained to him were a few small districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Dehly. All else had been alienated and usurped, either by the viceroys or foreign powers, and was totally irrecoverable.

Commencing from the north-west, the whole of the former Afghan territory of Dehly had been conquered, and was now possessed, by Ahmed Shah Abdally. It included Kandahar and Kabool, some of the north-western portions of both having been gained by the Persians. Ahmed Shah had received from Dehly the cession of the whole of the Punjáb; and to this had added Mooltan, which could not be defended. He was not so successful in Scinde, where the Talpoor chiefs had asserted their independence, and were maintaining it; but his dominions were of great extent, and, as the result of the battle of Paniput proved, he was at once powerful and popular among his subjects.

II. Omitting the few districts on the Upper Ganges and Jumna which remained to Dehly, the Rohillas, who were descended from the former Afghan troops and settlers at Dehly, had become very powerful, and were actually independent under their chief Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah; but to the period of the Emperor Alumgeer II.'s death, they had assisted him against his treacherous vizier, Shaháb-ood-deen, and were the active allies of Ahmed Shah Abdally in the campaign of Paniput. Their territory was called Rohilkhund, and occupied a position between Dehly and the lower range of the Himalayas, with the city of Bareilly as its capital.

III. On the south-east of Rohilkhund lay the great province of Oudh, heretofore a viceroyalty of the empire, and still preserving that designation; but now, to all intents, independent. Shujah-ood-Dowlah had succeeded his father Sufdur Jung, and for a time became the nominal vizier of the empire; but his interests lay completely apart from those of the nominal emperor, and his great power and wealth enabled him to preserve the independence he had assumed.

IV. Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were united under the government of Meer Jaffier, who, upon the support of the English, had become Nabob, or, more properly, Nawáb. His position was an anomalous one, in contrast with that of other

Final disruption of the empire of Dehly.

Details of the former empire.

Afghanistan and Punjáb.

Rohillas.

Oudh.

Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

nominal viceroys; for he was perfectly independent of Dehly, and, though he may have kept up communication with officers at the court, it is certain that he rendered it no assistance; and, as has been related, resisted the prince imperial when he attempted, in 1759, to assume the viceroyalty. These provinces were therefore, in all respects, completely alienated from the empire.

V. The Rajpoot States had become perfectly isolated. It is uncertain how long their annual tribute was paid; but it is questionable whether they had contributed anything to the imperial exchequer for some time previous to the invasion of Ahmed Shah, and it is certain that the emperor and his vizier had, for many years, been too weak to attempt to enforce payment. The principal states were Jeypoor, Joudhpoor, and Oodypoor, and there were others of minor extent and consequence, whose chiefs belonged to the Rajpoot confederation, but whose condition does not need particular specification. Over the whole of Rajpootana, the Mahrattas had imposed their demands of chouth; but they were irregularly paid, and their enforcement was by no means easy. The Rajpoots took part with the Mahrattas in the contest at Paniput, and their independence was absolute.

VI. The Mahrattas had possessed themselves of the whole of Guzerat and Malwah, having gradually driven out the imperial viceroys and garrisons. They also occupied Khandésh, and Berar, with Kuttack; and the recent cessions by the Nizam had given them the province of Beejapoor and most part of Aurungabad. The province of Malwah had been divided between Sindia and Holkar; the Gaikwar possessed Guzerat; the Peshwah's estate of Kalpy and Jhansy extended their territories to the Jumna on the north, while south-westwards they reached unbroken as far as the northern boundary of Mysore: and they possessed, in the extreme south, the principality of Tanjore, the remains of one of the most ancient Hindoo kingdoms. Such had been their growth in territorial acquisition during a hundred years, while their demands for the national chouth and sur-deshmookhee now extended all over India.

VII. Between Agra and Jeypore, the Jāta, a tribe of martial cultivators from the banks of the Indus, had established themselves about the close of the reign of Aurungzebe. They were now, under their famous chieftain, Sooruj Mul, exceedingly powerful, and his capital, Bhurtpoor, was undoubtedly the strongest fortress in Northern India. South-eastward from the Bhurtpoor State, lay the province of Bundelkund, divided into several minor principalities, the chief of which was Rewah; and on the borders of Malwah a small tract of country had become

independent under its Mahomedan governor, the capital of which was Bhopál. All these had been overrun by the Mahrattas, and were, in essential respects, subject to them, as well as tributary.

VIII. The progress of the Soobahdar of the Deccan, Nizam-ool-Moolk, and his descendants, has been sufficiently illustrated to make the position of Salabut Jung, or the Nizam, as he may be called—the title by which he was best known—sufficiently intelligible. But the territory of the viceroyalty had become seriously circumscribed by the recent cession to the Mahrattas; and in the maintenance, by the English, of Mahomed Ally, as ruler of the Carnatic, the Nizam had lost all the southern portion of the dominions over which Nizam-ool-Moolk, his father, had ruled. The Patán Nawábs of Savanoor, on the borders of Mysore, of Kurpa and Kurnool, on the southern bank of the Krishna river, had also become independent, and had alienated a considerable portion of the former dominions. The territories of the Nizam now consisted of the southern portion of the Deccan; with the Krishna river as its southern boundary, and the whole of Telingána to the sea, between the rivers Pennaar and Godavery, north of the latter, as far as the frontier of Orissa, the Rajah of Vizagapatam, or Vizianagram, had re-established an independent principality under the protection of the English; but it was of limited extent, and of inconsiderable political importance.

The Soobah-  
dar of the  
Deccan.

IX. **MYSORE.**—The traditions of this state attribute its foundation at a very remote period, about the 12th century, to two brothers of the Yádává family of Guzerat, one of whom married the daughter of a petty chieftain, and settled in the country. His descendants gradually acquired territory, and, in 1507, became possessed of Mysore, where a fort was built. The kingdom of Beejanugger was conquered by the Mahomedans in 1575, and its representatives, after many vicissitudes, and the loss of Penkóndah, their second capital, established themselves at Chundergiry, whence they endeavoured to regain Mysore; but, failing in this, dwindled into insignificant chieftains, and disappeared from the history of the period. During these struggles, Mysore had gradually increased in power and extent; and, in 1667, occupied not only the whole of the plateau of Mysore, but had extended its dominion to the Bárá Mahál, lying below the plateau to the south. The Emperor Aurungzebe's armies had invaded Mysore, and an agreement to pay tribute had been exacted by his officers from the reigning prince; but it does not appear that this was ever regularly levied, if indeed at all. In 1724 the rajah was obliged to pay a million sterling to the Patán Nawábs of Savanoor, Kurpa and Kurnool, who were in alliance with Moorary Ráo of Gooty; and the Mahrattas also claimed chouth and other dues as

Mysore.

imposed by Sivajee; but, on the whole, the state was singularly exempt from the convulsions and struggles of the period, and was governed by a succession of able ministers.

In 1757, the Mahrattas, under Balajee Ráo Péschwah, had exacted an agreement from Mysore to pay thirty-two lacs, or 320,000*l.*, as arrears of chouth; and the revenue of fifteen districts had been pledged to them in liquidation; but Hyder Ally, who had risen from a low position to be general-in-chief of the troops of the state, had expelled them. In 1759, they had reinvaded the country, and Hyder Ally, after a brilliant campaign, had proved so successful, that the Mahrattas, on payment of the stipulated sum, surrendered their claim to the assigned territory. Thenceforward Hyder Ally became supreme in Mysore; and not only pursued the predatory system he had organised, but reduced in succession Bednore, Chittledroog, Hurpunhully, and other small states lying to the north and west of Mysore, and, extending his conquests considerably to the south, increased the dominions of Mysore to a very considerable extent. The legitimate rajah of the country was eventually deposed by him, as will be hereafter related; but at the period now under record, 1761, Hyder Ally was the supreme executive authority in Mysore. He had formed no political alliances or connections, and was alike opposed to the Mahrattas, the Nizam, the Nawáb of the Carnatic, and the English. The overtures made to him by M. de Lally had been interrupted; but he retained an esteem for, and sympathy with, the French, which afterwards became more fully developed.

X. Mahomed Ally, protected by the English, was now secure in his possession of the Carnatic, and was independent alike of the Nizam and of Dehly. His dominions were considerable. To the north they extended to the Pennaar river; to the west they were bounded by Mysore, and on the south by Tanjore; but they contained many small Hindoo principalities, which were portions of the original dominions of the great Beejanugger and Chóla kingdoms, and over these his authority was doubtful. These petty states, however, possessed no political significance.

XI. TANJORE had been established by Sivajee, on the ruins of the ancient Hindoo kingdom, and his brother, Venkajee, had been created its rajah. It still remained to his descendants; but it was weak, and lay at the mercy of the stronger powers in its neighbourhood, though for the present it was not seriously molested. The English and French transactions with it have already been detailed.

XII. TRAVANCORE and COCHIN complete the southern states of

India; but at the period under notice they possessed no importance whatever; and the same may be said of the smaller states of Coorg and Bednore, which lay west of Mysore, and were dependent upon it. Tarvancore and Cochlin.

XIII. The Portuguese, since their unsuccessful war with the Peshwah, had shrunk into insignificance. They still possessed Goa and its dependencies, with a few other factories; but they took no active part in the political affairs of India. The Portuguese.

XIV. The French power in India had been broken by the result of the capture of Chândernagore and Pondicherry, and by the departure of M. Bussy from Hyderabad. The attempts to regain it have to be recorded hereafter. The French.

XV. The English, by the results of their policy in Bengal and in the Carnatic, had established the basis of their political authority; but, as yet, their territorial acquisitions were very insignificant. The thirty-eight villages they had acquired round Calcutta, the grant made by Salabut Jung near Masulipatam, in the Northern Circars, small strips of land near Madras, Fort St. David, and Negapatam, constituted their only possessions on the eastern and southern sides of the continent. On the western coast, they occupied the island of Bombay, and they had not relinquished their conquest of Gheriah to the Peshwah. They had also captured the fort of Surat from the Moghul governor, which they held independently of the Gáikwar of Guzerat. The English.

## CHAPTER XIV.

OF EVENTS IN BENGAL, FROM THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT TO THE BATTLE OF BUXAR, 1761 TO 1764.

AHMED SHAH ABDALLY was not tempted by his victory over the Mahrattas to assume the government of India, or even to delay his departure for his own dominions, to which he immediately returned; and the Mahrattas, humbled for the time by their defeat, retired into Malwah and the Deccan. In Bengal, after Clive's departure, Mr. Holwell assumed charge of the presidency, pending the arrival of Mr. Vansittart, a Madras civilian, who had been selected by Clive, and received his nomination from England. Mr. Holwell had always been opposed to Meer Jaffier; and the members of council, influenced by him, prepared a scheme for a new revolution, by which Meer Jaffier was to be super- Ahmed Shah returns from India.

Changes in Calcutta.

Proposed revolution at Moorshidabad.

seded in the executive government by his son-in-law, Meer Cassim, whose ability, and, it was then believed, attachment to the English, promised the best results. Mr. Vansittart, who was totally ignorant of Bengal affairs, fell into the views of his council; but action upon their resolution was delayed by the advance of the Prince Royal of Dehly, who, after his father's murder, had assumed the title of Shah Allum, and, as emperor, determined to attempt the recovery of Bengal. At the head of an inconsiderable body of troops, he advanced into Behar early in 1760, and was joined by Shujah-ood-Dowlah, viceroy of Oudh, who, it will be remembered, had been appointed vizier of the empire by Sudasheo Ráo Bhow, before the battle of Paniput.

The Prince Royal of Dehly, now emperor, endeavours to regain Bengal.

The possibility of this invasion had been apparent to Clive before his departure, and he had made provision to meet it at Moorshidabad. Colonel Calliaud, who now commanded the forces, had marched from Calcutta at the head of 350 Europeans and 1,000 Sepoys, with six field guns; and 15,000 horse, under the Nawáb's son, Meerun, had been prepared to accompany him. While the emperor and the vizier advanced on Patna from the west, Calliaud and his ally approached the city from the east; but before they could arrive, Rám Narráin, the governor, had met the emperor in the field, and suffered a sharp defeat; and but for Calliaud's energy, Patna might have been captured. On his near approach, the emperor fled; but, in the hope of evading the English, entered Bengal, pursued by Calliaud, who came up with him on February 20, 1760, and routed his forces. Hoping to receive a reinforcement from the Mahrattas, whom he had invited to his assistance, the emperor now turned towards Moorshidabad; but he was again pursued and checked by the indefatigable Calliaud, and finding he had no chance of success in that direction, appeared suddenly again before Patna, and laid close siege to it, assisted by the French party, under M. Law, who had joined him, as well as the Nawáb of Purneah, with 30,000 men. A reinforcement to Calliaud, consisting of 200 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys, with 300 horse, under Captain Knox, had been advancing from Bengal, and now hurried on. On its arrival at the scene of action, Knox did not hesitate; but with the utmost gallantry crossed the river, and in sight of the inhabitants of Patna, who crowded the walls to witness this extraordinary and astonishing combat, completely defeated the emperor and his allies, who precipitately retreated, and were followed up by Colonel Calliaud and Meerun, who captured their baggage and artillery, and their forces dispersed. On July 2,

Colonel Calliaud's successful campaign.

Exploit of Captain Knox.

1760, Meerun's tent was struck by lightning at night, and he, with three attendants, perished.

Meerun's conduct had from the first been cruel and licentious ; but whatever vigour the Government of Bengal possessed, belonged to him, both as a soldier and administrator. On the arrival of the news of his death at Moorshidabad, Meer

Events at  
Moorshidabad.

Jaffier, afflicted by leprosy, became imbecile, the troops broke into mutiny, and, but for the presence of Meer Cassim, might have put the Nawáb to death ; but from this fate he was preserved by his son-in-law, who quieted the troops by an advance from his private funds. The state of the administration now became intolerable, and the Council of Calcutta determined upon requiring Meer Jaffier to abdicate. On

Meer Jaffier  
is forced to  
abdicate.

sounding Meer Cassim on the subject, he deliberately proposed to Mr. Holwell to have Meer Jaffier put to death after the usual fashion of Indian revolutions ; but Mr. Vansittart advanced from Calcutta with 200 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys, and the old Nawáb reluctantly submitted, protesting violently against the deliberate breach of faith, and only requiring an asylum in Calcutta.

As far as financial results were concerned, the new revolution was profitable. In payment of the sum due to the company, the large districts of Burdwán, Midnapoor, and Chittagong were assigned to them ; and five lacs were contributed for the war in the Carnatic. For the services of the Council, twenty lacs, or 200,000*l.*, were allotted, of which 30,000*l.* to Mr. Holwell, and about 80,000*l.* to Mr. Vansittart, besides smaller donations, were actually paid. But the whole transaction

Dishonourable character of the transaction.

had been faithless and dishonourable. It was not even justified by the pecuniary embarrassments of the company. The viceroyalty of Bengal, at a time when its lawful sovereign was endeavouring to assert his rights, was, as it were, sold to one who had no claim to it whatever, except the assumed security of the company's interests, by men who used them as a cloak for their own avarice. As an immediate consequence, the most acrimonious discussions ensued in Council between those who had, and those who had not, received shares of booty ; but there were other and worse events to come which cast these into the shade. If the question be considered calmly, after the lapse of a hundred years, it seems only surprising, if the Council desired a change, that they did not espouse the just cause of the emperor, with whom they might have made their own terms, and obtained more favourable and more extensive grants than they exacted from Meer Cassim.

The new Nawáb possessed great vigour, and the effect of his

reforms and retrenchments was soon apparent in the flourishing condition of his treasury ; but the emperor, who dare not proceed to Dehly, and had not foregone his intentions upon Bengal, had remained near its northern frontier. Major Carnac, who had succeeded Calliaud in the command of the forces, was deputed to watch his movements ; and in January, 1761, advanced on the emperor's camp, and defeated him. On this occasion, M. Law and his French party were taken prisoners ; and Carnac, who had received instructions from Mr. Vansittart, visited the emperor, and invited him to Patna, whither he accompanied him. The fact of his sovereign being an honoured guest in the English camp, excited the alarm and jealousy of Meer Cassim in no ordinary degree ; but his own plans were not matured, and he sullenly submitted to be created Viceroy of Bengal, at the same time agreeing to pay twenty-four lacs of rupees per year to the emperor—a miserable sum, if it be remembered that Alivurdy Khan, after providing for all local expenditure, used to remit upwards of a million sterling, year by year, to the imperial treasury. There was now no pretence for detaining the emperor, who, accompanied by Carnac as far as the frontier of Behar, proceeded towards Dehly ; but before his final departure, he had offered to the English company the dewany, or financial management of Bengal.

Meer Cassim was now secure in his office ; and, as Meer Jaffer had attempted, began exactions from the principal officers, who, under his father-in-law's lax administration, were reputed to have amassed wealth. Carnac and Coote would have protected Rám Narráin of Patna, who had so often proved faithful ; but his English friends were withdrawn, and he was shamefully abandoned to the Nawáb by Mr. Vansittart, and mercilessly despoiled. Meer Cassim, however subservient he might find his English friends at times, yet heartily desired freedom from interference. With the emperor he was fully able to cope ; but he dreaded the English, was powerless to do anything at Moorshidabad, and he therefore removed his residence to Mongheer, 320 miles from Calcutta. There he believed himself secure ; and, with the aid of one Petrus, an Armenian, and other adventurers, he began secretly to cast cannon, and to make muskets and accoutrements for a native army. In 1762, the famous dispute in regard to transit duties, and the dustuks or passes which could be granted by the company's officers and which exempted merchants from payment of Custom dues, had reached a high pitch ; and there was no doubt the privilege had

Position of  
the emperor.

He is de-  
feated by  
Major Carnac.

The emperor  
joins Carnac.

Visits Meer  
Cassim.

The emperor  
offers the  
dewany of  
Bengal to  
the English.

Meer  
Cassim's  
exactions.

Meer Cassim  
removes to  
Mongheer.

Peter III.,  
emperor of  
Russia.

Disputes  
with the  
English  
regarding  
Custom  
duties.

been shamefully abused. Mr. Vansittart even visited the Nawáb at Mongheer, who, so far from supporting his view of the subject, abolished all transit duty whatever, and threw open the trade. This was considered, if possible, a more unjustifiable act than his interference with the dustuks; and at this juncture, a boat or boats, which had some arms for the garrison of the factory at Patna on board, was seized by the Nawáb's officers. Two gentlemen of the factory, Messrs. Hay and Amyatt, were deputed to require their release; but the Nawáb refused the request unless Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory, was removed. Mr. Hay was detained as a hostage, but Mr. Amyatt was allowed to return. Mr. Ellis, a violent man, considering the Nawáb's demeanour to be unequivocally hostile, now seized upon the city of Patna. He could not however maintain his position, and proceeded up the river; but was intercepted and brought back. Meer Cassim now threw off the mask, and issued orders for all the English to be apprehended. Mr. Amyatt, who was travelling, resisted the order, and was killed.

Their consequences.

Mr. Amyatt is killed.

Both parties prepared for war; and the English, as if unable to act except under the authority of a native prince, withdrew the aged Meer Jaffer from his obscurity in Calcutta, and, in spite of his inveterate leprosy, on July 7, 1763, proclaimed him Nawáb, and having secured from him a grant of the three districts, and the other agreements of Meer Cassim, marched with him to Moorshidabad. Meanwhile, Meer Cassim had set out with a powerful force to meet the English. His troops had been disciplined by a Swiss of the name of Sumroo, who had been a sergeant in Law's corps, and his artillery and small arms were excellent. On July 19, the English force, which consisted of 650 Europeans and 1,200 Sepoys, met the Nawáb's army at Cutwah, and defeated it; but it rallied and gave battle again at Gheriah, on August 2, when the Nawáb's troops fought with unusual resolution, but were again routed and lost all their guns. The double defeat enraged the Nawáb beyond endurance, and he gave full rein to his passion and ferocity. Rám Narráin was cast into the Ganges, as were also the great Sett bankers of Moorshidabad, then at Mongheer; and Rajah Ráj Bullub, another friend of the English, was put to death, with all his family. On the Nawáb's arrival at Patna, he directed the English prisoners to be slaughtered, and the bloody work was done by Sumroo, who fired volleys into their prison rooms till all, upwards of 200 souls, were dead. The English were, however, advancing to revenge their countrymen; the Nawáb's army, which had again rallied

Meer Jaffer again proclaimed Nawáb.

Peace of Paris.

Catherine II., empress of Russia.

War with Meer Cassim.

who is defeated at Cutwah, and again at Gheriah.

Murders and executions by Meer Cassim.

The English prisoners put to death.

at Owda-Nulla, near Mongheer, was 60,000 in number, and had placed 100 guns in position; but the English, though only 3,000 strong, Europeans and natives, stormed the position, captured the guns, and the Fort of Mongheer was taken after a short siege.

The Nawáb had fled to the vizier of Oudh, and formed a league with him. Early in 1764, these confederates, who had been joined by the emperor, marched upon Patna, which was assaulted on May 3, 1764; but it was defended by English troops, and the vizier's army retired to Buxar, where it encamped during the rains. Before a new campaign could open, Major Hector Munro had taken command of the army; but the native portion of it, which was very considerable, and was flushed by

victory, was in a condition of serious mutiny, demanding large donations and increased rates of pay. One regiment of Sepoys marched off with their arms to join the enemy, but were pursued and brought back. Major Munro's conduct at this trying period is beyond praise; but it was not till the ringleaders had been tried, and many of them executed, that the Sepoys returned to their obedience, and, to prove their faith, demanded to be led against the enemy. The confederates had an army of 30,000 men. Munro's forces consisted of 857 Europeans, 5,297 Sepoys, and 918 native cavalry, with 20 field pieces; in all 7,072 men—the largest English force which had as yet assembled in India. On October 22, he arrived at Buxar, and was met by the enemy, whom he completely defeated. 130 pieces of cannon were taken, and only that a bridge, over which the enemy passed, had been broken down by them, the whole of their treasure and jewels, which were estimated at 3,000,000*l.* sterling in value, must have fallen into the victors' hands. 4,000 of the enemy

perished, and Major Munro lost 847 in killed and wounded. The consequences of this victory were immense; the whole of Bengal lay at the disposal of the company. The vizier of Oudh had irretrievably lost both prestige and power, and the emperor had no resource but to place himself under English protection.

The Nawáb  
defeated at  
Owda-Nulla.

Mongheer  
taken.

Alliance  
between  
Meer Cassim  
and the  
vizier of  
Oude.

Mutiny of  
the English  
army.

Is suppressed  
by Major  
Hector  
Munro.

Victory of  
Buxar.

Its con-  
sequences.

## CHAPTER XV.

EVENTS IN BENGAL (*continued*), FROM THE BATTLE OF BERAR TO THE DEPARTURE OF LORD CLIVE, 1764 TO 1767.

AFTER the defeat of his allies at Buxar, the emperor voluntarily joined the English, and opened negotiations with the Council at Calcutta in regard to the disposition of the Oudh territory, which was declared to be forfeit. The Council proposed to divide it with the emperor, retaining the southern portion; but the negotiation was ultimately broken off, and was not resumed. On the other hand, the vizier was also negotiating; but he evaded Munro's demand for the surrender of Meer Cassim, whom, after despoiling of much of his wealth, he allowed to escape, and of Sumroo, whom, however, he coolly proposed to assassinate. The army, therefore, advanced towards Allahabad, and invested Chunargurh; but it was inactive, and as, for want of money, no extensive operations could be carried on, Munro resigned his command. In the hope of recruiting their now exhausted finances, the Council sent for Meer Jaffier. Not only was the public service to be provided for, but the shameless demands for private presents and losses were pursued with even more than usually stringent rapacity, even to the neglect of the public interests, which, indeed, seem to have been of very secondary consideration. The finances of the Nawáb, were, however, as low as those of his friends; and, already worn out by anxieties, disease, and age, he died at Moorshidabad soon after his return there in January 1765, but not before he had disbursed the enormous sum of fifty-three lacs—530,000*l.*—to the private claimants.

The emperor  
joins the  
English.  
Negotiations.

Pecuniary  
difficulties of  
the Council:  
their  
rapacity.

Death of  
Meer Jaffier.

Meer Jaffier's death rendered a new appointment necessary, and Nujm-ood-Dowlah, his second son, was elected to succeed him. This event, as might have been expected, was too tempting, in regard to demands for presents, to be resisted; and in these days we read, with as much amazement as indignation, the sums which were demanded almost as rights, and received without the least compunction, by the senior officers of the Calcutta Council. Among them, in various shares, was paid away no less than 138,355*l.* While by Mr. Mill's accounts ('Hist.' vol. iii. pp. 326-329) the totals of private donations received by individuals from the Moorshidabad treasury up to this period were 2,169,655*l.*, the payments on account of

Nujm-ood-  
Dowlah.

Fresh exactions by  
the Council.

'restitutions,' had reached 3,770,833*l.*, making a sum total of no less than 5,940,498*l.* Private individuals were indeed enriched beyond conception; but the public finances of the company were impoverished, notwithstanding their enormous extra receipts. By

the treaty with the new Nawáb, the military defence of the country was undertaken by the company, and a deputy, Mahomed Reza Khan, was appointed as the Nawáb's representative and executive minister. Mr. Vansittart had returned to England, and Mr. Spencer, a civilian from Bombay, occupied his place.

The Court of Directors were not, however, satisfied with the progress of affairs in Bengal. It was impossible for them to defend their servants from the imputations of scandalous rapacity which were becoming notorious, and it was even more unendurable that the public trade of the company should have been well-nigh extinguished by the private trade of its own servants. Clive was, therefore, requested to proceed again to Bengal. During his residence in England,

he had been elected an Irish peer; he was a member of Parliament, and aspired to be a director of the East India Company; but in this he had failed. There was a party in the court who virulently opposed him, and who had ordered a resumption of the payment of the revenue of his jahgeer, or estate, which obliged him to resort to an action at law; and it is probable these contentions would have continued, but for the dangers and embarrassments of Bengal, which he alone was considered capable of removing. In regard to the jahgeer, he agreed to relinquish it to the company after ten years, if he lived so long, and this closed the discussion. Lord Clive landed in

Clive reaches Calcutta.

Joseph II., emperor of Germany.

Vizier of Oudh defeated.

Clive proclaims the new government;

and joins the army.

Calcutta on May 3, 1765, and on the same day the Vizier of Oudh, with his Mahratta and Rohilla allies, was again defeated at Corah by General Carnac, and threw himself on the generosity of the English. It was a strange sight for the people of India to behold. Their emperor, and his most powerful subject, were alike suppliants for assistance and for consideration, at the hands of those who, not ten years before, were no more than humble merchants, and had been ignominiously expelled from Bengal. It was a situation which required the solution and direction of a master mind; and Lord Clive, after a brief survey of affairs in Calcutta, which disclosed to him unbounded rapacity and vice—and having declared that he would summarily dismiss from the service any servant of the company who refused to sign the new covenants which had been prepared in England—left Calcutta on June 25, and proceeded to

join the army. As he passed Moorshidabad, the arrangements for the military defence of the country were definitively settled. Fifty-three lacs of rupees—530,000*l.*—were assigned for the purpose, and in order to preserve a check upon Mahomed Reza Khan, two Hindoo gentlemen of rank, Rái Doolub and Jugget Sett, the banker, were associated with him. Clive now proceeded to the camp; and, on August 2, the affairs of the vizier were considered and decided. His dominions, which he had forfeited by an unprovoked war, were restored to him, except two districts, Corah and Allahabad, which were reserved for the emperor; he was to pay fifty lacs for the expenses of the war, and Rajah Bulwunt Sing, who had rendered material assistance to the English, was confirmed in his possession of Benares and Ghazipoor.

Settlement  
with the  
vizier of  
Oudh.

The emperor only remained. On him were settled the two reserved districts of Oudh, and twenty-six lacs—260,000*l.*—of the annual revenue of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; but he was required to relinquish his claims to the arrears which had accumulated. He had already twice offered

Transactions  
with the  
emperor.

the dewany, or revenue management of Bengal, to the English, once to Clive and once to General Carnac; and on Clive again proposing the arrangement, he readily acquiesced in it. On August 12, the emperor took his

Cession of  
the dewany  
of Bengal.

seat on a throne, constructed of the dining-tables and an arm-chair, in Lord Clive's tent, covered with rich cloths, and the imperial firman was executed and formally delivered to the representative of the English nation. It conferred upon them in perpetuity the three provinces, which possessed a population of 25,000,000, and a revenue of 4,000,000*l.* sterling, the only alienation being the twenty-six lacs—260,000*l.*—guaranteed to the emperor, and fifty lacs, the pension of the Nawáb of Moorshidabad. At the same time, Clive obtained from the emperor a formal grant of the whole of the Northern Circars, at present in the possession of the Nizam, to be used when the English might be in a position to enforce their surrender.

Particulars of  
the cession

On Lord Clive's return to Calcutta, he resumed the question of the check of private trade, and in this had to oppose his resolute will to the interests of the whole English community, who, in the unbridled exercise of privilege and power, had become alike insolent and reckless. The salaries of the civil officers had hitherto been nominal, and were on a scale so paltry that to live on them would be impossible. To raise them in a sufficient degree would be difficult, and he therefore arranged that the proceeds of the monopoly of salt, which had hitherto been considered one of the

Clive's  
measures  
at Calcutta.

Duties on  
salt assigned  
in lieu of  
civil salaries

Nawáb's private perquisites, should be collected into a joint-stock sum, to be divided in proportion to their rank among all grades. It amounted to about thirty-two lacs of rupees, and the proper division was to be made by a committee formed out of the whole body.

So far everything had been settled on comparatively easy terms: but the turn of the army was now to ensue, and the risk was much more formidable; extra allowances, called *batta*, had been granted to it, with other special augmentations: and the whole was to be reduced to one system by which the receipts of pay would be greatly diminished. Notwithstanding the danger, it was proclaimed that after January 1, 1765, all these extra perquisites were to cease. The consequence was an immediate mutiny of the officers; but their proceedings were kept secret till March, when Clive, who had gone to Moorshidabad, received the first 'round robin' remonstrance. The officers had threatened, as they had bound themselves to each other, to resign; and Clive directed Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded one of the three divisions, to receive any resignation offered, and dispatch the individuals at once to Calcutta, while he wrote to Madras to send up every officer that could be spared. At Mongheer, on March 13, the European soldiers assembled in arms to support their officers; but were overawed by the Sepoy regiments. In the camp at Serájpoor, similar scenes took place; but there was no actual outbreak, and the sudden arrival of a regiment of Sepoys, who had marched 104 miles in fifty-four hours, prevented what had been contemplated. By these resolute means had Lord Clive again obtained the mastery of a position from which most men would perhaps have receded by compromise, and it was a strange element of his success, that the Sepoy battalions, led by a few faithful and devoted officers, should have overawed and controlled the Europeans. Sir Robert Fletcher, who was the instigator and ringleader of the whole, was tried and cashiered, and others were similarly sentenced; but the whole was settled more by firmness and resolution than by severity, and the majority of the officers expressing their contrition, were restored to their rank in the service. During the progress of this mutiny, the young Nawáb died at Moorshidabad on May 8. The event was of no political importance, and his brother, Syf-ood-Dowlah, a youth of sixteen years old, was invested with his dignity.

If the state of Lord Clive's health had permitted him to remain in India, it is probable that he would have stayed to watch,

Difficulties  
with the  
army.

Mutiny of  
the officers.

Mutiny of  
the European  
soldiers,  
checked by  
the native  
regiments.

Clive's  
eventual  
success.

Death of  
the young  
Nawáb of  
Moorshid-  
abad,  
who is  
succeeded by  
his brother.

for a time, the progress of the revolution he had directed : but he was unable to bear the effects of the climate, and in January 1767 intimated to the Council his intention of proceeding to England. His second administration had lasted only twenty-two months, and yet was crowded with events which had added greater lustre to his reputation than his first. The objects he had most deeply at heart, the possession of the three great provinces of Bengal, had been secured with unmarvellous ease; he had treated the enemies of his nation with singular courtesy and favour; and as he left India, he recorded that any further extension of territory in India would be 'a scheme so extravagantly ambitious, that no government in its senses would ever dream of it.' In his latter acts none of the greed of money which he had at first displayed was evident, else he might have obtained any sum he chose to demand from the Vizier of Oudh, whose dominions he restored to him, and from the Rajah of Benares, for the confirmation of his possessions; and in regard to the Nawáb, his declaration of defence before his peers, that, when piles of money and jewels lay before him in the treasury of Moorshidabad, he only 'marvelled that he had taken so little,' has been accepted by posterity. One of his last acts in India was to refuse a legacy of 50,000*l.* which had been left him by the Nawáb, and cause the sum to be applied to the maintenance of the Invalid Poplar Hospital. In regard to the application of the salt duties to the pay of the civil officers, the directors and proprietors of East India stock, eager for increased dividends, disapproved of the measure, and ordered the salt duties to be incorporated with the general revenue of Bengal; but as no provision was made for the pay of these officers, Lord Clive took upon himself to order the continuance of his own plan, until proper gradations of salary could be decided in England. He left India finally on January 29, 1767, being succeeded in office by Mr. Verelst.

Lord Clive  
returns to  
England.

Review of  
his policy.

## CHAPTER XVI.

OF EVENTS AT MADRAS, 1761 TO 1768.

THE capture of Pondicherry had raised the English in the Carnatic to the highest rank of local power. The difference between their positions in Bengal and Madras was this; that, whereas in the former the English had created their own Nawáb, who was solely dependent on them, in the

Position of  
the English  
in Madras.

Carnatic they had assisted a Nawáb already established under hereditary grant from his sovereign, who, to some extent, still exercised independent action; but, as in Bengal, the military defence of Mahomed Ally's territory had devolved upon them, and they had no means of supporting an army, except from the Nawáb's revenues. The Nawáb, however, being wasteful and extravagant, was deeply in debt; and on application being made to him for money, he proposed the spoliation of several

persons as a resource. Of these the Rajah of Tanjore was the most considerable; but a settlement was arrived at with him without war, by which he agreed to pay twenty-four lacs, in four instalments, and four lacs as a yearly

tribute. This, however, gave very little real relief to the Madras finances; and Moortiz Ally of Vellore, and Mahomed Issoof of Madura and Tinnevely, who refused to negotiate, were in turn attacked; but with no pecuniary advantage; what was obtained from them being in small proportion to the expenses of the war. Of the latter chiefs, Mahomed Issoof was subsequently betrayed to the Nawáb by a Frenchman named Marchand, and put to death. The weakness of the Nawáb, in a military sense, had become more than ever apparent, and the

necessity for his support by the company equally unavoidable; under a mutual combination of interests, therefore, the connection continued, and the available revenues of the Carnatic gradually passed into the hands of the Council.

Peace between France and England was concluded on February 10, 1763: under the articles of which, restoration was made to the French of their original Indian possessions. Had Clive been consulted in the matter, he would probably have given ample reasons against the readmission to India of the French on any terms; but the interests of the English were in a great measure already secured by the agreements of the French not to erect forts or keep troops in Bengal, and not to dispute the authority of Mahomed Ally in the Carnatic; thus the provisions of the treaty were carried out. Both parties had also agreed to acknowledge Salabut Jung as Soobahdar of the Deccan; but he was now dead. Shortly

after the news of the battle of Paniput had reached the Deccan, Salabut Jung and his brother, Nizam Ally, invaded the Mahratta dominions, in the hope of wresting from them the territories ceded by the treaty of Oodgeer. They penetrated as far as Poona, which they plundered and partly burned; and Nizam Ally actually obtained re-cessions of the value of twenty-seven lacs of rupees. After this, the brothers returned to Beeder, where, in the month of July, 1762, Nizam Ally dethroned and imprisoned

Salabut Jung dethroned and put to death by Nizam Ally.

Financial difficulties.

Failure of attempt to exact money.

Results.

Transactions in the Deccan.

Salabut Jung dethroned and put to death by Nizam Ally.

Salabut Jung, whom he afterwards put to death, and became Soobahdar of the Deccan.

In the following year, Nizam Ally was drawn into further disputes with the Mahrattas by his minister, Rajah Periaibunt, who supported an intrigue for depriving the Peshwah of his power, and the elevation of Janoojee Bhoslay to the regency. In this campaign, the main body of Mahratta horse, evading Nizam Ally, plundered the Moghul territories as far as Berar; but Nizam Ally, unable to overtake them, marched back upon Poona, which was again plundered, and many of the best houses burned. On the return, however, of Nizam Ally to Aurungabad, part of his army being on the left bank, and part on the right bank, of the Godavery, it was attacked in this position by the Mahrattas, and the latter portion cut to pieces. The Moghuls are said to have lost 10,000 men on this occasion, and the Mahrattas followed them to Aurungabad, where a fresh treaty was concluded, in October 1763.

War between  
the Nizam  
and the  
Mahrattas.

Defeat of the  
Nizam.

In the year 1765, the Mahrattas, under the command of the young Peshwah, Mahdoo Rao, attacked Hyder Ally, of whose rise to power they were extremely jealous. The campaign was an active one on both sides; but in the end Hyder was defeated, with very severe loss; was obliged to pay thirty-two lacs to the Peshwah, and relinquish all the Mahratta districts he had occupied. About the same time, Nizam Ally had made an irruption into the Carnatic, but was unable to prosecute his designs against the Nawab, owing to the attitude of the English, who advanced a force to meet him, under Colonel Campbell, as far as the frontier; but he had succeeded in reducing the power of Basalat Jung, who had evidently been disposed to make league with Hyder Ally against his brother and the Mahrattas. No sooner were they respectively at liberty, than the Mahrattas and Nizam Ally coalesced against Janoojee Bhoslay, of Berar, who had in turn deceived them both, and forced him to restore the districts he had usurped, of which the Nizam's share was fifteen lacs per year. From this campaign in Berar, Nizam Ally was recalled to Hyderabad, by a movement on the part of the English, which it is necessary to explain.

War between  
the  
Mahrattas  
and Mysore.

The Nizam  
and the  
Mahrattas  
unite against  
Berar.

English  
movement  
to obtain  
possession of  
the Circars.

The Northern Circars had been bestowed upon the English by the emperor, as has been already stated, on August 12, 1765, in free gift, in the words of the deed—'To their heirs and descendants, for ever and ever; free, exempt, and safe from all removal, and from all demands of the Dewany Office, or the Imperial Court; and execution of the grant was charged upon 'our sons, oomras, viziers, governors, &c.'

But the Circars were in possession of the Nizam; and his voluntary acquiescence in the terms of the grant was not to be hoped for. Clive had urged an immediate movement by the Madras Government, to effect their occupation; but Mr. Pigott was no longer at the head of affairs; and the new president, Mr. Palk, and his Council, hesitated until the opportunity had passed by. Their own necessities, however, impelled them at last into action; and on March 3, 1766, proclamation was made at Masulipatam, on the terms of the emperor's grant, and on the 7th, General Calliaud stormed the fort of Condapilly; the process of assuming charge of the country being simultaneously carried on by the civil officers. It was to resent this assumption of authority and territory, that Nizam Ally marched from Berar; and it is probable, that had the Council of Madras boldly asserted their right to the districts, and intention of maintaining them by force of arms, if necessary, the Nizam would not have dared to attack them; but they again hesitated, and, as usual in India, their opponent blustered the more. Finally, General Calliaud was deputed hastily to Hyderabad, and concluded a treaty with the Nizam, by which five lacs per annum was engaged to be paid by the company for Ellore, Moostufa Nugger, and Rajamundry, and four lacs in addition whenever the district of Guntoor, then held in jahgeer by Basalut Jung, should be made over to them. The English and the Nizam were further to assist each other with troops, when necessary; and for the present, two battalions of infantry, with six guns, joined the Nizam's forces, and assisted him in capturing Bangalore, and in reducing refractory Poligars, in the Carnatic.

Treaty with  
the Nizam in  
regard to  
the Circars.

But the ever fickle and restless Nizam Ally did not long abide by this engagement. While Colonel Smith, the officer in command of the British contingent, was employed in Eastern Mysore, he discovered that the Nizam was intriguing with Hyder Ally, and warned the Madras Council to be on their guard. He then, in May 1767, retired to the frontier of the Carnatic, leaving only a detachment with the Nizam's forces. Meanwhile the Nizam was negotiating with Nunjeráj, the minister of Mysore, for the destruction of Hyder Ally: and on this being discovered by Hyder, he seized and imprisoned the minister. After this event the Nizam made overtures to Hyder, who had become supreme in Mysore, and promised to assist him against the English, on receiving payment of twenty lacs, and an engagement by him to pay a tribute of six lacs of rupees a year. This being concluded, the Nizam threw off the mask; and having joined Hyder, their united forces advanced against Colonel Smith, whose detachment with the Nizam

Intrigues of  
Nizam Ally.

Nizam Ally  
and Hyder  
unite against  
the English.

had been allowed to depart. The Council of Madras, on the first warning by Colonel Smith, had dispatched one of their members, Mr. Bouchier, to negotiate; but it is almost unnecessary to record, that the object of the mission entirely failed.

The combined armies of the Nizam and Hyder amounted to 42,860 cavalry, 28,000 infantry, and 109 guns. Colonel Smith's force consisted of 1,030 cavalry, 30 of whom were Europeans, 5,800 infantry, of which only 800 were Europeans, with 16 guns. He had taken up a position in a hilly country, where he was attacked on August 25, 1767, and suffered a trifling loss. Finding the hilly tract untenable, he retired into a more open locality, where he was followed by the enemy, who attacked him again at Changama, but suffered a sharp defeat. Colonel Smith's condition was, however, precarious, on account of scarcity of provisions: and he made a bold and rapid march upon Trincomalee, which he reached on September 4, hoping to find stores of rice laid in; but in this he was disappointed. He was joined shortly afterwards by a brigade under Colonel Wood, and he now determined to attack the allies. His force had meanwhile been increased to 10,000 infantry and 34 guns, the cavalry remaining as before. On September 26, the allies moved to attack the English, and endeavoured to turn their flank. Colonel Smith, who saw their design, advanced to meet them, and the movements of both being concealed by an isolated hill, they came upon each other unawares. The result was not long doubtful. The allies were defeated, with the loss of 4,000 men and 64 guns, and next morning they were pursued, with some effect. While these operations were going on, Tippoo, Hyder's son, had advanced to Madras, and had attacked the suburbs; when the news of his father's defeat caused him to withdraw precipitately. The monsoon had now set in, and for a time both sides were inactive; but when operations again commenced, the allies sustained several sharp reverses in succession, and the Nizam, already weary of a war by which he had at first hoped the English might be crushed, and the Carnatic recovered, but had gained nothing, now entered into secret negotiations with Colonel Smith; and when Hyder Ally began to send back his guns and stores to Mysore, and was evidently bent on abandoning the alliance, Nizam Ally entered, avowedly, into negotiations with Madras.

Nizam Ally  
and Hyder  
attack  
Colonel  
Smith,

who retires.

Defeat of  
the allies.

Tippoo at-  
tacks Madras.

The Nizam  
negotiates  
with Smith  
and Madras.

To this he was impelled by what he considered a very serious danger. The Bengal Government had already dispatched a force, commanded by Colonel Peach, into the Northern Circars, which had advanced without

Movement of  
Bengal  
troops into  
the Nizam's  
dominions.

check, as far as Wurungul, the ancient capital of Telingána, only eighty miles from Hyderabad, and the Circars were therefore completely subdued, while the very capital of his dominions was menaced. At this juncture the Council

Inefficiency of the Madras Council. of Madras, had they possessed only ordinary firmness and ability, might have considered—as they had a right

to do from the Nizam's treachery—the former treaty annulled; and while dictating their own terms, as to the Carnatic and the expenses of the war, have occupied the Circars in virtue of the

Treaty with the Nizam. emperor's free gift. But they did neither, and the treaty of February 23, 1768, done at Madras, contained, with

some advantages, conditions so absurd and impracticable, that it is strange how they ever came to be entertained. Mahomed Ally, the Nawáb of the Carnatic, was now, for the first time, recognised

Its unwise provisions. by the Nizam as one of the contracting powers. The company's right to the Northern Circars upon the emperor's grant was conceded, and the peshcush, or tribute, reduced

from five lacs to two, the other three lacs being deducted as expenses of the war, the stipulations as to Guntoor remaining as before. So far, the provisions of the new treaty were moderately

advantageous; but, between the Nizam and Mahomed Ally, the company were drawn into action against Hyder, who was rudely denounced as an usurper and freebooter; and the Council actually

agreed to recover the tableland of Mysore, or the Carnatic 'Bála Ghát,' from him, on behalf of the Nizam, and to pay seven lacs of rupees a year for it and the Northern Circars combined, if Mysore

could be conquered. This was, in fact, a feeble imitation of the policy of Clive in regard to the dewany of Bengal; but it made a bitter enemy of Hyder Ally, whose power was now at its zenith. The

court of directors commented most severely upon the provisions of this treaty, and its weakness and absurdity were set forth with unsparing censure; but it was too late: the treaty could not be

revoked, and its disastrous consequences have to be recorded. One passage of this memorable dispatch is, however, worth quoting. After enumerating their present possessions in India, the directors

wrote:—'The protection of these is easily within the reach of our power, and may mutually support each other without any country alliance whatever. If we pass these bounds, we shall be led on from

one acquisition to another, till we shall find no security but in the subjection of the whole, which, by dividing our force, would lose us the whole, and end in our extirpation from Hindostan.'

## CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH HYDER, TO THE PEACE OF MADRAS; AND THE WAR BETWEEN HYDER AND THE MAH-RATTAS, 1768 TO 1771.

IN a subsequent dispatch on the same subject, the directors thus wrote to the Madras Council:—‘Instead of pursuing pacific measures with Hyder Ally, as we think you ought to have done, knowing, as you did, our sentiments with respect to extending our territories—you have brought us into such a labyrinth of difficulties, that we do not know how we shall be extricated from them. If, however, Hyder Ally be extirpated’—then the directors recommended restoration of rajahs and others whom he may have dispossessed. But Hyder was quite the reverse of ‘extirpated;’ his separation from the Nizam had added to his freedom of action, and he undertook the continuance of the war with more than usual spirit and effect. While he had been engaged in the Carnatic, several of the small powers on the western coast had made an attempt to recover independence, and were assisted by the Bombay Government, whose ships destroyed a small fleet, which Hyder had commenced to establish, and landed a force at Bangalore. In May 1768, Hyder suddenly attacked this town, which the English commander precipitately abandoned, leaving even his sick and wounded, with the artillery. Freed from the presence of the English, Hyder now held all the native princes to ransom, and by these means obtained funds for his prosecution of the war against Madras.

Hyder continues the war.

If the Council had attended to the admirable advice given to them by the directors, they would have met Hyder ‘half way:’ and a treaty for the mutual advantage of both might have been concluded without further war; but the Council were inflated by the prospect of a speedy conquest and possession of Mysore, and were urged on by Mahomed Ally to undertake it. On the other hand, Hyder saw clearly that he had no resource but to fight for political and territorial existence; and that the chances of accommodation with the English had altogether disappeared. The campaign opened in June 1768. Colonel Smith, accompanied by the Nawáb and two members of Council, commenced operations against Eastern Mysore, and Colonel Wood against the Báráh Mahál—

Views of the Madras Council.

Campaign against Hyder opened.

the country lying below the tableland to the south. Owing to the absence of cavalry, in which arm Hyder Ally was very powerful, Moorary Ráo, the Mahratta chieftain of Gooty, was engaged by the Council of Madras, and joined Colonel Smith on August 4. The movements on both sides are full of military interest, and

English successes. the results were at first in favour of the English; for Colonel Smith had invested Bangalore, and Colonel Wood had overrun the Báráh Mahál, driving out Hyder's garrisons: but, as well as from the English, Hyder was in perpetual dread of an attack from the Mahrattas, or from a coalition of the English with them. He had only just suppressed an insurrection

Hyder's difficulties. on the part of his brother-in-law, Mukhdoom Sahib, who had been recognised as the independent Nawáb of Séra, in Northern Mysore, by the Peshwah; and this act might be considered a course of war. In this perplexity Hyder Ally now

Hyder proposes peace. proposed terms of peace to the Madras Council, offering to cede the Báráh Mahál and to pay ten lacs—100,000*l.*—as the expenses of the war. This offer was rejected by the

The terms are refused. Council, who, believing Hyder's actual weakness to be the sole cause of his advances, now sought to take advantage of it by proposing, not only an enormous sum for the

English demands. expenses of the war, but the payment of tribute to the Nizam, with cessions of territory to Moorary Ráo, and a materially enlarged frontier to themselves, including a portion

Refused by Hyder. of the Malabar coast. These inflated propositions were in turn refused by Hyder Ally, and active operations again began. Colonel Smith now remonstrated with the Council

Colonel Smith proceeds to Madras. on various points, and was ordered to Madras to account for them, as well as to explain his intentions in regard to the campaign.

During his absence, Colonel Wood, who had been the favourite with the Council and the Nawáb, was not only out-manceuvred

Hyder defeats Colonel Wood. by Hyder, but, on November 16, at Oossoor, was defeated by him, losing 2,000 draught cattle, with his stores, and two eighteen-pounder guns; and on the 23rd was

again severely handled, and escaped only by the timely arrival of a reinforcement under Major Fitzgerald. Colonel Wood was now superseded by Colonel Lang; but the English army was much

The siege of Bangalore raised. crippled and weakened; the siege of Bangalore had been raised; and Hyder Ally, taking advantage of their

Hyder's successes. position, at once descended into the Báráh Mahál. Here, with surprising energy and rapidity, he recovered all the forts which had been taken by Colonel Wood, and then marched southwards upon Tanjore; but, after receiving four lacs of rupees from the rajah, he suddenly turned northwards

towards Madras, the road to which was now open. The consternation of the Council was extreme; and an officer—Captain Brooke—was dispatched to negotiate. Hyder's proposals were those of a dignified statesman, as well as an able general. He pointed out how often his peaceable overtures had been rejected; explained how he was, in fact, the only barrier between the English and the Mahrattas, and that it was open to him either to join them, or the English; and as it was impossible to oppose both, he would join the English in preference. The Council were, as before, irresolute and incapable. They sent Mr. Andrews, a member, to Hyder on February 14, 1769, while they again placed Colonel Smith at the head of the army at Chittapat. The Council proposed an armistice for forty days, of which Hyder would accept only twelve: and at the expiration of this period he again moved southwards, followed by Colonel Smith.

He approaches Madras, and negotiates with the Council.

The negotiations broken off.

Hyder departs southwards.

Meanwhile Hyder had entered into communication with M. Law, now chief of Pondicherry. He detailed the victories he had gained over their mutual enemies, the English, and invited an envoy to his camp; and while Mr. Andrews had returned to Madras for instructions, received a deputation from the French, which was sent with all the pomp they could contrive to exhibit. This was possibly intended by Hyder as a ruse to alarm the English Council; but, not depending on its effect, and having succeeded in inducing Colonel Smith to follow him to a distance of 140 miles from Madras, he suddenly left his camp at the head of 6,000 chosen cavalry, and, marching 130 miles in three days and a half, arrived at St. Thomé, five miles south of Madras, on March 29. Thence he wrote temperately to the Council, that he had respected their country; that he had preferred to negotiate with them instead of fighting Colonel Smith, and requested Mr. Du Pré might be sent to him.

Opens negotiations with the French.

Evades Colonel Smith and marches rapidly on Madras.

Hyder was master of the situation, and dictated his own terms. His overtures were strenuously opposed by Colonel Smith, who declared he could turn Hyder's position to his disadvantage, as indeed was quite possible; but the Council were full of fear, and on April 3, 1769, a treaty was executed. Its principal terms were that mutual conquests were to be restored; that, in case the dominions of either party were attacked, the other should aid in driving out the enemy—which, in fact, amounted to an article of offensive and defensive alliance; but by the treaty the English became saddled with the whole expense of the war, had been obliged to abandon all that had been gained, and by the dominant position

Hyder dictates the terms of a treaty.

Its unfavourable terms in regard to the English.

of Hyder at the gate of Madras, had, for the present, lost what prestige they had won. As to Mahomed Ally, who refused to be a party to the treaty, and Hyder, who objected to his being considered at all, they thus mutually ignored and defied each other; and it added not a little to the estimation of Hyder's power by the people of the country, that he insisted upon the families of Chunda Sahib and other persons of rank, hitherto kept under surveillance by Mahomed Ally, being released and made over to his protection. Thus ended the second war with Hyder Ally, which had assumed an aspect of long, difficult, and costly prolongation.

**Defence of the Council.** The best and only excuse perhaps that could be made for the hasty treaty, was given by the Council of Madras, who, in their defence, declared that they had made peace, because they had no money to make war.

Hyder was no sooner at peace with the English, than he entered on a contest with the Mahrattas. He not only refused payment of their chouth, but his troops made incursions into the southern districts of the Mahratta dominions.

**Hyder at war with the Mahrattas.** This was not to be endured; and having dispatched a large body of horse under Putwurdhun, Rastia, and other leaders, in November 1781, Mahdoo Ráo Peshwah followed at the head of 20,000 horse and 15,000 infantry. With these forces, the whole of Northern and Eastern Mysore, as far as Nundidroog, were quickly overrun and plundered. Hyder, who could not oppose the invaders, hoped they would retire on the approach of the monsoon; but Mahdoo Ráo, who was obliged to return to Poona in June, on account of his health, was bent on a prosecution of the war, and left Trimbuk Ráo Máma in Mysore, in command of 30,000 men.

**Second campaign.** After some inconsequent negotiation, the campaign was opened after the monsoon by the Mahrattas, under the command of Appa Bulwunt. Their army having been reinforced, amounted to 40,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, but their artillery was weak. Hyder brought into the field 12,000 horse, 25,000 infantry, and forty guns; but, under the Mahratta superiority in cavalry, he could undertake no offensive operation.

**Hyder defeated at Mailgóta, and Seringapatam is besieged.** As the Mahrattas pressed him back upon Seringapatam, he attempted to defend the pass of Mailgóta; but he was defeated, with terrible slaughter, on March 5. He fled to Seringapatam, followed by the wreck of the army, where he was besieged by the Mahrattas; but, deficient as they were in siege guns, they were unable to make any impression upon it. Meanwhile Hyder had besought the Council

**Hyder appeals to the English for assistance.** of Madras to afford him assistance; but it was in vain that he appealed to the terms of the treaty, offered twenty lacs for an English brigade, to cede the Báráh Mahál, or,

as his only alternative, to call in the aid of the French. The Council would willingly have observed the engagements of the treaty, and assisted him; but they were over-ruled by Sir John Lindsay, who had been sent out by the ministry of England, to the Nawáb, as ambassador-plenipotentiary, and they feared him. The Nawáb, who detested the 'upstart,' would not hear of Hyder's being assisted; and, on the contrary, demanded a junction with the Mahrattas against him; and as Sir John Lindsay supported the Nawáb, Hyder was abandoned and compelled to make the best terms he could with his foes. If the Council was unable, under the circumstances, to assist Hyder, they did not at least disgrace themselves by joining the Mahrattas against him. The terms to which Hyder was eventually obliged to submit were very stringent. He had to pay, at once, thirty-six lacs of rupees—360,000*l.*—as arrears of chouth and expenses of the war; and to promise for the future an annual tribute of fourteen lacs; as also to surrender Kolhar, Bangalore, Ooscotta, Balapoor, and Séra, which had formerly been held by Shahjee, the father of Sivajee; and by this cession his dominions were materially contracted. Hyder never forgot or forgave the treacherous and cowardly, as he termed it, abandonment of him by the English on this occasion; and by the cession of territory forced from him, the Mahratta outposts in 1771 had advanced to the north-western frontier of the Nawáb's territories.

The terms of the treaty are not observed.

Hyder abandoned.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE PROGRESS OF THE MAHRATTAS IN HINDOSTAN,  
1769 TO 1772.

AFTER the close of the Peshwah's campaign against Janoojee Bhósley, in Berar, in 1769, an army was sent into Malwah, under the command of Visajee Kishen, which was the first effort the Mahrattas had made in that direction since the fatal battle of Paniput. On the junction of the contingents of Holkar and Sindia, the cavalry amounted to about 50,000 strong, and the infantry, composed, for the most part, of Arabs, Abyssinians, and other foreign mercenaries, was numerous and effective. The Mahrattas had not only to collect the arrears of chouth, but to recover the prestige they had lost. On the part of the Emperor of Dehly, there was nothing to oppose them. The Prince Juwán Bukht, with Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, the Rohilla chief, maintained Dehly, and Sooruj Mul, the Ját, having

The Mahrattas advance into Malwah.

threatened it, was killed in action in 1769. His son afterwards laid siege to the city in conjunction with Holkar; but the influence of Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah over Holkar, induced him to retire into Malwah, and the siege was abandoned. The first act of the Mahratta general was to require the Rajpoot chiefs to pay arrears of tribute; and Visajee Kishen next turned upon the Játs, who, after a defeat, were compelled to agree to pay sixty-five lacs of rupees—650,000*l.*—partly in cash, and partly by instalments. It now became a question whether the Rohillas should be attacked or not: and eventually, though not without much discussion among the leaders of the army, the Mahratta forces, after the death of Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah, in October 1770, moved into Rohilkhund, and completely overran it, at the same time threatening Shujah-ood-Dowlah of Oudh, who was, nominally at least, under the protection of the English. The vizier, however, temporized.

The young emperor, Shah Allum, had found his English allies averse to proceeding to Dehly and seating him on the throne; and he now turned to the Mahrattas for that purpose, who readily met his advances. After the plunder of Rohilkhund, they had proceeded to Dehly, and were prepared to receive him, whenever it suited him to come. The emperor, therefore, though warned of the consequences by the Council of Calcutta, was met by Sindia, who escorted him to the camp of Visajee Kishen, and on December 25, 1771, he was placed on the throne of his ancestors with much pomp. Although Rohilkhund had been for the most part already laid under contribution, yet Visajee Kishen had protected Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah and his family; and Sindia now urged the spoliation of his son, a course to which the emperor gave a ready consent. Early in 1772, therefore, the Mahrattas attacked Zabita Khan, and plundered him of all the wealth accumulated by his father. Of this the emperor had hoped to get a share, but he gained nothing, and the condition into which he was sinking, from the intolerable behaviour of the Mahratta leaders, was becoming more and more insupportable.

There were three parties now in active intrigue: the Rohillas, wishing to get rid of the Mahrattas on any terms, and willing to assist the Vizier of Oudh; the vizier, detesting and fearing both, was temporizing with each alternately; and the Mahrattas, desiring to plunder both Oudh and Rohilkhund, or willing to be bought off by either or both. The vizier's policy was, however, detestably treacherous, for he would willingly have sacrificed the Rohillas to the Mahrattas, in order

Their proceedings.

Rohilkhund overrun.

The emperor joins the Mahrattas.

The emperor is crowned as Shah Allum.

Zabita Khan plundered.

Position of parties in Hindostan.

that he might follow up their ravages and annex the country ; but, on the other hand, he dreaded the occupation of Rohilkhund by them, a step which he was assured would be followed by an attack upon his own dominions. In June 1772, a convention was made, by which the Mahrattas agreed, on the payment of forty lacs of rupees, to spare Rohilkhund ; but would not accept the bond of Hafiz Rehmut, the Rohilla chief, unless it was guaranteed by the vizier. On this being effected, Hafiz Rehmut actually paid five lacs to the vizier as his share ; but of this sum nothing was paid to the Mahrattas. As the monsoon was at hand, the Mahrattas having received no money, would delay no longer ; and crossing the Ganges by the fords, attacked the Rohillas, and routed them with great slaughter, plundering Nujeeb Khan, one of their chiefs, of all his wealth, and committing vast devastation. The consequences of these attacks were, that the Rohillas threw themselves on the protection of the vizier, and fell completely into his hands. Contrary to the expectations of the emperor and all other parties, the Mahrattas did not leave the vicinity of Dehly, but cantoned themselves in the Dooáb for the rains, during which period, the emperor, weary of their insolence and rapacity, endeavoured to resist them by force ; but his general, Nujeeb Khan, was defeated, Dehly was occupied by them, and he was obliged to purchase their forbearance by the cession of Allahabad and Corah, two of the districts of Oudh, which had been reserved for him by the English after the battle of Buxar. These were, however, protected by a British force under Sir Robert Barker, which the Mahrattas hesitated to attack ; and they now offered to forego their demands on the Rohillas, if they would join them in an invasion of Oudh. Hafiz Rehmut Khan, however, refused to comply, and cast in his lot with the vizier and the English, by whose combined forces, with his own, the Mahrattas were held in check. While the parties were thus occupied, news reached the Mahratta camp of the death of Mahdoo Ráo Peshwah, on November 18, and Visajee Kishen, taking the whole of the army with him, retired southwards, and crossed the Nerbudda, laden with plunder, in the month of May of the ensuing year, 1772.

Convention  
with the  
Rohillas.

Transactions  
in Rohil-  
khund.

The  
Mahrattas  
def. at the  
emperor's  
forces.

Poland dis-  
membered.

## CHAPTER XIX.

OF TRANSACTIONS IN ENGLAND, 1769 TO 1773.

THE rapid progress of the English power in India, coupled with the possession of immense wealth by the servants of the company, which was ostentatiously displayed in England, not only excited public envy, but reports of the oppression of the natives, and malversation of public funds, became at length so prevalent, and were to all appearance so well supported by facts, that the utmost indignation prevailed, and an investigation by a parliamentary commission was loudly demanded. On Lord Clive's return from India, he had been attacked virulently by his old enemy, Mr. Sullivan, and the corruption prevailing in the court of proprietors, in which, by investments in India stock, numbers of additional votes were provided, enabled his adversaries, who had been in India, to assist materially the combination against him, and eventually to bring his transactions before Parliament.

Ministerial  
transactions  
with the  
East India  
Company.

During these proceedings, the magnitude and importance of the imperial grant of the dewany of Bengal, which Lord Clive, it was admitted, had obtained, became better comprehended than before; and his own estimate of the surplus revenues of the three provinces was a million sterling. In 1767 the amount of dividend on stock had been limited to ten per cent, until February 1, 1769; but the anticipation of heavy remittances from India induced the ministry to demand a payment of 400,000*l.* per annum, for five years, while permission to raise the dividends on stock to twelve and a-half per cent. was conceded; but should the rate of dividend fall below ten per cent., a proportional reduction of the payment to the public exchequer was to ensue. At the same time, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Colonel Forde, were appointed as supervisors of financial affairs in Bengal, and sailed together in the 'Aurora,' a frigate of the Royal Navy; but the ship never reached her destination, and is believed to have foundered at sea.

Financial affairs in India, so far from furnishing any prospect of payment to the exchequer, or increased dividend, were in reality labouring under a condition of chronic deficit in all the presidencies. The magnificent revenues of Bengal were badly collected, and the peculations made from them were immense. In Madras, the Carnatic war had not only drained the local treasury, but the Nawáb had been obliged to

Condition of  
finances in  
India.

borrow at heavy interest: and these were the main sources from which the surplus revenue had been expected. Instead of receiving remittances, therefore, the directors had to meet heavy bills drawn upon them in Calcutta and Madras. Notwithstanding these impending difficulties, dividends of six and a quarter per cent. in March and September 1771 were declared, by an immense majority in the court, which indeed was all but unanimous on the subject, and proposals for the dividends of 1772 were made at the same rate.

It was impossible, however, to meet the future engagements. Instead of a surplus, a deficiency of 1,293,000*l.* appeared Deficiency in England. in England, and there was even a greater one in Calcutta. Loans were applied for to the Bank, for 400,000*l.* and 300,000*l.* respectively; and these proving insufficient, an application was made to the ministry for the loan of 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The request was not immediately responded to by Lord North, but Parliament was convened earlier than usual, and its Proceedings of the Select Committee. proceedings, which are memorable in English history, were carried on amidst much excitement on both sides.

The Select Committee did its duty fearlessly, and the exposure made of fraud, speculation, and mismanagement by the company's servants, determined the ministry to make an entire renovation in the conduct of affairs in India, until at least the expiration of the company's charter, which had yet six years to run. It was in vain that the company denounced the proceedings in Parliament as an infringement of their rights, and violation of their property; the English public was thoroughly aroused, and would be content with nothing short of a searching enquiry. After a further protest by the directors against the minister's proposal in regard to regulation of dividend and payment of debt, which Bill for the future constitution of the company. had no effect, he introduced a Bill for a new constitution of the company, which struck fairly and decisively against the prevailing corruption. The qualifications for voting were enhanced; directors were to be changed in rotation. A governor-general for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with a salary of 25,000*l.* a year, with four counsellors at 8,000*l.* each, were to be appointed; and a chief justice, and three puisne judges were to form a royal court. All correspondence was to be submitted to the ministry; and no person whatever, either king's or company's servants, should be allowed to receive presents, or engage in commercial affairs. 'If,' says Mr. Mill, 'the alarm and indignation of the company, directors, and proprietors were excited before, that body was now struck with the highest Resistance by the company. terror and resentment.' They carried on their agitation both in Parliament and in the City of London—indeed, throughout

England, with unsparing assiduity and vigour. They made long, ingenious and severe protests; they were defended before both Houses by eminent counsel, and they left nothing untried by which a verdict in their favour could be obtained; but Parliament was obdurate: and the ministerial measures were carried by large majorities in both Houses. It cannot be admitted they were perfect; for the real founders of the management of Indian affairs had yet to gain experience, and of that even the company's servants possessed none beyond trade, to which they had been accustomed; nor could even the Select Committee elicit information on which they could have formed particular measures; but the conviction that a new constitution was needed, apart from the fiery denunciations of Burke on the one hand, and the special pleading of the company on the other, was clear to moderate men of all shades of politics, and the Bills received the royal assent on June 21, and July 1, 1773. It was at this time that the final and specific accusations against Lord Clive, which had long been impending over him, were brought forward by the chairman of the Select Committee, in the shape of a demand for enquiry into the death and deposition of Suráj-ood-Dowlah, and the fictitious treaty. On Clive's part nothing was denied: he gloried in every act he had done, and the sympathy of both Houses, representing the English nation, ultimately went with him; but the strain upon his mind, coupled with a painful chronic disorder, produced aberration of intellect, and he died, by his own hand, on November 2, 1774.

The Bill  
receives the  
royal assent.

Proceedings  
against Clive.

Clive com-  
mits suicide.

Louis XVI.  
king of  
France.

The first appointments made under the new constitution were Mr. Warren Hastings, an experienced company's servant, then in Bengal, to be governor-general, with General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Barwell, a civil servant, as members of Council. Of the new court, Sir Elijah Turpey was chief justice, and Le Maistre, Hyde, and Chambers the puisne judges. On October 14, 1774, the three members of Council, Clavering, Monson, and Francis, who had sailed from England, landed in Calcutta, and on the next day the royal commission was read.

Appointment  
of Warren  
Hastings  
as governor-  
general.

## CHAPTER XX.

OF EVENTS IN BENGAL, 1767 TO 1775.

ON the departure of Lord Clive, in 1767, he was succeeded by Mr. Verelst; but the genius and decision of the administration had departed with him, and the old malpractices were quickly resumed by all grades of the local civil servants. It is questionable whether their individual rapacity or incapacity were ever more signally displayed than at this period. The local executive administration was carried on by Mahomed Reza Khan, as deputy of the Nawáb, and Rajah Shitáb Rái; but it was corrupt, extravagant, and wholly without check or control. Immense grants of lands were made to their creatures, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, with a corresponding alienation of the revenue: and together with the local charges, not only absorbed the whole of the funds, but created ultimately a deficit of more than a million and a half sterling. Lord Clive's plan of a double government was gradually breaking down; for, with all his genius as a politician, and as a military commander, he had failed to estimate the difference between the detail of a government carried on according to the native system, and one which released native authorities from responsibility, and left them to unrestrained malversation of the revenues, and oppression of the people.

Maladministration of Bengal.

Evils of the double government.

There were, however, some officers who saw the danger, and among them Mr. Holwell, who wrote boldly to the Council as early as 1761:—‘We have nibbled at these provinces for eight years, and notwithstanding the immense acquisition of territory and revenue, what benefit has resulted from our successes to the company? Shall we go on nibbling and nibbling at the bait until the trap falls and crushes us? Let us boldly dare to be soobahs ourselves.’ So decisive a policy, however, even Clive rejected; and it was not till 1769 that supervisors were appointed to each of the provinces, to act as checks upon the native governors, and to collect information regarding the revenue settlements and the land tenures. They had hardly begun their work when the whole of Bengal was visited by a terrible famine, the results and effects of which have been passed over, almost with silence, by most of the English historians of India, but which have risen into new and prominent interest by the publica-

Mr. Holwell's remonstrance and advice.

Supervisors appointed.

Terrible famine in Bengal.

tion, in 1868, of Mr. W. Hunter's 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' a work full of most interesting details to the student of the history of this period. Mr. Verelst left India soon after it began, and was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, who had been one of the supervisors, and who made a faithful report to the Court of Directors; but it was coupled by an assurance that not only would the revenue be safe, but that ten per cent. would be added to it. The famine and its horrible accompaniment of destruction of human life continued; and in the summer of 1770, as Mr. Hunter writes: 'The people went on dying, the husbandmen sold their cattle, they sold their implements of agriculture, they devoured their seed-grain; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field, and in June 1770, the Residents at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead. Day and night a torrent of famished wretches poured into the great cities. At an early period of the year pestilence had broken out. In March, we find small-pox at Moorshidabad, where it glided through the viceroyal mutes, and cut off the Prince Syfut in his palace. The streets were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dying and the dead' (p. 26). The famine ceased by the close of 1770, and a plentiful harvest ensued; but the desolation it had caused was frightful. More than one-third—thirty-five per cent.—of the general population, and fifty per cent. of the cultivators, had perished, and 'notwithstanding the abundant crops of 1771, the country continued to fall out of tillage; and the commissioners appointed in 1772 to visit the different districts, found the finest part of the province desolated by famine, the lands abandoned, and the revenue falling to decay' (p. 33).<sup>1</sup>

The mischiefs of the double government, coupled with the famine, roused the directors to action; and, almost in the words of Mr. Holwell, they wrote to Bengal, that they had resolved 'to stand forth as dewán, and to take on themselves the entire care and management of the revenues, through the agency of their own servants.' On April 13, 1772, Mr. Warren Hastings assumed charge of the new administration. He had originally belonged to Bengal, where his eminent talents having attracted the notice of Clive, he was employed in political duty at Moorshidabad; and having subsequently visited England on leave, his evidence before the Select Committee proved so valuable, that he was appointed to the Council of Madras; and thence being, it was considered, the only civil officer

Warren  
Hastings  
assumes the  
government.

<sup>1</sup> 'Annals of Bengal.'

capable of carrying out the new measures in Bengal, was appointed President of the Council in 1772. After deciding upon the best means for the revenue management, which was a lease of all lands for a term of five years, and providing courts for the administration of civil and criminal justice, Mahomed Reza Khan and Rajah Shitáb Rái, who had been chiefs of the prior administration, were brought to trial on various charges of malversation, but were acquitted. They were not, however, re-employed.

Mr. Hastings' attention was now drawn to the political events in the neighbourhood of Dehly, and he met the Vizier of Oudh at Benares by appointment, in the month of September. The financial condition of affairs in Bengal at this time, was as distressing as that of the directors in England : and a debt of 160 lacs—1,600,000*l.*—had accumulated. There were two questions for discussion : first, the emperor's pension of twenty-six lacs from Bengal, to which, as he had become dependent on the Mahrattas, the directors had already decided as early as 1768 he would be no longer entitled ; the second, that as he had assigned Corah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, such an arrangement could not be permitted, and the original grant to him should be revoked. In both of these measures the vizier concurred ; and as the cost of the maintenance of the two districts had proved extremely heavy, amounting to nearly two millions sterling in five years, they were assigned to the vizier for an additional payment of fifty lacs.

On the other hand, the object of the vizier was to obtain possession of Rohilkhund, for which, as already explained, he had long been intriguing : and he offered to Mr. Hastings forty lacs of rupees—400,000*l.*—the amount of the bond he had obtained from Hafiz Rehmut Khan, if he were put in possession of the province, besides paying the costs of the troops employed. Mr. Hastings closed with the offer ; but, although the Court of Directors, on March 3, 1775, wrote to Bengal, 'We, upon the maturest deliberation, confirm the treaty of Benares,' there is no act of his brilliant career which has been deemed more questionable.

It was, in the first place, the deliberate hiring of English troops to perform an act of spoliation : for the Nawáb had no real cause of war with the Rohillas, their bond being untenable ; and it was dangerous, because, as Mr. Hastings admitted, it was evident that the Nawáb, who could not defend his own dominions without English aid, could not hope to defend, in addition, the Rohilla province. Moreover it was treacherous, because the Rohillas had already professed their attachment to the English, and high trust in their good faith. On the other

Political  
events and  
financial  
affairs.

The vizier's  
offer for pos-  
session of  
Rohilkhund.

Accepted by  
Hastings.

Objections  
to the treaty.

hand were questions of expediency, which Hastings afterwards urged; the danger of the Rohillas coalescing with the Mahrattas and the emperor against Oudh—their power and restless character, and the necessity of strengthening the vizier against all. But the measure had already been decided by the treaty of Benares, and action upon it was not delayed. Before it took place, the vizier had made advances to the emperor. He had assisted him with money, and troops which were employed against the Jâts; and had engaged him to assist in the reduction of Rohilkhund, receiving one-half of the plunder and one-half of the territory. Whether this secret agreement was known to Mr. Hastings or not, seems doubtful. If it were, he would have had ample excuse for withdrawing from his engagement as regarded the Rohillas; but early in November 1773 he was applied to by the vizier to furnish troops for the Rohilkhund service, and in January 1774 the necessary orders were issued. Colonel Champion assumed the command, and, in February, the troops arrived in the vizier's territory.

Troops are  
furnished  
for the  
invasion of  
Rohilkhund.

The vizier's  
demands on  
Hafiz  
Rehmut  
Khan.

His reply.

The British  
troops defeat  
the Rohillas.

Hafiz  
Rehmut  
Khan is slain.

Conclusion  
of the war.

The vizier now called upon Hafiz Rehmut Khan, the Rohilla chief, for payment of the bond of forty lacs of rupees, intimating that his refusal would be considered a '*casus belli*.' In reply, the chief stated that he would pay anything that the vizier might have paid to the Mahrattas, but nothing more; and a subsequent offer of compromise was met by a demand of two crores, or two millions sterling. As this was necessarily refused, the British troops advanced on April 17, and on the 23rd attacked the Rohillas in position, and defeated them. They lost 2,000 men, and their brave chieftain, Hafiz Rehmut, and one of his sons, but not their honour; and Colonel Champion, while he wrote in admiration of their valour, did not spare the vizier's exceeding cowardice. The Rohillas rallied under Fyzoolla Khan, and took up a strong position, under the hills, which was invested; but the vizier had already opened negotiations with him, and on his agreement to receive a jahgeer or estate, yielding nearly fifteen lacs—150,000*l.*—a year, the Rohilla war ended.

These events had occurred previous to the arrival of the members of Council; and, important as they were, had been thrown into the shade by the success of Hastings' financial arrangements. 'In less than two years,' as he afterwards recorded in his '*Memoirs relative to the State of India*,' 'I saw the debt completely discharged, and a sum in ready cash of the same amount, actually accumulated in store in the public treasuries;' and if this assertion is not borne out by the figures

Prosperity of  
the finances.

quoted by Mr. Mill (vol. iii. p. 516), there can at least be no question that the English credit in Bengal was restored, and that the finances were easy. These circumstances were, however, overlooked; and from the first day of their sitting, the new members, as if they had arranged a plan on the voyage, as they most likely had done, evinced a decidedly hostile attitude to Hastings. They first attacked his political transactions; and, on the death of Shujah-ood-Dowlah, the vizier of Oudh, early in 1775, and the accession of his son, Asof-ood-Dowlah, they, forming a majority in the Council, abrogated all former treaties, and arbitrarily forced the vizier into the conclusion of new engagements. They confirmed the cession or sale of Corah and Allahabad; but required, as equivalent, the district of Benares, which belonged to Rajah Cheyt Singh, and yielded a revenue of twenty-two lacs. The allowance for the English troops was to be raised to 266,000 rupees per month, and all balances due were to be paid up. This new treaty was executed on May 21; but Mr. Hastings had no part in it; he considered the terms too exacting, and more than could be fulfilled. The directors afterwards signified their approval; but the Council deprived the Nawáb of means of fulfilling the obligations they had imposed upon him, by supporting the claims of the Bégums, the mother and widow of Shujah-ood-Dowlah, to the whole of the treasure amassed by him, which was about two millions sterling. Nor did the mischief of the interference end here. With an empty treasury the new Nawáb had no means of paying his army, which was twelve months in arrears, and it broke into violent mutiny, which was not quelled without the slaughter of many thousands.

The opposition to Mr. Hastings was not confined to transactions in Council. It was openly understood, if not proclaimed, that accusations against him would be acceptable: and petitions, as might be expected, poured in not only publicly, but were received at the private residences of Clavering, Monson, and Francis. The most important of them, however, that of the Ranee of Burdwan, broke down; others succeeded, and the personal animosity displayed against Hastings was so evident, that he threatened to dissolve the Council in case any enquiry in relation to himself should be commenced. On the other hand, Francis and his friends placed on record, 'that there appeared no species of speculation from which the Honorable Governor-General has thought it reasonable to abstain.' These miserable proceedings culminated in the famous case of Nundkoomar, a man whose treachery and deceit had frequently been established. He

The Council  
oppose  
Hastings.

and abrogate  
the Oudh  
treaties.

A new treaty  
is executed.

The Council  
supports the  
Bégums'  
claims.

Petitions  
against  
Warren  
Hastings  
encouraged.

Accusations  
by Nund-  
koomar.

issued specific charges against Hastings for having received a bribe of three and a half lacs of rupees from the widow of Meer Jaffier, which the Council proceeded to investigate; but Hastings withdrew from the proceedings, refusing to sit in Council while criminal accusations were made against him. Nundkoomar produced a letter of the Bégum's in support of his charge, of which the seal appeared genuine. The lady herself denied the transaction; but the Council considered the charge proved, and it was not discovered till after Nundkoomar's execution, that the Bégum's seal, with many others that had been in his possession, were counterfeits.

Proceedings  
by the  
Council.

Hastings now brought forward a charge against Nundkoomar in the supreme court for forgery; and a native merchant, Mohun Prusád, also prosecuted him on a separate accusation of a similar nature, which had been partially tried in a local court, but was transferred to the supreme court on its establishment. On this charge, Nundkoomar was tried, found guilty, and condemned to death. No one, perhaps, expected that the sentence would be carried out; but the judge, Sir Elijah Impey, was inflexible. Hastings did not interfere, and on August 5 Nundkoomar was hanged. It was quite possible for the majority in Council, if not to have forbidden the execution, at least to have suspended it; but they were silent, hoping, perhaps, that the act would infallibly sacrifice Hastings; and it afterwards formed one of the articles of his impeachment. The question of the legality or illegality of the act has often been discussed. If

Counter  
accusations  
of forgery  
against  
Nundkoomar,

who is found  
guilty, and  
sentenced to  
death, and  
executed.

Considera-  
tions on the  
event.

forgery by the English law was felony, it was considered only as fraud by natives of India. This act of forgery had been committed before the introduction of English laws, and might therefore be considered as unaffected by them; but the judge argued that he saw the necessity of a severe example among a people of lax morality, and whether influenced by his friendship for Hastings or not, stood firm upon the legal aspect of the case, and acted upon it. Hastings gained, for the present, the re-establishment of his authority and immunity from petty charges; but the recoil was, in the end, worse to himself than the endurance of them could have been: it entailed years of anxious suffering, in the thought that by many, perhaps most, of his countrymen he was held morally guilty of having used Sir Elijah Impey for the destruction of his enemy.

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS—THE FIRST  
MAHRATTA WAR, 1772 TO 1779.

AFTER the death of Mahdoo Ráo Peshwah in 1771, his brother, Narráin Ráo, was invested as Peshwah: and Rughonath Ráo, or Rughoba, his uncle, who had previously been confined by Mahdoo Ráo, but released before his death, was <sup>Mahratta</sup> <sup>affairs.</sup> now again arrested, and confined in a part of the Peshwah's palace. On August 30, 1773, the regular infantry, who were deeply in arrears in pay, broke into mutiny, and a party of them entering the palace, the Peshwah was put to death during the confusion by a servant of Rughoba's. The odium of the act rested upon Rughoba for a time, but it was discovered afterwards that an order to 'seize' Narráin Ráo had been altered to 'kill' him, and the Mahratta nation acquitted Rughoba of the murder. There was now no heir to the Peshwahship, and Rughoba assumed the office as nearest of kin to the deceased. His first proceeding, after having received official investiture, was to lead the army against Nizam Ally, whom he forced to return <sup>Transactions</sup> <sup>with the</sup> <sup>Nizam.</sup> to Beeder, and obliged to make a further cession of territory, to the amount of twenty lacs of rupees a year; but the wily Nizam, at a subsequent friendly interview, so worked upon him by flattery and cajolery, that the cession was not enforced, and the effect of this act was to weaken Rughoba's power with his countrymen. Shortly afterwards it was discovered that the widow of the late Peshwah, Narráin Ráo, was pregnant; and the party of Rughoba was gradually weakened by defections. He had advanced into Mysore, but his transactions with Hyder Ally, which were intended to obtain Hyder's support, were, in proportion to the national demands, much reduced, and increased the dissatisfaction against him. His defeat of a portion of the army in the interest of the rival party had the effect of strengthening him for a short period: but he was unable to enter Poona, and on April 18, 1774, the widow of Narráin Ráo was delivered of a son, who was called Mahdoo Narráin, and who was formally installed as Peshwah when he was forty days old. Meanwhile Rughoba had proceeded to Malwah, where he hoped to obtain the co-operation of Sindia and Holkar; and at the head of their forces moved from Indoor to the Tapti river, and entered into negotiations with the English at Bombay. During the division between the great Mahratta

parties, and while the rival factions were watching each other, Hyder Ally overran all the Mahratta districts south of the Toongboodra river, while Basalut Jung, advancing from Adony, plundered the Southern Mahratta provinces unchecked.

In 1772, under the orders of the Court of Directors, an envoy from Bombay had been established at Poona; the great object of the mission being to secure the island of Salsette, with other islands in the harbour of Bombay. In the same year, in consequence of claims on the Nawáb of Baróch, that city had been taken by storm on November 18, and the Bombay Council desired to exchange it for Salsette: but unexpected events at Poona had nearly determined them to occupy the island by force of arms, when they received overtures from Rughoba for assistance in troops and money, in order to establish himself in his government. In reply, the Council, on September 6, promised to assist him with about 2,500 men, if he would advance twenty lacs of rupees, and, on his re-establishment in his government, cede to the company Salsette, with Bassein and its dependencies. But Rughoba refused to engage to make these cessions, offering other districts in Guzerat, of the value of eleven lacs, with six lacs in cash and one and a half lacs per month, for the services of 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 Sepoys, and 15 guns.

While these negotiations were in progress, news reached the Council that the Portuguese, reinforced from Europe, were about to attempt the recovery of Salsette and Bassein; and to anticipate their operations, it was determined to attack Salsette. The fort of Tannah, in spite of protestations by the Portuguese, who had sent a fleet to Bombay, was besieged and taken by assault on December 28, 1774, and by the close of the month the whole of that island, as well as Carinjah, were occupied. Rughoba by this time had fallen into a difficult position. He had been deserted by Sindia and Holkar, and retreating on Guzerat, reached Baroda on January 3, 1775. Here he hoped to engage the aid of the Gáikwar, and perhaps of the English; and he renewed his negotiations, which were closed on March 6. The Bombay Government agreed to furnish 3,000 men, and Rughoba ceded Salsette and Bassein in perpetuity, with Jumbosseer and Oolpur, in Guzerat, which, together with assignments of revenue, amounted to a yearly value of nineteen and a quarter lacs per year.

In anticipation of the execution of this treaty, the Bombay Government had dispatched a force under Colonel Keating to Guzerat, where Rughoba had already been defeated by the Mahratta ministerial army; and

Embassy  
from Bombay  
to Poona.

Overtures  
from  
Rughoba.

The English  
take Salsette.

Cession of  
Salsette and  
Bassein by  
Rughoba.

Dispatch of  
troops to  
Guzerat.

having formed a junction with what remained of his troops, the united forces on April 19 moved towards Ahmedabad; but the Bombay Council were urgent in their desire for Rughoba to proceed to Poona, and the allies turned towards the river Myhie. On the morning of May 18, as the British force was marching through a narrow road with high banks, it was attacked by the Mahrattas, and, after considerable loss and much confusion, defeated their assailants. A renewed attack on June 10 would have been more successful; but, owing to the misconduct of some of Rughoba's horse, Colonel Keating's advance was perceived and the enemy escaped, not however without throwing their guns into the Ner-budda. It was too late now to proceed to Poona, as the monsoon had set in; and the forces were cantoned during the rains. Guzerat had at least been freed of the enemy, whose fleet also was defeated by sea; and Rughoba presented to the company the districts of Hansôte and Amód, of the yearly value of three lacs of rupees, making up the total of acquisition to upwards of twenty-four lacs per year.

The Mahratta army attacks the English, and is repulsed.

The Mahrattas retreat to Poona.

Rughoba's further cessions.

The assistance of, and treaties with, Rughoba, notwithstanding their individual disagreements, found no favour with the Bengal Council. They unanimously decided that the treaty was 'impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised, and unjust,' and ordered all the troops to be recalled. The Bombay Council defended themselves by the plea that the Supreme Council of Bengal was not in existence when the treaty with Rughoba was made; and they dispatched Mr. Taylor, an able member, to Bengal, whose explanations in regard to Mahratta offices proved very valuable. The governor-general, nevertheless, directed a suspension of hostilities, sent Colonel Upton as envoy to Poona, and gave the Bombay authorities to understand in distinct terms, that he was the only English authority in India who could make war or peace.

The Council of Bengal disapprove of the treaty with Rughoba.

Negotiations.

Colonel Upton did not at first understand Mahratta Brahmins; and in Succaram Bapoo, the acting agent, and Nana Furnawees, the minister for political affairs, he had to encounter two of the ablest men that had ever been in office. Had he, as Grant Duff assumes, at once taken the highest ground and 'dictated a peace,' in all probability, he would have prevented war; but, in proportion as his demeanour assumed a tone of remonstrance, instead of decision, the Mahratta demands increased; and with the surrender of all Rughoba's cessions, they required that of Rughoba himself, engaging to pay the English twelve lacs for their losses. Colonel Upton's report produced an immediate

change in the opinion of the Calcutta Council, and they made preparations to support Rughoba. Meanwhile, the Mahratta ministers had lowered their tone: they found Colonel Upton had not been deceived by their demeanour, and before a reply could arrive from Calcutta, they had executed the treaty of Poorundhur, by which most of the cessions to the English were confirmed, with a payment to them of twelve lacs of rupees; but the treaty with Rughoba was annulled, his army was to be disbanded, the British troops withdrawn, and he was to reside at a place pointed out, with a pension of 25,000 rupees a month and a suitable retinue. By this treaty the Bombay Government was placed in a serious dilemma; and Rughoba declared, rather than submit to be degraded, he would continue the war on his own resources. It was in vain that Colonel Upton protested against the Bombay opinions and hindrances to the new treaty; and equally vain that the Mahratta ministers threatened to carry fire and sword into the English possessions if it were broken. Mr. Hastings did not, in reality, approve of the new treaty: a dispatch from the Court of Directors confirmed that of Surat with Rughoba; and Colonel Upton was recalled to Bengal. The Bombay Government then sent Mr. Mostyn to Poona, who entered upon negotiations with the ministry.

This was making slow progress, when a French adventurer, named St. Lubin, having landed at Choule, arrived at Poona, and gave himself out as an ambassador from the King of France. He offered to the Mahratta ministers a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, to be supported by 2,500 Europeans and 10,000 Sepoys, and denounced the war with Rughoba, and the perfidious conduct of the English; but though the astute Nana Furnawees was not deceived, he yet imagined he could use this new element to serve his purposes with the English. The directors had, however, again signified their approval of the treaty with Rughoba; and the Bombay Government were not only more than ever confident, but set forth the encouragement of the French at Poona as a ground for at once breaking with the Poona ministry and putting Rughoba in possession of his office.

At this period, also, the Mahratta ministry became divided. Moraba had gained over Holkar, and Succaram Bapoo, the nominal head of all, to the party of Rughoba, and they united in requesting the Council of Bombay to send Rughoba to Poona at once. Meanwhile, the whole question had been reconsidered in Calcutta, and Mr. Hastings had decided that it would be most advisable to support the Bombay

The Mahratta ministers confirm the treaty of Poorundhur.

M. St. Lubin reaches India.

His proposal.

Mr. Hastings supports the Government of Bombay.

Government with a large force. Six native regiments, therefore, with a proportion of artillery and cavalry, were directed to assemble at Kalpy on the Jumna, under Colonel Leslie, and the first attempt of British troops to march across India was decided on. In Moraba, however, the Bombay Government found a weak ally. Nana Furnawees had temporarily retired from office; but his counsels prevailed, and there seemed so little encouragement from Poona, that the Council had nearly committed themselves to the step of forbidding Colonel Leslie's advance, when, by a new revolution at Poona, Moraba was seized, on July 11, deposed from office, and confined by Sindia; Holkar again changed sides, and Nana Furnawees was raised to the highest rank in the ministry. At this juncture, news of a renewal of war between England and France arrived; and considering the proceedings of Nana Furnawees and his party as an actual breach of the treaty of Poorundhur, the Bombay Council determined to seat Rughoba in the regency. Nor did the destruction of his party affect their decision. The Council had already frittered away time and opportunity; for, during the dissensions at Poona, a decisive blow could have been struck; and had Rughoba been placed in office, supported by the English, all the chiefs would have submitted to him. Now Nana, the ablest of all the former ministry, was supreme; and he prepared himself for the conflict. On November 22, 1778, the first detail of English troops embarked at Bombay and crossed the harbour to the continent; and in a month, the army, about 2,500 strong, had assembled at Khundalla, the head of the Bhore Ghaut on the Poona road, when Rughoba joined it with his followers, and Mr. Carnac, on the part of the Council, accompanied him. Colonel Egerton had been placed in command, and his advance was never more than two miles, often as little as three-quarters of a mile a day. The march was harassed by clouds of Mahratta horse, and the main body of their army, 50,000 strong by the lowest computation, assembled at Tullegaon, sixteen miles from Poona, to dispute further advance. Here the British force arrived on January 9, 1779; they had eighteen days' provision in camp, and the Mahratta forces would not risk a general action; nevertheless, almost with the prize within their grasp, the hearts of the committee failed them. Mr. Carnac proposed a retreat, and on the night of the 11th the heavy guns were thrown into a tank, and the army began to retrace its steps. On the 13th, the village of Wurgaom was reached, but by this time, the force was entirely surrounded, and the committee began to negotiate. Rughoba had already given himself up to

Troops  
assemble at  
Kalpy.

Revolution  
at Poona.

The Bombay  
Government  
determine to  
establish  
Rughoba at  
Poona.

The English  
troops reach  
Khundalla.

but advance  
slowly.

The British  
forces retreat  
from  
Tullegaon.

Negotiations  
with the  
Mahrattas.

 India, and the English alone remained to be dealt with. The army was allowed to depart; but an unconditional surrender was made of all acquisitions, and the English and Mahrattas returned to their mutual positions of 1773. This disgraceful convention was followed by the subsequent dismissal of Mr. Carnac and Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, nor was it till the conclusion of the long and difficult campaign which ensued, that the English, in the west of India, recovered the prestige they had lost.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR (*continued*), FROM 1779 TO TREATY OF SALBYE, 1782.

Colonel  
Goddard's  
march across  
India.

 MR. HORNBY, the President in Council at Bombay, altogether ignored the convention of Wurgaom. Mr. Carnac had had no authority for making any new, or abrogating any old treaty; and the spirit displayed by their president now animated the whole of the members. Colonel Leslie, though he had crossed the Jumna in May 1778, made no material advance, and had entered into some petty local contests. He was, therefore, recalled; but died before the order reached him, and Colonel Goddard was appointed in his room. He did not delay his important and interesting march. He pressed on through Bundelkhund and Malwah, in spite of the threatening appearance of the Mahrattas; was heartily welcomed, and materially assisted at Bhopál by its Nawáb; and on December 2, had crossed the Nerbudda. By the strict discipline he preserved, he obtained ample supplies, and this memorable march raised the reputation of the English in a very material degree throughout India.

Warren  
Hastings  
negotiates  
with  
Moodajee  
Bhóslay.

 Hastings had been for some time in negotiation with Moodajee Bhóslay of Berar, offering to support him against the ministry of Poona: but Moodajee had kept aloof from the existing contest, and the negotiation, renewed by Colonel Goddard, broke down. He, therefore, pursued his march, and reached Boorhanpoor on January 30, 1779, proceeding thence to Surat, where he arrived on February 28. It need hardly be recorded that he was heartily welcomed by the Bombay authorities, and was unanimously elected a member of their Council. Mr. Hornby would have once proceeded to make the Gaikwar independent of the

Goddard  
reaches  
Surat.

Poona ministry, and have taken forcible possession of the Peshwah's districts in Guzerat; but he could adopt no decisive measure without the permission of the governor-general.

Mr. Hastings also rejected the convention of Wurgaom; and, on April 15, instructed Colonel, now General, Goddard, to negotiate a new treaty with the Mahrattas, on the basis of that of Poorundhur, with a proviso against the admission of the French; and if this failed, Mr. Hornby's plan in regard to Guzerat might be followed. Nana Farnawees dallied with the new proposals; and it was not till October, when reports of a coalition between the Nizam, Hyder Ally, and the Mahrattas began to arise, that, being pressed for a reply, he declared

Mr. Hastings proposes a new treaty.

that the surrender of Rughoba, who had escaped from Sindia, and again thrown himself on British protection, and of Salsette—were the only terms on which any new negotiation could be based or admitted. These were necessarily inadmissible; and the Council and General Goddard prepared for war. On proposing their plan to Futteh Singh Gaikwar, they found him indisposed to commit himself with the Mahratta ministry, and General Goddard proceeded to occupy the Peshwah's districts in Guzerat. These were overcome without material resistance, and on February 15, 1780, Ahmedabad, the capital of the province, was taken by assault.

Nana Farnawees' proposal.

The Peshwah's districts in Guzerat taken.

Ahmedabad captured.

Mahadajee Sindia and Holkar now advanced with about 20,000 horse. They crossed the Nerbudda on February 29, and avoided the English, with whom Sindia always professed great friendship; and he now released Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart, who had remained with him as hostages of the Wurgaom convention, and whom he had most hospitably entertained. General Goddard was not, however, to be deceived by indefinite negotiations which would have sacrificed the fair season, and pressed for Sindia's decision; but finding his terms inadmissible, they were rejected, and the campaign continued. On April 2, General Goddard attacked the Mahratta camp, and again on the 14th; but beyond forcing the leaders to take up new positions, no other advantage was gained. On May 8, Colonel Hartley was detached into the Koncan, where the Mahratta forces had been very active, with good effect; but General Goddard was unable to leave Guzerat in the presence of the Mahratta cavalry, which evaded all his attempts to bring them to a decisive action, and he advised the governor-general to make a diversion in Bundelkhund and Malwah, in order to draw off Sindia, or Holkar, or both from Guzerat.

Proceedings of Sindia and Holkar.

Goddard advises a diversion in the north.

His suggestion was at once adopted by Mr. Hastings, and a

force, which consisted of drafts of men from Goddard's army, was employed for the purpose under Captain Popham. The whole force consisted of 2,400 men, with a small detachment of European artillery. Popham crossed the Jumna in February 1780, defeated a Mahratta force which was levying contributions, and took the fort of Lahar by storm. He then effected, on August 4, with admirable intelligence and great valour, the capture of the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, always heretofore deemed impregnable, which closed his operations for the season. His diversion had proved most effective, and was gallantly and judiciously conducted from first to last.

The Bombay forces resumed the campaign after the close of the monsoon of 1780, and their first operation was the siege of Bassein, which, fortified by the Portuguese, was unusually strong; but it surrendered on December 11, on which day also, Colonel Hartley, who had been covering the siege operations, and engaged in almost incessant fighting for six weeks, defeated a spirited attack made on him by Ramchunder Gunnesh, at the head of a division of the Mahratta army, of 20,000 men, and who was killed in the action. The whole British army now united. The Bengal Government had written to Bombay that they intended to make peace with the Peshwah; but until a truce was demanded by the Mahratta ministry, the war was to be carried on with vigour. A peace with the Mahrattas was the more desirable, as war had broken out between Hyder Ally and the Presidency of Madras, and Nizam Ally's reputed league with him and the Mahrattas was now considered more probable than before.

General Goddard, as the Mahratta troops had retreated from the Koncan, now prepared to advance on Poona; and the Bhore Ghaut was carried on February 8, 1781. But Nana Furnawees dispatched a force of 12,000 men, under Puréshram Bhow Putwurdhun, by another pass, to act upon General Goddard's rear, and intercept convoys from Bombay; and on March 15, a sharp affair occurred between him and Captain Mackay with two battalions of Sepoys, in which the Bhow was fairly beaten off with heavy loss. But there seemed no prospect of a successful advance above the Ghauts, so long as the Mahratta army occupied positions on the flank and rear. Nana Furnawees was by no means alarmed. He had every confidence in Puréshram Bhow, who occupied the road to Panwell and had been largely reinforced, till his army amounted to 15,000 horse. In addition to this force, Holkar was at the foot of the Kussoor pass with 15,000 horse, while above the

Mr. Hastings  
dispatches a  
force for the  
purpose.

Captain  
Popham's  
proceedings.

Gwalior  
surprised  
and taken.

Bassein  
besieged,

and captured.

Goddard  
advances  
towards  
Poona.

Positions and  
numbers of  
the Mahratta  
forces.

Ghatts, in Goddard's immediate front, Hurry Punt was posted with 25,000 horse, 4,000 infantry, and some artillery. The Mahrattas had, in fact, put forth their utmost power to destroy Goddard's troops, if possible; and their whole army was over 60,000 strong.

On April 15, a convoy under Colonel Browne, which had fought its way from Panwell with great bravery and credit, reached Goddard's camp, and he prepared to retreat. During his march to Panwell he was pertinaciously attacked by the several Mahratta corps in succession; but he finally reached his destination on April 23, with a loss of 466 in killed and wounded, with some baggage and stores, which it was impossible to save. Considering the rugged nature of the country and the roads, and the immense superiority of the Mahratta forces, the retreat had been conducted with masterly skill; but the Mahrattas, nevertheless, claimed it as a victory. The season was now too far advanced for further operations, and the English troops were cantoned near Kullian.

General  
Goddard's  
retreat.

Mr. Hastings' diversion against the Mahrattas in Malwah and Bundelkhund had produced the desired effect, for Sindia had been obliged to leave the Deccan, and proceed to the defence of his territories. He met Colonel Carnac

Success of  
Mr. Hastings'  
diversion.

on March 7, 1780, who retreated carefully for some days, and, on the 24th, attacked his camp at night, and routed his force. On April 4, Colonel Carnac was joined by Colonel Muir; but Sindia eluded further collision, and it was impossible to bring him to action. About this period considerable anxiety prevailed as to the part Moodajee Bhósley of Berar would take in the existing contest. Mr. Hastings had hoped to secure his active co-operation against

Sindia  
defeated by  
Colonel  
Carnac.

Neutrality  
of Moodajee  
Bhósley.

Hyder Ally, the Nizam, or the Poona ministry; but he did not commit himself to an open rupture with any, and his neutrality, when, with a force of 30,000 horse at his disposal, he might have attacked and overrun Bengal, was purchased by Mr. Hastings for thirteen lacs of rupees. Peace with the Mahrattas was, however, Mr. Hastings' grand object, provided it could be obtained without any material sacrifice; and, on October 13, 1781, Sindia, who was unable to prosecute the war against Colonel Carnac, had made the first advance to it, by a treaty

Sindia's  
overtures  
for peace.

with Colonel Muir; by which, on engaging to remain neutral, and to further a general arrangement, his districts near the Jumna were restored to him. Moodajee also had offered his mediation: and on September 11, 1781, the Council of Madras wrote to the Peshwah their desire for a general accommodation. Mr. Anderson, who had previously distinguished himself in the negotiations with

Moodajee Bhósley, was now dispatched by Mr. Hastings to Sindia's camp. His neutral position enabled Sindia, under the authority of the Poona ministry, to act as plenipotentiary on the part of the Mahratta nation; and a treaty was finally concluded with him at Salbye, on May 17, 1782. It consisted of seventeen articles. All conquests made since the treaty of Poorundhur were to be restored; the Gáikwar's territories were to remain inviolate, and Rughtonath Ráo was to be allowed 25,000 rupees a month, and permitted to reside where he wished; Hyder Ally should be obliged to surrender his conquests from the English and the Nawáb of Arcot; and, in consideration of Sindia's hospitality to the English hostages, and his humane behaviour at Wurgaom, the district of Baróch was bestowed upon him. This treaty was ratified by the governor-general; and afterwards, but not before he had heard of Hyder's death, by Nana Furnaweess. The Mahrattas had gained the rejection of Rughoba as regent, and recovered Bassein and the districts in Guzerat: on the other hand, the English retained Salsette, and had secured the independence of the Gáikwar's state; and, with comparatively slender means and resources, had maintained the war with credit, against the whole power of the Mahratta nation, for a period of nearly seven years.

Treaty of  
Salbye con-  
cluded with  
Sindia.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### OF EVENTS AT MADRAS, AND THE SECOND MYSORE WAR, 1771 to 1780.

It will be remembered that in the treaty with Hyder Ally, executed at Madras, detailed in Chap. XV. of this Book, a clause of offensive and defensive alliance had been introduced by him; and that, in his subsequent struggle with the Mahrattas, the Council of Madras, from whom he had almost implored aid, had evaded compliance with it. They would probably have assisted him, for the dread of the Mahrattas in Madras was very great, and Hyder was a powerful barrier between Mahratta encroachment and the Carnatic; but they had found it impossible to do so in the face of Sir John Lindsay's coalition with the Nawáb, and their endeavours in favour of a Mahratta alliance against Hyder Khan. Sir John was removed. His successor, Sir Robert Harland, proved even more intractable; and by the end of 1772, Hyder, reduced to extremity, was obliged to satisfy the Mahrattas by large sacrifices.

Excited by the comparatively helpless position of Hyder Ally.

the Nawáb of the Carnatic, in 1773, called upon the Council of Madras to assist him against the Rajah of Tanjore, who had been already attacked, in 1771, by the combined forces of the English and the Nawáb, and forced to pay a sum of fifty lacs of rupees. He was now accused of intriguing with Hyder and the Mahrattas, which the Council affected to believe; or in any case, 'as he might join the French or some native power, he were better disposed of.' Tanjore was therefore attacked and captured in August 1773, and the rajah, who was taken prisoner, was made over to the Nawáb, who annexed Tanjore to his own dominions. This disgraceful proceeding did not escape notice in England. In April 1775, the directors declared the act to have been violent and unjust; and they removed the president, Mr. Wynch, from office, and appointed Lord, formerly Mr., Pigott, in his room, who, in April 1776, proceeded to Tanjore and restored his dominions to the rajah, fixing his annual tribute at fourteen lacs of rupees.

The Nawáb of the Carnatic requires the coercion of Tanjore.

Tanjore attacked and captured, and the territory annexed.

The proceeding is denounced in England.

American War.

The rajah is restored.

This restoration brought about the strange episode of Mr. Paul Benfield's transactions with the Nawáb: and though only a junior civilian, he claimed about 240,000*l.*, for instalments of which he asserted he had received assignments on the revenue of Tanjore. There was little doubt that members of the Council were personally interested in the claims, and, therefore, in the support of Mr. Benfield; and on Lord Pigott's opposition to him, the proceedings in Council grew very violent, and culminated in the arrest of the governor, and his confinement for eight months. Mr. Hastings had approved the conduct of the majority in Council; but, on its proceedings becoming known in England, the directors reversed them, and directed Lord Pigott, with the majority who had acted against him, to return to England. Mr. Rumbold was appointed governor of Madras, and Sir Hector Munro to be commander-in-chief; but before he could embark for England, Lord Pigott had died at Madras.

Mr. Paul Benfield's proceedings.

Violent proceedings in Council.

Disapproved in England.

In the year 1778, war was renewed between England and France; and the Carnatic became again the scene of active operations. Sir Hector Munro laid siege to Pondicherry, and an attempt to relieve it was made by a French fleet; but this was defeated by Sir Edward Vernon, and the place surrendered in October, when the garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war. The fortifications, which had been renewed, were

War between French and English.

Pondicherry taken.

The fortifications destroyed.

now destroyed. Chándernagore, Carical, and Masulipatam had already submitted, and there was no French possession left in India except Mahé, on the western coast. Mr., now Sir Thomas, Rumbold intimated to Hyder the necessity for reducing Mahé, and offered to send an ambassador to reside at his court; but Hyder declined this arrangement, and he protested against any attack upon Mahé. It was well known that through this fort, and the agency of the French, Hyder had been regularly supplied with European articles, including munitions of war; and its capture, therefore, was of the more importance to the English. Mahé was therefore invested by Colonel Braithwaite, on March 19, 1779, but surrendered without resistance. Hyder's interest in the place was proved by the presence of his troops, and his colours were hoisted with those of the French.

During this year Hyder had been very active. He had extended his northern boundary to the Krishna river, driving back the Mahratta forces; and he had previously recovered all he had been obliged to cede to them during the former war. The Mahratta ministry had endeavoured to check him; but, under the pressure of the English war, had not been able to effect anything, and finally retired. Hyder then turned upon the Patán Nawáb of Kurpah, defeated him, and annexed his territory. During these operations, the Nizam was inactive; but he was nominally in alliance with the Mahrattas, a report being very prevalent that Hyder had obtained, or was to be granted, by the emperor, a deed for the possession of the whole of the Deccan. It does not appear that any such deed was at that time applied for, much less obtained; but the report was of much significance in the political transactions of the times.

Immediately after the capture of Mahé, a new cause of offence to Hyder occurred in the march of a British detachment through a portion of the country formerly possessed by the Nawáb of Kurpah towards Guntoor, the reason of which it is necessary to explain. The treaty of Masulipatam with the Nizam contained an article by which no French were to be permitted to remain in the Deccan; but Basalut Jung, the Nizam's brother, had a small corps of French in his service: and against this breach of treaty the Madras Government had repeatedly remonstrated, both to Basalut Jung and to the Nizam; but without effect. Basalut Jung, however, had been roughly handled by Hyder, and forced to pay four lacs of rupees; and had found his French corps to be no protection. He therefore made overtures to Sir T. Rumbold to give him the support of an English force, when he would assign the dis-

Hyder  
objects to an  
attack on  
Mahé.

Mahé taken  
by Colonel  
Braithwaite.

Hyder's  
active  
proceedings.

Hyder takes  
offence at a  
treaty with  
Basalut Jung.

Explanation  
of the treaty.

trict of Guntoor, already allotted to the English after his death, in payment of it. This mischievous treaty was concluded ; but it gave deep offence both to Hyder and the Nizam. Its effect on Hyder and the Nizam. The former protested against the occupation of the Guntoor Sircar under any terms by the English ; the Nizam resented any interference with members of his family, took into his own service the French corps which his brother had discharged, and would, there is little doubt, notwithstanding the assurances of the governor-general, have joined Hyder, had not the report of Hyder's having actually received a deed from Dehly—which included the territories of Hyderabad—been confirmed. Sir T. Rumbold remonstrated against the governor-general's interference against his treaty with Basalut Jung, but necessarily without effect ; and he was shortly afterwards dismissed by a resolution of the directors, which, however, he had anticipated by leaving Madras without permission.

At his own request, the English force did not proceed to Basalut Jung ; but the Madras Council did not restore Negotiations between the Mahrattas and Hyder. the Guntoor Sircar, and at this juncture an envoy from the Mahratta ministry reached Hyder. Nana Furnawees had delayed his reply to General Goddard's requests in regard to definite terms of treaty, for he had hoped to stir up Hyder, whom he knew to be watching his opportunity, into action against the English. The Mahratta envoy to Hyder promised freely. Not only were all claims for arrears of chouth to be resigned, and future payments limited to eleven lacs, but the Krishna was to be recognised as the northern boundary. This, it is evident, was the price at which Hyder agreed to engage the English ; while, secure of Hyder's diversion, Nana Furnawees had little hesitation in rejecting overtures from General Goddard, and continuing the war.

Hyder was better prepared for war than the Mahrattas. He had a well-organised army little short of 100,000 men, of which the greater part of the infantry, and some of his cavalry, had been disciplined by French officers. His artillery also—which amounted to 100 guns—had been organised by them, and was thoroughly effective. This war had been his darling project since the peace he had dictated at Madras ; and though now seventy-eight years old, his ambition impelled him to attempt Hyder's preparations for war. the destruction of the English power of Madras, in order that, with no enemy in his rear, he should be free to advance to the conquest of the Deccan—Nizam and Mahrattas alike—and even to that of Hindostan. He seems to have had no misgiving as to the result. The war against the 'infidel' English was proclaimed as a jehád, or holy crusade, in all the mosques, and even

in the Hindoo temples of Mysore; and on July 20, 1780, while the Council of Madras could neither see, nor be brought to see, the danger by which they were threatened, Hyder Ally burst through the passes from Mysore, and burning and plundering the villages, and mutilating the people as it poured on, his army invested Arcot, while detachments advanced to within nine miles of Madras, whence the smoke of the burning villages was clearly discernible.

The forces of the Madras presidency did not amount to more than 8,000 men, of whom 2,500 were in Guntoor, under Colonel Baillie, and were directed to form a junction with Sir Hector Munro, who advanced to Conjeveram. Hyder, without attacking Munro's force, sent his son Tippoo, with a select division of his

Colonel  
Baillie's  
detachment  
attacked by  
Tippoo.

army, to prevent Colonel Baillie's progress, which had been delayed by a flood in the river Cortella; and on September 6, Tippoo attacked Baillie, but with no result; and as Baillie saw no means of advancing, he requested Sir Hector Munro to march with his whole force to his assistance. Instead of this, however, Munro dispatched Colonel Fletcher with 1,100 men to join Baillie, and he succeeded in doing so with some difficulty. The united brigades now advanced on the 9th, but Hyder suddenly surrounded them with his whole army, as they bivouacked during the night of that day, and further progress was impossible. After fighting for most part of the 10th with untiring resolution and valour, Baillie, having only 300 Europeans left, and despairing of assistance from Munro's army, then only two miles distant, surrendered, and the troops laid down their arms. In this helpless condition, they were savagely attacked, and would all have been put to death, but for the intervention of the

Baillie sur-  
renders:  
many of his  
troops are  
massacred.

French officers. Had Munro moved up as he heard the cannonade, the army of Hyder must have suffered a terrible defeat; instead of which, with a scandalous incapacity, if it does not deserve a severer designation, Munro threw his heavy guns into a tank, sacrificed most of his stores, and retreated in precipitate confusion upon Madras. Thus perished a reputation which had risen high at the battle of Buxar and in the mutiny of the Bengal Sepoys, in the conclusion of a campaign which had only lasted three weeks, but which had already lost the whole of the Western Carnatic. The victory was a glorious triumph to Hyder, and the bloody scenes of Baillie's defeat were painted on the walls of his palace at Seringapatam, as may yet be seen, with every exaggeration of insulting detail that could be devised.

Retreat of  
Munro.





## CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SECOND MYSORE WAR (*concluded*), 1780 to 1784.

ENGAGED as he was in a war with the Mahrattas, which had every appearance of being long protracted, and which demanded all his resources in men and money, Mr. Hastings received the news of Hyder's sudden attack, and the miserable catastrophe which had followed it, with undaunted resolution. In little more than a fortnight he had dispatched the veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, to the scene of his former triumphs, with all the forces that could be collected, and fifteen lacs of rupees; and he boldly stopped the company's remittances, and applied them to the use of the war. He also removed Mr. Whitehill, the acting-president of Madras, from office; for having, notwithstanding his instructions for its release, delayed to give up Guntoor. More could not have been undertaken under the circumstances, and the effect was at once perceptible. Instead of driving the English into the sea, as he boasted he would do, Hyder now found his old opponent Coote in the field against him. Arcot had capitulated after a long siege, in which the native troops of the garrison had been corrupted by Hyder's officers, and Hyder himself was engaged in besieging Wandiwash—which, under the brave Lieutenant Flint, held out gallantly—and other forts in the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote, in order to obtain supplies by sea, had moved, in January 1781, towards Cuddalore. On the 19th, he reached Chingliput, and thence a detachment, under Captain Davis, took Carángooty by a *coup de main*, where a good deal of rice was obtained. On the 23rd, he reached Wandiwash, where he found Lieutenant Flint with only one day's ammunition remaining for the hundred men who composed the garrison, and thence he marched to Porto Novo; but he was sorely distressed for provisions, and lay there inactive for nearly four months, when he attacked the fortified temple of Chillumbrum, but was repulsed on June 18.

Hyder now deemed his enemy weak, and advancing suddenly upon Cuddalore with 80,000 men, took up a position in the English front on the road to Cuddalore, and threw up extensive fieldworks for its defence. Coote, who had been vainly endeavouring to bring Hyder to action, and for want of supplies had been nearly inactive, was now on his march from Porto Novo to Cuddalore, on July 1, with about 8,000 men, when

Energetic  
proceeding  
of the  
governor-  
general.Sir Eyre  
Coote's  
movements.Relief of  
Wandiwash.Hyder's  
movements.

he discovered the enemy. The troops had only four days' provisions, which they carried on their backs, and Hyder's position was a very strong one. Nevertheless, Coote did not hesitate to attack him. A road which had been cut through the jungle and sand-hills, intended for a flank attack upon the English, was happily discovered, and by this a part of Coote's army advanced, while two other divisions in line passed the sand-hills in front. The battle was hotly contested for six hours, but ended in a complete victory over Hyder's forces, by which he lost 10,000 men; and Coote, in killed and wounded, not more than 300. The English artillery had been excellently served, and had been dragged into action by the Sepoys. His father's defeat caused Tippoo to raise the siege of Wandiwash, and to retire to Arcot.

On August 27, Coote's army was attacked by Hyder near Tripasore, but without any result, though the losses on each side were serious. Coote, worn out by the service, and constant anxiety in regard to supplies and provisions, would have resigned the command, but for Lord Macartney's entreaties to the contrary; and taking charge of a convoy for the relief of Vellore, he defeated Hyder severely, at the pass of Sholinghur, on September 27; not less than 5,000 of Hyder's cavalry being destroyed in their charges upon the English guns. With the relief of Vellore and capture of Chittore, the season's campaign against Hyder was brought to a close with good effect.

The English and Dutch were now at war; and Lord Macartney urged Coote to attack their principal settlement, Negapatam. This Coote declined to do in the face of Hyder's positions; but Lord Macartney dispatched Sir Hector Munro, with a force made up of seamen, marines, and other detached parties, and the place was invested, and the siege commenced, on October 21. On November 12, the garrison, which numbered upwards of 6,500 men, and far exceeded the besieging force, capitulated: and the military stores and goods found in the fort were numerous and valuable.

The year 1782 was opened by an advance to relieve Vellore, by Sir Eyre Coote, on January 2, which was successful and well-timed, as the place could not have held out much longer; but the English sustained a reverse on February 18, in the defeat of a detachment of about 2,000 men, under Colonel Braithwaite, in Tanjore, by the army of Tippoo, consisting of Lally's corps of Europeans, with 20,000 horse and 20,000 infantry.

Colonel Braithwaite's small force—nearly all Sepoys—defended itself desperately for two days, and inflicted great loss on the enemy; but it was in the end over-

Coote attacks  
Hyder's  
army,

and defeats  
it.

Incidents of  
the cam-  
paign.

War with the  
Dutch.

Siege of  
Negapatam.

The garrison  
capitulates.

Campaign of  
1782.

Defeat of  
Colonel  
Braithwaite.

whelmed. The details of this gallant but unequal combat are given at length by Mr. Mill, vol. iv. pp. 212-3, and he records a deservedly high tribute to its conduct. 'The annals of war,' he writes, 'can seldom exhibit a parallel to the firmness and perseverance' of this little army. This loss was, however, counterbalanced by the spirited conduct of the garrison of Tellicherry, in Malabar, under Major Abingdon, who had been besieged for eighteen months by a Mysore army. Being, however, reinforced from Bombay, he sallied on the enemy's camp on the night of January 7, routed his forces, and took 1,200 prisoners, with sixty guns. The reduction of Calicut followed; and Colonel Humberstone, who arrived from England with 1,000 men, rallied the chiefs of the country about him, and created a formidable division against Hyder's authority in the western portion of his dominions.

Gallant  
defence of  
Tellicherry.

To Hyder's perception, the western was by far the weakest portion of his territory: open to attack from the English by sea, and by the Mahrattas, with whom he now perceived the English were making peace. He dreaded their power, which, in concert with that of the English, might overwhelm him; and the governor-general had already secured the Nizam's neutrality, even could his co-operation have been obtained at any price. Still, the French remained; and for a time Hyder was encouraged by the arrival of a powerful fleet under Admiral Suffrein. Early in January that fleet had reached the coast; and though partially crippled by an action with Admiral Hughes, the French admiral succeeded in landing 2,000 infantry and 1,000 Africans at Porto Novo. Cuddalore, which had been weakly garrisoned, was taken, and Hyder's hopes again rose. Various other affairs followed; but with little result to either side, except the loss by the English of a party of European cavalry, which was drawn into an ambuscade, and almost destroyed. The real interest of the warfare at this period lay in the naval engagements between the fleets; but though superior in ships, Suffrein was unable to obtain any advantage over Hughes, and the last action fought off Trincomalee was severe, though without result. Soon afterwards, Admiral Hughes was obliged to proceed to Bombay to refit; but his place was in no degree supplied, as was hoped, by Admiral Bickerton, who, after landing 4,000 men whom he had brought from England, also sailed for Bombay.

Arrival of a  
French fleet  
under  
Admiral  
Suffrein.

Indecisive  
naval actions.

The close of the season had in all respects a gloomy aspect, for Madras was suffering from famine; the Carnatic was desolated by the war; the renowned Bussy was expected with reinforcements for the French; and there

Gloomy  
prospects at  
Madras.

was a recurrence of hurricanes, which caused great loss and damage. Sir Eyre Coote, too, was obliged by his shattered health to return to Bengal. In the west, Colonel Humberstone had made progress as far as Pálghautchery, but he was recalled by the Bombay government, who were not prepared to support him, and in his retreat was harassed by Tippoo, whom his father had dispatched for the purpose. He had attacked Colonel Humberstone on

death of  
Hyder. November 29, but without effect, and was waiting for

heavy guns, when news reached him of his father's death in camp on December 7. Hyder had been long ill, and his last moments are thus described by Meer Hussein Ally, his faithful biographer. 'He had directed that water might be made ready for him to bathe, and although the physicians objected to his bathing, the servants turned them out of the tent, and the Nawáb bathed. Then, having put on clean clothes, he repeated some prayer or invocation on his fingers, rubbing his face; and at the same time dispatched 2,000 horse to ravage the country of the Poligars, and 5,000 horse to Madras for the same purpose. Then he took a little broth, and lay down to rest. That same night his ever-victorious spirit took its flight to Paradise.' He

His charac- was eighty years old, and during his last eventful cam-  
ter. paign had been as active almost, as ever; yet he had been suffering from a virulent carbuncle or cancer in the back, which, in the end, caused his death. The student is referred to Colonel Wilks's 'History of Mysore' for details of his strange character and the romantic events of his career, which possess varied interest. Nor, except Sivajee, is there one of the great adventurers of India who can be compared with Hyder, whether as to ability or success. Hyder was however, according to his native biographer, a cold-hearted, cruel man, possessing and evincing no affection, except to his son Tippoo, who he believed would lose all that he had gained. He never made a friend, even of his wife, of whom he was afraid; and every one around him, to the very last, was watched by his spies. On the other hand, the naturally affectionate disposition of Sivajee was displayed in many engaging forms, and continued unchanged to his death. Hyder's death was kept secret in camp—though his remains were dispatched to Mysore—until the arrival of his son Tippoo, who, by a liberal donation to his army, and payment of arrears, succeeded to his father's great possessions without opposition.

Had the Madras army possessed a fit commander at this critical period, a possibly fatal blow could have been struck against the Mysore army before Tippoo's arrival; but General Stuart was perverse, disobedient, and incapable, and allowed the opportunity to pass without attempting a single movement. On the other

hand, Tippoo, instead of prosecuting the war in the Carnatic, withdrew his army, reinforced by a detachment of French troops, to the west. Sir Eyre Coote had been again dispatched to Madras by Mr. Hastings; but the gallant veteran, worn out by disease, and exposure during the voyage, in which the ship was chased for several days by French vessels, expired two days after he had landed at Madras. Bussy had now reached India, and assumed command of the French forces at Cuddalore on April 10, 1783. He had an army of 2,300 Europeans and 5,000 Sepoys, and could he have co-operated with Tippoo, the results to the English would have been very embarrassing. As it was, engagements between the French fleet and Admiral Hughes had the effect of driving Admiral Suffrein from the coast, and Bussy was reduced to his own resources. General Stuart now marched on Cuddalore with 3,000 Europeans and 11,500 Sepoys, and invested it on June 7. On the 13th, Bussy made a sally, which resulted in a general action, in which he was defeated, with the capture of thirteen guns, though not without inflicting the severe loss of 920 Europeans in killed and wounded upon General Stuart's army. While the battle was in progress, Admiral Suffrein's fleet appeared off the town; but he was brought to action by Admiral Hughes, who came up from Porto Novo, though again without decisive result. Hughes, however, whose crews were disabled by scurvy, was obliged to proceed to Madras to refit, and Suffrein, availing himself of the opportunity, reinforced Bussy with 2,300 marines and sailors. With these and his garrison, Bussy attacked General Stuart's camp on June 25, at night: but he was repulsed with heavy loss, and Bernadotte, then a sergeant, and afterwards King of Sweden, was taken prisoner. Nothing, however, had been effected in regard to siege operations by General Stuart, and it is probable he might have been altogether repulsed, for his fine army was much weakened by losses and sickness; but the arrival of news of peace between England and France prevented further collision, and by the convention which ensued, Bussy engaged to withdraw the French troops in Tippoo's service.

Death of Sir  
Eyre Coote.

M. Bussy  
returns to  
India.

Cuddalore  
invaded by  
General  
Stuart.

who defeats  
Bussy.

Bussy  
reinforced by  
Suffrein, but  
defeated by  
Stuart.

Peace  
between  
England and  
France.

Meanwhile, Tippoo had proceeded to the western coast to oppose an invasion by General Matthews, who had been dispatched from Bombay, and after some successes was directed by the Bombay government to attack Bednore, on the tableland of Mysore. The path which led up to it was almost impregnable; but the 42nd Highlanders, led by Colonel Macleod, bravely carried all the defences, and the town and districts were

Proceedings  
of Tippoo.

surrendered by the native officer in command. To this point of danger Tippoo now proceeded by forced marches, and invested the fort on April 9. It was gallantly defended for five months; but with no hope of relief the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and their defence forms one of the most interesting and wonderful episodes of Indian war. The terms of the capitulation were shamefully violated by Tippoo, on the ground that treasure had been carried away; and the survivors of the brave garrison, instead of being sent to the coast, as Tippoo had engaged, were immured in the fortresses of Mysore.

From Bednore, Tippoo proceeded to Mangalore with his whole army, at least 100,000 strong. The place was garrisoned by 700 English and 2,800 native soldiers, under Colonel Campbell, and made a noble defence, until August 2, when an armistice ensued, and continued till January 30, when the garrison—unable to obtain provisions, either according to agreement from Tippoo, or from Bombay or Madras, and reduced to the last extremities by famine—marched out with the honours of war to Tellicherry. Another diversion had, however, been made against Tippoo by Colonel Fullerton, who, with 13,500 men, had reduced Dindigul, Pálgautchery, and Coimbatoor, and was now on the confines of Mysore, ready and able to advance against the capital. Another army was employed in the Kurpa territory, on the north-east of Mysore, and, owing to Tippoo's cruelties, the Hindoos of his dominions were known to be disaffected. By a bold venture, therefore, the Rajah of Mysore might have been released, and restored under British intervention. This, which afterwards occurred, was not then however to happen; for Lord Macartney, in defiance of the governor-general's instructions, had opened negotiations with Tippoo and agreed to a truce; and it is now impossible to read, without a sense of humiliation, the absurd proceedings of the ever-incapable Council of Madras. It appears, indeed, that although Bengal had its Clive, Hastings, and even meritorious subordinate officers, and Governor Hornby and a stout-hearted Council had guided Bombay through a momentous crisis with the Mahrattas, Madras, except Mr. Saunders, had never possessed a chief of political capability or resolution. The Council sent commissioners to Tippoo, whom another campaign must have compelled to become their suppliant, to ask peace; and he detained them haughtily for three months. He then sent them back to Madras with an agent of his own. It was in vain Mr. Hastings protested that the only course for peace was to dictate it, as Hyder had done to Madras, at the gates

Bednore  
capitulates.

Tippoo  
violates the  
convention.

Defence of  
Mangalore.

Proceedings  
of Colonel  
Fullerton.

Lord Ma-  
cartney  
negotiates  
with Tippoo.

Humiliating  
proceedings  
of the  
Council of  
Madras.

of the Mysore capital. 'How will you manage the beast,' said Missionary Swartz to Colonel Fullerton, 'now you quit the reins?' How indeed! Lord Macartney was beyond control, and managed matters after his own fashion. He sent back his commissioners with Tippoo's envoy, and as they proceeded, they were mocked and insulted at every stage. At Mangalore, gibbets were erected opposite to their tents: and such was the dread they were in, that they had planned to escape to the English ships in the roads. Nor was it till Tippoo was actually in possession of Mangalore, that he would condescend to notice the matter at all. At last, on March 11, 1784, as Tippoo caused it to be recorded, 'the English commissioners stood with their heads uncovered, and the treaty in their hands, for two hours, using every form of flattery and supplication to induce compliance. The Vakeels of Poona and Hyderabad united in the most abject entreaties, and His Majesty, the Shadow of God, was at length softened into assent.' The basis of the treaty was the restitution of mutual conquests; and, after its execution, the English commissioners hurried back to Madras, leaving the release of the prisoners to be effected by the officer who commanded their escort. This difficult duty was bravely executed. 180 officers of all grades, 900 English, and 1,600 native soldiers were rescued from captivity, and their accounts of their barbarous treatment, and the cold-blooded murders of General Matthews and many others, cannot be read without mingled feelings of execration and compassion. Like every peace concluded by Madras, this was no more than an inconsequent makeshift, and with a man of Tippoo's haughty and arrogant character, there was no hope of its being observed longer than suited his convenience.

Insults to the  
British com-  
mission.

Tippoo's  
record.

## BOOK VI.

## CHAPTER I.

OF THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS IN HINDOSTAN, 1773 TO 1787.

AFTER the retirement of the Mahratta forces in 1773, Nujuf Khan resumed his office, as minister, at Dehly; and, assisted by the Vizier of Oudh, expelled their garrisons from the provinces yet possessed by the emperor; and he was successful also against the Játs. His efforts were neutralised, in a great measure, for several years, by the acts of his deputy at Dehly: but he ultimately overcame his difficulties, and, as the last of the imperial ministers and generals, conducted the affairs of the state with great fidelity, judgment, and ability, until his death, which occurred in 1782. His adopted son, Afrasiab Khan, succeeded to his office; but factions arose in the court, to which he was obliged to submit, and it was not until the assassination of the principal conspirator by a member of his own faction, that Afrasiab Khan in some respects regained his authority. Sindia meanwhile was a close observer of local events. Before the re-consolidated power of Nujuf Khan, he would, perhaps, have had small chances of success; but by the division of Dehly into factions, the imperial resources had been greatly weakened; the English, as he was assured by Mr. Hastings, had no desire to interfere with him; and from Poona he expected no opposition. In the year 1784, the Prince Mirza Juwán Bukht fled from Dehly to Lukhnow, and claimed for himself and his father the protection of Mr. Hastings; when Afrasiab Khan offered any terms that might be demanded for both, provided he was assisted by the English against the opposite faction, the chief of which, Mahomed Beg, was still in rebellion. But Mr. Hastings declined to interfere: and Afrasiab Khan, in his extremity, sought the assistance of Sindia, who gladly availed himself of an opportunity, which he had long desired, of obtaining authority at Dehly.

Affairs of  
Dehly.

Death of  
Nujuf Khan.

Proceedings  
and designs  
of Sindia.

The minister's  
request  
for British  
assistance,

which he  
declined.

On October 22, 1784, Sindia met the emperor and Afrasiab Khan at Agra; but before any arrangements could be effected, Afrasiab Khan was assassinated. Sindia now became master of the situation. Declining the high office of Umeer-ool-Oomra, or chief of the nobles, for himself, he obtained for the Peshwah the dignity of Vakeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme deputy of the empire; accepting, at the same time, the office of deputy executive minister, with the command of the imperial army. There was no one to dispute his authority, and the factious nobles, who had been in rebellion, submitted to him; but though the accession of dignity to the Peshwah gratified the Mahratta people at large, it augmented the jealousy of Nana Furnawees, Holkar, and other authorities, from whom no assistance could be looked for, at least for the present.

Death of  
Afrasiab  
Khan.

Sindia's  
power.

He becomes  
minister and  
commander-  
in-chief.

In 1786, Sindia demanded the arrears of tribute from the Rajpoots at the gates of Jeypore, and a portion of it was paid; but on a demand being sent for the balance, the Rajpoots rebelled. He had a powerful army, his infantry being commanded and disciplined by M. Benoit de Boigne, one of the ablest adventurers that ever appeared in India; but it was weakened by detachments employed against the Sikhs, and the army of the emperor was disaffected. Sindia, notwithstanding, fought an action with the Rajpoots, who had been joined by the discontented nobility: at the close of which the emperor's regular infantry, with eighty guns, went over to the enemy. This was a severe and unexpected blow; but Sindia met his misfortune with patience and ability. Withdrawing for a time to Gwalior, he wrote an eloquent appeal to Nana Furnawees for assistance, in which, after enumerating his own services, he besought him to banish suspicion and 'prevent our empire from being disunited and overthrown.' The Rajpoots had latterly kept aloof from the contest, which lay between Ismail Beg, the head of the adverse faction, and Gholám Khadir, a Rohilla chief, who for the present was plundering friends and foes alike. They had, however, united for the siege of Agra, when Sindia's forces advanced to raise the siege, aided by the Játs. An action was the consequence, in which, on April 24, 1785, Sindia's troops were defeated, and retreated to Bhurtpoor. Agra, however, still held out, and the Mahrattas and Játs having again advanced, defeated Ismail Beg in turn on June 18. They could not, however, save the unfortunate emperor. Gholám Khadir had gained possession of the palace, where a scene of shocking barbarity ensued, which hardly finds a parallel in the worst times of the elder

Rebellion of  
the Rajpoots.

Sindia is  
defeated and  
retires to  
Gwalior.

Battle near  
Agra.

Gholám  
Khadir gains  
possession of  
the emperor,  
and blinds  
him.

imperial dynasties: Gholám Khadir himself put out the emperor's eyes; and his whole family, males and females alike, were publicly exposed, and treated with horrible indignity. This conduct had the effect of inducing Ismail Beg to join Sindia, who, at last reinforced from Poona, was enabled to send his troops against Dehly, whence Gholám Khadir fled; but was afterwards discovered and taken to Sindia's camp, where he was executed.

The emperor was now re-seated on his throne with great pomp, but the actual power rested with Sindia, who continued steadily to consolidate his position. The whole of the imperial dominions in Hindostan now belonged to him, as the Peshwah's deputy; the blinded emperor existed only as a pageant. There were possible enemies in the Rajpoots, and in Mahomedan combinations against him; but these were distant contingencies, and to provide against them he strengthened and reformed his army in a remarkable degree. De Boigne's infantry now consisted of twenty-four regiments, with 200 excellent guns, of various calibre, and was in every respect well commanded by European officers; and the rest of his troops were more efficient than they had ever been before. Such, therefore, was Sindia's condition at the beginning of the administration of Lord Cornwallis; the positions of other great powers in India being intelligible from the current narrative. They may be thus summarised: In Hindostan, Sindia, and in the Deccan, the Mahrattas, with whom he was connected; the Nizam, Tippoo Sooltan of Mysore, and the English.

## CHAPTER II.

### EVENTS IN BENGAL, 1780 TO 1785.

THERE is no portion of the varied nature of Warren Hastings' administration as governor-general which more abounds with interesting detail than the establishment of courts of justice. In the appointment of a royal court, and the introduction to some extent of English law, the parliament of England had no doubt acted to the best of their judgment for the relief of the 'oppressed natives of Bengal,' as they were then designated; but it soon began to be experienced that the royal court could be used as an instrument of vexatious interference, and of greater practical oppression and suffering, than even the inefficient and notoriously corrupt courts of the former native administration. It need hardly be stated that English law, and the procedure of English

Warren  
Hastings'  
administra-  
tion of  
justice.

The royal  
court.

courts, were entirely unknown to the people of Bengal; and when writs and processes began to issue from an hitherto unknown and mysterious power, which seemed to be backed by the whole authority of the government, universal terror and consternation were the result. The old local courts were utterly ignored by the judges of the crown; and the violent and actually lawless proceedings of the attorneys and their myrmidons, who, in many instances, resorted to actual force, raised a storm of discontent in the provinces which it became most difficult to appease. It was impossible also that the judges should not be brought into direct collision with the executive government; and the struggle—which is replete with interest, and is very fully detailed in the histories of Mr. Mill and Mr. Thornton—resulted, in 1780, in the separation of the ordinary civil procedure from that of the revenue, and the establishment of a new court of appeal, which was called the *Sudder Dewány*. To preside over this court the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, who still held that office, was appointed, and he drew up a strict code of laws for the regulation of the proceedings of the new provincial and district civil courts, admirably suited to the comprehension of the judges, as well as of the people. Thus the new system not only worked well, but was a boon, than which nothing more practically useful could have been devised. Mr. Hastings was afterwards violently attacked in England for the creation of the new court, and Sir Elijah Impey was recalled for having accepted the office of its judge; but though the chief justice was subsequently withdrawn from the court, and the crown and company's courts were separated, the arrangement and functions of the *Sudder Dewány* remained in force until a very late period.

If the expenses of three separate wars with the Mahrattas, the French and Dutch, and Hyder Ally, had not drained the Bengal treasury, it is certain that Mr. Hastings' financial administration would have proved most satisfactory to him and to the company. His early success, before he received the appointment of governor-general, has been already mentioned; and his improved systems of rental, and collections of revenue, had been at least as successful as could be expected in a commencement of reform. Still, the drain on his treasury had never ceased: Bombay afforded nothing that could be depended upon. The Carnatic had been wasted by fire, sword, and famine; and the administration of the Northern Circars had been corrupt and neglectful. Moreover, the demands for money in England were loud and incessant: and the debt in Bengal had now again reached upwards of a million sterling, while the credit of the government was not better than Hastings had found it. In his

extremity, therefore, he sought for extra sources of supply, and he called upon Rajah Cheyt Singh of Benares for a contribution to the public service of 2,000 horse and five lacs of rupees. The terms on which the rajah held his estate were the payment of twenty-two and a half lacs of rupees per year; but he can hardly be said to have been an independent tributary, so much as the renter of a property which was always subject to enhanced demand, or, according to native usage, to a requisition for contribution on any extraordinary occasion; and the governor-general's demand for a contingent of horse, and a really insignificant sum in excess of his ordinary payment to the public revenue, cannot be considered unjust or extortionate. The rajah, however, refused or evaded compliance; and the governor-general determined now to exact a heavy fine for contumacy, while he knew that the payment of it would by no means distress him. Cheyt Singh afterwards offered twenty lacs, which to the first instance might have sufficed; but the governor-general demanded fifty, and on his arrival at Benares, sent a guard to imprison the rajah in his palace. A disturbance ensued which occasioned loss of life, and Cheyt Singh escaped across the river.

For some time, during which he was calmly arranging the detail of the treaty with Sindia, the governor-general was in imminent peril of his life: and he was obliged, eventually, to escape to Chunar. Meanwhile, troops had collected, and Cheyt Singh, who still maintained negotiations for forgiveness, was defeated, and fled to Bidgeghur, and thence, with all the treasure he could find means to transport, into Bundelkhund. Bidgeghur surrendered to Colonel Popham, on November 9, 1781, and fifty lacs of rupees were captured, which, under the interpretation of an incautious letter from the governor-general to Colonel Popham, was immediately divided as prize money among the troops. Mr. Hastings thus lost all; when, had he admitted Cheyt Singh to terms, he might have gained a large proportion of what he had demanded, if not the entire sum of fifty lacs; for the capture of forty lacs in Bidgeghur, and the immense sum the rajah was known to have taken to Gwalior, where he afterwards resided, proved that his false plea of poverty was more calculated to irritate the governor-general than to induce him to relax his demand. Cheyt Singh never returned to Benares. His nephew was appointed to succeed him, and the annual payment for Benares was raised from twenty-two lacs to forty lacs.

The Nawáb Vizier of Oudh owed at this time upwards of a million sterling to the Bengal Government; but he was entirely unable to pay this debt, or any part of it; and the proceedings which ensued are, perhaps of all, the

Military  
operations  
against  
Rajah Cheyt  
Singh.  
  
Transactions  
with the  
Vizier of  
Oudh.

least defensible of the several questionable acts of Warren Hastings's official career. In 1776 the Bégums, or princesses of Oudh, on the accession of the new Nawáb Vizier, had been allotted jahgeers or appanages, for their maintenance; and allowed to retain, it was supposed, nearly two millions of treasure, under the official guarantee of the English representative, Mr. Bristow, supported by the Council of Calcutta. This, at the time, was a very unnecessary act of interference in the domestic concerns of a native State independent of English laws and customs; and had the effect of crippling the Nawáb's finances at a critical period. Mr. Hastings too had protested earnestly against the arrangement: but had been overruled by his colleagues, and the guarantee was confirmed. The Nawáb Vizier, who, under other circumstances, and according to the practice of all native States, might at any time have resumed these jahgeers, or laid upon them a tax or demand in proportion to the general necessities of the State, now asked Mr. Hastings to allow him to attach them, and to take possession of the ladies' treasures, which were in fact State property, and as such, both according to Mahomedan laws and local custom, were alienable. Instead of boldly withdrawing the original guarantees, which, on the grounds of his original protest, might have been pronounced an unjustifiable interference with family affairs, in which the British had no pretence of jurisdiction, Hastings sought to cover the proceedings against the Bégums, by averring they had aided Cheyt Singh in his rebellion, with men and money; and it added not a little to the suspicions cast on this transaction, that Sir Elijah Impey was specially summoned from Calcutta to take affidavits in support of the accusations against the Bégums, which were afterwards found to be worthless. The Nawáb's proceedings were not only rigorous, but cruel; yet he contrived that the whole odium of the transaction should fall upon the English, as he paid a part, if not the whole, of his exactions—seventy-six lacs of rupees (760,000*l.*)—into the Bengal treasury.

A third questionable transaction was that in regard to Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla chief who, it will be remembered, had been settled in a jahgeer of fifteen lacs of rupees by the arrangement of 1774, with an agreement to furnish a contingent of 3,000 men to the Nawáb. In November 1780, Mr. Hastings applied to him, through the Nawáb, for 5,000 men, to supply the place of troops in Bahar, required for service in Madras. Fyzoolla Khan offered 2,000 horse and 1,000 foot. These Hastings refused, whereupon the Nawáb suggested his being altogether deprived of his jahgeer, and this was effected; but Mr. Hastings subsequently revoked his permission, and caused

the Nawáb to restore the jahgeer, which was not done without an agreement on the part of Fyzoolla Khan to pay fifteen lacs of rupees.

When the news of these several proceedings reached England, a storm of indignation was raised against the governor-general, and he was ordered to reverse his acts against Cheyt Singh and the Bégums. He was even threatened with dismissal, and his Council rebelled against him. This was more than he could bear, and he wrote to the directors, declaring that while the degradation involved by their orders was known at every native court in India, he, responsible as he was for the well-being of their affairs, could no longer discharge his trust with credit or effect. On March 20, 1783, he formally tendered his resignation; but before he embarked for England, he visited Lukhnow, and caused the Nawáb to restore the greater portion of their jahgeers to the Bégums, at the same time withdrawing the Resident, or English agent, from the court. When he returned to Calcutta, he found his successor, Mr. Macpherson, had arrived; and after making over charge of the government to him, and writing farewell letters to all the native courts of India, he sailed for England on February 8, 1785.

Warren Hastings's administration of thirteen years is, on the whole, perhaps, the most important and interesting on record. It has been impossible, within the limits of this manual, and where events were crowded together, to relate any except those of most prominent importance in the history of India at large; but the miserable disputes with the members of his Council, the resolution with which they were met, and the undaunted spirit with which he raised and maintained the new position of England as a first-rate political power in India, cannot fail to be appreciated by the student of history. On the other hand, were many errors, many serious blemishes, and some suspicious transactions. Mr. Mill, after reviewing his career, is of opinion that 'there was not one of the chief rulers whom the company had employed, who would not have succumbed under the difficulties he had to encounter.' With the natives of India, princes and people alike, he was then as popular, and as respected, as his memory still remains; ballads, songs, and nursery rhymes, written in his honour, are still sung all over India, and in this will be recognised no small tribute of affection to a foreigner. Above all, it must be remembered, that amidst the constant distractions and local feuds with his Council; the anxieties attendant upon the separate wars and their progress; the keen encounters with astute native statesmen in diplomatic

The effect of these proceedings in England.

Censures.

Warren Hastings resigns office.

He sails for England.

Character of his administration.

affairs, and the depression arising out of inadequate finances—he was yet, with a calm thoughtful spirit, directing the new judicial and fiscal details of the whole of Bengal, and delivering it from the evils of a double government, which, if he had left no other memorial of his great mind, and indefatigable application, would have earned for him a high rank in the roll of Indian statesmen and legislators; and that he had succeeded moreover, as he desired to do, in making the English, for the future, controllers of political events in every part of the great continent.

Contrary to his expectations, Mr. Hastings was well and honourably received in England. He became a member of Parliament, where the proceedings of his memorable <sup>His reception in England.</sup> impeachment and trial form a grand episode in the history of England; which, with the events, the struggles, and the vicissitudes of his life, are nowhere more vividly or eloquently described than in the brilliant essay of Lord Macaulay. <sup>His death.</sup>

Warren Hastings died on August 22, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age; and it may be said to his infinite credit—when, with the power at his disposal in India, his wealth might have rivalled that of Clive—in comparative poverty. The pension of 4,000*l.* a year granted him by the Court of Directors was nearly all he had left for his support.

### CHAPTER III.

#### CURRENT EVENTS, ENGLAND AND INDIA, 1780 TO 1787.

DURING the latter part of the administration of Warren Hastings, the affairs of India had received much discussion in England. The company's charter was to expire on three years <sup>Indian affairs in England.</sup> notice from March 25, 1780; and the question was brought forward by Lord North, when it was decided that the extension was to commence from March 1, 1781; the company was to pay 400,000*l.* to the nation; and after a dividend of eight per cent., all surplus profits were to become national property. At this period, also, Mr. Burke's twelve celebrated reports upon the proceedings of the Supreme <sup>Mr. Burke's report.</sup> Court of Calcutta were submitted to Parliament, and should be read by every student of the history of this interesting period. These discussions were followed by Mr. Fox's Bill in 1783, which not only advocated Clive's and Hastings's proposals, that <sup>Mr. Fox's Bill.</sup> the government of India should be administered directly by the King instead of the company, but prescribed the form in

which the administration should be carried on by a board of seven commissioners. This Bill, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the directors and proprietors of the company, was carried in the Lower House by 208 to 102; but the King was afraid of it, and the Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords.

After the dismissal of Mr. Fox's coalition ministry, and the appointment of Mr. Pitt, a Bill was brought forward by him in 1784; and there was not, in truth, very much essential difference between it and that of Mr. Fox. If Mr. Fox's Bill altogether deprived the company of existence, Mr. Pitt's deprived them of power: and substituted the control of a minister of the crown, assisted by a board, which was to be termed the Board of Control. While, therefore, the company continued to exercise a nominal executive power, every act was to become known to, and regulated by, the new board. The authority of the Court of Proprietors was much circumscribed: and three only of the Court of Directors, out of twenty-four, were admitted to the privilege of association with the board in political affairs. As to the clauses and resolutions that conquests were repugnant to the British nation, and that governors-general should neither make wars, nor peace, nor treaties, without the concurrence of the home authorities, it will be seen hereafter that they gradually became dead letters. Mr. Dundas was chosen as the first President of the Board of Control. He was already experienced in Indian affairs and politics, and he proved both capable and useful.

At that time, the open and unblushing corruption of Bengal had been checked by Clive and Hastings, roughly, yet to some extent effectively; but no one had interfered at Madras. Loans of an immense amount, of which Mr. Paul Bentfield's transactions were a specimen, were claimed from the Nawáb of the Carnatic. Governor Rumbold had, it was alleged, received nearly 200,000*l.* in two years from the Zemindars of the Northern Circars and other corrupt sources, and remitted it to England; and many other scandals were notoriously prevalent.

In 1785, this subject was debated in Parliament; and to the astonishment, perhaps, of Mr. Paul Bentfield himself, he found that his claims, to the amount of nearly 600,000*l.*, had been admitted. If Mr. Hastings's proposal in 1781 to compromise the whole of the debts of the Nawáb for a million and a half sterling—as could have been effected—had been agreed to, an enormous eventual loss would have been prevented. As it was,

a commissioner was appointed for their registry and investigation; but as no means were adopted for preventing the Nawáb from contracting fresh loans, or for the

gentlemen of Madras for making them, the measure had little practical effect. In 1785 also, the revenues of the Carnatic, which had been well administered by a board of officers, were restored to the Nawáb, under an order of the Board of Control, which overruled the decision of Lord Macartney and the Court of Directors; and Mr. Dundas, on the basis that the war with Mysore had ceased, considered that no ground remained for their retention.

While the Council of Madras and the Nawáb of the Carnatic were engaged in disputes in 1767, Mr. Macpherson, the

Proceedings  
of Mr. Mac-  
pherson.

purser of one of the company's ships, son of a Scotch minister in the Isle of Skye, arrived at Madras, and entered the Nawáb's service, with whom he so contrived to ingratiate himself, that he was despatched to England to appeal to the ministry against the acts of the Madras Council. Mr. Macpherson contrived to get the ear of the Duke of Grafton: and pleaded the cause of his employer so successfully, and perhaps unscrupulously, that on the foundation of what they had heard from his agent, the ministry determined to recognise the Nawáb of the Carnatic as a royal personage, and depute an envoy to his court. This was the real foundation for the appointment, first of Sir John Lindsay, and afterwards of Sir Robert Harland, as ministers plenipotentiary, which led to the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally; and though the Nawáb may have had good cause of complaint, the course adopted proved, in the end, the worst and most injudicious means of obtaining justice for him. The Duke of Grafton nominated Mr. Macpherson to the civil service of Madras, which gave him local standing, and he subsequently obtained the office of military paymaster; but as he still maintained his connection with the Nawáb, he was removed from his situation, and again returned to England on his behalf, and entered Parliament, whence he was sent to Calcutta as second member of Council. On the departure of Mr. Hastings, therefore, he assumed the office of acting governor-general, and continued in that exalted post for twenty months.

Mr. Macpherson acts as governor-general.

During this period the only political event of importance with which he was concerned, was the denial of obligation to pay chouth to the Mahrattas for Bengal, and the offer to send three battalions of infantry to assist in the protection of the Mahratta dominions, on the eve of their war with Tippoo; but Nana Furna-wees rejected the latter proposal, which however gave deep offence to Tippoo, and was in fact a direct breach of treaty. Lord Macartney could have assumed the office of governor-general, in virtue of a commission sent from England, and he even went to Calcutta; but his health had failed, and he returned to England in 1786. Sir John Macpherson, therefore, continued in office, and

applied himself to the reduction of expenditure, in which he had some success; though in other respects his administration was feeble and inconsequent. Lord Macartney, on his arrival in England, desired to have the appointment of governor-general renewed on his own terms; but these were declined by the ministry, and Lord Cornwallis, who had already distinguished himself in the American war as a soldier and diplomatist, was appointed governor-general, and reached Calcutta early in September 1786. Before entering, however, upon his eventful administration, it is necessary to revert to the position then occupied by the Mahrattas and Tippoo Sooltan.

Lord Corn-  
wallis  
governor-  
general.

There is no doubt that the treaty of Salbye with Sindia on the part of the Mahratta nation, had been based on an understanding between Mr. Warren Hastings and Sindia, in regard to the power of Mysore, which was becoming, so to speak, a sharp thorn in the side of the Mahrattas; and Mr. Hastings, by an early understanding with Sindia, prevented him, courted as he was by Hyder, from joining him in an invasion of Bengal; while, by the treaty of Salbye, the whole Mahratta nation was removed from any possible coalition with Mysore against the English. Nana Furnawees, whose jealousy of Sindia's ascendancy was extreme, would willingly have seen that chieftain seduced into an alliance with Hyder, and the English attacked by their combined forces: hence his delay in ratifying the treaty of Salbye; but, on the arrival of the news of Hyder's death, he submitted to necessity, and it was duly executed. On the continuance of the war by Tippoo, after his father's death, which Sindia did not expect, he concluded a new treaty with the governor-general, on October 28, 1783, under the terms of which he wrote to Tippoo threatening him with a combined attack. Whether this would have had any effect or not, could not be proved—it is most probable it would have had; but the Madras Government, unable perhaps to comprehend Mr. Hastings's masterly diplomacy, disobeyed his instructions, took the matter into their own hands, and concluded the treaty of Mangalore, as has been already related. That treaty was, there is little doubt, offensive to the Mahrattas, for it ignored their existence altogether; and had the proceedings of the Madras Government been boldly thrown over, and a new treaty demanded by Mr. Hastings in conjunction with the Mahrattas, or singly, on the basis of the treaty of Salbye, there can be little doubt they would have supported him in effecting it. This was not however done, and Nana Furnawees, having made demands on Tippoo for arrears of chouth, which, if refused, would be a

Effects of the  
treaty of  
Salbye.

Treaty with  
Sindia.

Nana  
Furnawees  
meets the  
Nizam at  
Yatgeer.

sufficient cause of war, went to meet the Nizam at Yátgeer, on the Bheema, in July 1784, avowedly to settle existing claims and disputes in a friendly manner, and secretly to arrange an offensive and defensive war against Mysore. Tippoo, who was better prepared for war than either, when he heard of the conference, claimed the province of Beejapoor from the Nizam, and demanded that the standards of weights and measures which he had established should be made current throughout the Nizam's dominions. These contemptuous and arrogant proposals were no doubt intended as an insult; but the Nizam was not prepared to resent it by war, and temporized, while various matters of domestic policy prevented Nana Furnawees from concluding the alliance resolved upon at Yátgeer.

Tippoo's demands on the Nizam.

Affairs did not, however, long continue in this uncertain position. Tippoo had crushed out all embers of revolt in his western provinces by forcible conversions of great numbers of Christians and Hindoos to Ma-

His cruelties in the western provinces.

homedanism; had carried off the people of Coorg by thousands into slavery; and had thus established a rule of terror and cruelty, against which there was no prospect of resistance. In 1785 he turned his attention to the northern frontier of his dominions. His troops were not long in coming into collision with the Mahratta forces, and obtained some advantages over them, which, in addition to his forcible conversions of Hindoos on the very borders of the Mahratta territory, if not

He attacks the Mahrattas.

within its bounds, and the voluntary death of 2,000 Brahmins to escape the indignity, caused Nana Furnawees very grave alarm. He was doubtful of the ability of the Nizam to abide the result of a contest; he estimated the powerful aid which Tippoo had obtained from the French, and the admirable discipline of his army, and at last he turned to the English for assistance.

This, however, though preferred through Sindia to the governor-general, Mr. Macpherson, and urged upon the basis of the treaty of Salbye, could not be granted. The treaty of Mangalore had, in fact, placed the English in the position of a neutral power; and Nana Furnawees had no resource but to conclude the alliance with the Nizam. For this purpose Nana moved with his army till he met the Nizam, and Moodajee Bhóslay of Berar, near Yátgeer, and a treaty was concluded for the conquest and partition of the whole of the Mysore dominions. The campaigns which ensued have little interest, and were feeble on both sides; but

Nana Furnawees applies to the English.

Treaty between the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

Tippoo, at the close of 1786, proposed peace, which was finally concluded in April 1787. The Mahrattas obtained some restitution of territory. Adony was restored to the

Peace with Tippoo.

Nizam, and Tippoo agreed to pay forty-five lacs of tribute—thirty in cash, and the balance in a year. The reason of so sudden a proposal of peace by Tippoo has never been understood; but the appointment of an English envoy to the Mahratta court probably gave rise to an opinion, or indeed conviction, that the English were about to join the existing coalition against him.

## CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS, 1786 TO 1792.

LORD CORNWALLIS reached Calcutta in September 1786, bringing with him detailed instructions from the President of the Board of Control, and from the Court of Directors: and Lord Cornwallis arrives at Calcutta. possessing not only their entire confidence, but that of the English nation at large. If he had no local experience of Indian affairs, he was as yet unfettered by local interests and prejudices: and it was felt that the presence of a man of rank, possessed of good abilities and sound judgment, would strengthen the position of the representatives of England. India, as far as the British were concerned, was fortunately at peace on Lord Cornwallis's arrival, and continued so for three years afterwards. He had ample time, therefore, to apply himself to correction of abuses, which he found to pervade every department of the service, and which as yet had Correction of abuses. been remedied only in a very partial degree. In all his acts he was not only just, but inexorably honourable and persistent. No solicitations from any quarter, however high or influential, caused him to swerve from the position he had assumed, and resolutely maintained. Private trade, contracts, false musters of soldiers, with every other source of official corruption and speculation, were searched out, and prevented; while salaries in proportion to the duties and responsibilities of every office were allotted.

During this period the affairs of Oudh were reviewed and Affairs of Oudh. settled to mutual advantage: and while the governor-general, in the present condition of the Dehly province, would not consent to withdraw the British brigades on the frontier, he reduced the payment for them from seventy-four to fifty lacs of rupees a year, and he relieved the vizier of many other pecuniary demands which had been imposed or accepted. All applications for interference on behalf of creditors were refused, and the vizier was made independent in his local government; but it was so

corrupt and inefficient, that he received a sharp caution in regard to its management, and in regard to the waste of his resources.

The affairs of the Nizam were next in order: they involved questions of great importance. The Guntoor Sircar had not been surrendered, and on the conclusion of the Nizam's war with Tippoo, in 1788, the governor-general dispatched a demand for it by the hands of Captain Kennaway, an officer of his own personal staff. Some opposition had been apprehended, and troops had been collected to advance into the territory; but the Nizam made no objection whatever to its surrender, though on the other hand he called upon the English for the troops specified in the treaty of Masulipatam, and for the recovery of his districts seized by Hyder and Tippoo Sooltan. Not content with this, however, the Nizam at the same time sent an embassy to Tippoo, bearing a splendid copy of the Koran; warned him of the power of the English, and urged a mutual treaty of defence on the common grounds of religion and interest. Upon this invitation Tippoo proposed an alliance by marriage, as a preliminary; but this was haughtily rejected by the Nizam, who had no sympathy with an upstart family. The negotiation, therefore, had only the effect of increasing mutual resentment: and it was equally certain that action upon the treaty of Masulipatam would be considered an offence by Tippoo, the more especially as his name, either by design or accident, was omitted from the enumeration of the powers against whom the British brigade was not to be employed by the Nizam.

It has already been detailed, that Tippoo had concluded a sudden peace with the Mahrattas and the Nizam; and he expected perhaps that, in ensuring their neutrality, he should be at liberty to break again with the English—with whom, as he assured the governor of Pondicherry, he should again go to war on the first opportunity. The English were, he always considered, as his father had done, the only obstacle in the way, not only of the conquest and possession of the whole of the south of India, but of the Nizam's dominions. In short, there was no bounds to the ambition of Tippoo, except the conquest of the whole of India, if indeed even that would suffice.

While these events were pending, and even the Government in England were rapidly coming to the conclusion that the English in India could not remain a neutral power, Tippoo had decided on war. The territory of Travancore, by the treaty of Mangalore, was declared to be under English protection; and the rajah had recently purchased two towns on the coast, Cranganore and Ayacotta, from the Dutch. These

Negotiations  
with the  
Nizam.

The Nizam's  
embassy to  
Tippoo  
Sooltan.

Its effects.

Views of  
Tippoo.

Tippoo  
prepares for  
war.

Tippoo demanded, on the ground that the sale by the Dutch was invalid, and that they belonged to his ally, the Rajah of Cochin. Lord Cornwallis was prepared to support the Travancore purchase, and directed Mr. Holland, the president at Madras, to make the necessary communication to Tippoo; but he withheld it, and instead, tried to extort a sum of money from the Rajah of Travancore for himself. Notwithstanding the reforms in Bengal, the corruption of Madras does not appear to have been as yet affected, and carried with it corresponding weakness and irresolution.

The Rajah of Travancore had thrown up lines of fortifications on his northern frontier, between the mountains and the sea; and Tippoo, whose forces had been for some time watching an opportunity, attacked them on the night of December 28, 1789. He was gallantly repulsed, with heavy loss, when he called up reinforcements, and a siege train, and prepared to carry on the war with vigour. Against this violent proceeding, the Government of Madras made no effort or protest: and Governor Holland even deserted his post, and sailed for England. But Lord Cornwallis, who was prepared to hear at any time of an outbreak on the part of Tippoo, hesitated no longer. On receiving news of the attack of Travancore, Nana Furnawees immediately offered an alliance with the English against Tippoo, which was accepted, and concluded in the month of March 1790; and specified the number of troops to be employed in the war, with many other necessary conditions. A treaty with the Nizam was also concluded, to the same purport, in July of the same year. The finances of Bengal were in a most flourishing condition, and a large surplus remained in the treasury; and General Medows, now governor, as well as commander-in-chief, of Madras, was appointed to the conduct of the war now declared. General Medows had been delayed longer than he anticipated in the equipment of his forces; but he opened the campaign by marching from Trichinopoly on May 26, 1790, at the head of 15,000 fine troops; and on July 21, the army reached Coimbatore, having captured several forts during the march. By the end of September, Palghautchery and Dindigul, both deemed impregnable, had surrendered. This completed the occupation of the low country: and the army was at the foot of the passes preparing to ascend into Mysore, when Tippoo, by a masterly movement, interposed between two portions of it, fought Colonel Floyd, and forced him to retreat. But it was impossible to bring the sultan to action again, and the subsequent movements of both sides have little

Travancore  
attacked by  
Tippoo,

who is  
repulsed.

Governor  
Holland  
deserts his  
post.

Treaties with  
the Mah-  
rattas and  
the Nizam.

General  
Medows'  
campaign.

Incidents of  
the cam-  
paign.

interest. In Malabar, however, Colonel Hartley defeated the Mysore general, Hoosein Ally, and forced him to surrender, and General Abercrombie had reduced Cannanore, by which means the coast province was secured.

Nor had the Mahrattas been idle. Joined by a detachment of Bombay troops, under Captain Little (the narrative of whose operations, written by Lieutenant Moore, is extremely interesting, and should be perused by the student), Puréshráṃ Bhow Putwurdhun opened the campaign on August 25, 1789. He was opposed by two Mysore officers, Budr-ool-Zemán Khan and Kootub-ood-deen; the former with 8,000 men occupied the strong fort of Dharwar, while the other operated in the field. Dharwar was invested on October 30, 1789, but owing to the inefficient Mahratta artillery, and the absence of English siege guns, the place held out till April 4, 1790, when Budr-ool-Zemán Khan and his garrison—who had defended the place valiantly—capitulated, and marched out with the honours of war. During the whole of this period, the Nizam's forces had been comparatively inactive: and their sieges of Kopuldroog, and Bahadur Bunda, had been ineffective.

The results of the first campaign had fallen short of Lord Cornwallis's anticipations, and he determined to conduct the second himself. He accordingly proceeded to Madras, where his first act was to re-attach the revenues of the Carnatic, which, it will be remembered, had been assigned to the Nawáb, but had been scandalously mismanaged by him. On January 29, 1791, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army: and having amused Tippoo by feints in the direction of the former passes into Mysore, ascended the Móglee Ghát without opposition, and marched direct upon Bangalore, where the petta, or native town, was taken by assault, and an attempt to recover it by Tippoo was defeated with severe loss. The fort was afterwards breached, and carried by storm on the night of March 20. The Nizam's forces—about 10,000 cavalry—now took heart, and made a junction with Lord Cornwallis; but though eminently picturesque in appearance, they proved utterly useless in the campaign, and indeed became an inconvenience rather than assistance. The united forces then moved westwards upon Seringapatam, and at the same time General Abercrombie advanced from the west coast. Tippoo, who had hitherto consistently avoided general actions, drew up his army to protect his capital, and took up a strong position at Arikéra, on April 13, and awaited an attack; but Lord Cornwallis, by a masterly manœuvre, carried

Mahratta  
movements.

Captain  
Little's  
narrative.

Dharwar  
capitulates.

Lord Corn-  
wallis con-  
ducts the  
second  
campaign.

Bangalore  
taken.

The army  
moves on  
Seringa-  
patam.

out through a tremendous storm, contrived to turn part of the position during the night, and by daylight of the 14th a general action ensued, which resulted in Tippoo's defeat. The victory, however, proved useless: Lord Cornwallis's supplies were so scanty and defective, that he was obliged to retreat, after destroying the battering-train and heavy stores; and he was perhaps only saved from serious disaster by the opportune arrival of the well-supplied Mahratta forces under Puréshrá́m Ráo, with Captain Little, whose messengers, announcing their progress, had all been cut off by Tippoo's spies. Hurry Punt, with another Mahratta force, reached camp soon afterwards; but Lord Cornwallis was in no position to renew the operations, and took up a position at Bangalore. Thus ended the second campaign.

For the third, a portion of the Mahratta army under Puréshrá́m Bhow, with Captain Little, was sent to the north-west. The Nizam's forces also, with an English detachment, were employed in reducing the country to the north-east, while the main army, with Lord Cornwallis, aided by Hurry Punt, remained for the central service. Before advancing again upon Seringapatam, and before the arrival of reinforcements, Lord Cornwallis directed the reduction of several of the stupendous mountain fortresses of Mysore: and the captures of Nundidroog, Savandroog, Ráyacotta, and other places were marked by a series of brilliant exploits, which gave a tone of confidence to the whole army. In the north-west also, the Mahrattas and Captain Little had been successful, defeating Tippoo's forces in a well-fought action near Simóga; but Coimbatore was lost, after a long and valiant defence by Lieutenant Chalmers, and its capitulation shamefully violated. These operations, against which Tippoo took no part in the field, had occupied the whole of 1791. In January 1792, Lord Cornwallis had completed his preparations:

The army and joined by a part of the Nizam's and Mahratta forces, advanced on Seringapatam, which he reached unopposed on February 5. He was joined on the 16th by General Abercrombie with the army of Bombay; but the fort had been previously invested, and was held by the sooltan in person

Battle of the fort. at the head of the greater portion of his army. The operations of the Bombay army on the south side of the fort, and its now complete isolation, together with the rapid progress made by the besiegers, seemed to have combined to produce in Tippoo's mind a dread of British power which he had never before experienced. He had little thought when Lord Cornwallis retreated after the action of Arikéra, that the stores then destroyed could be replaced; but his second advance, at the

head of a far more complete equipment, caused Tippoo to exclaim, 'It is not what I see of the English, that I fear; but what I do not see;' and it was true. On February 24, the sooltan sent Lieutenant Chalmers, a prisoner of war, to open negotiations for peace, which, after some interruption in regard to a stipulation in favour of the Rajah of Coorg, who had materially aided General Abercrombie, and dreaded Tippoo's vengeance, were concluded on the 24th; and on the 26th, the two sons of Tippoo, who were to remain as hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions, arrived in camp, and were very honourably welcomed. The terms of the treaty, which was not finally executed till March 19, were hard but necessary. The sooltan ceded half his dominions to the allies, of which the English portion was Malabar, Coorg, and the Báráh Mahál. To the Nizam and the Mahrattas, districts contiguous to their own territories, of proportionate value, were allotted; and a sum of 3,300,000*l.*, sterling was to be paid as expenses of the war, half in cash and half within a year. Although the Nizam's and Mahratta troops had been treated with scrupulous good faith by Lord Cornwallis, yet it was nevertheless discovered, in 1799, that their leaders had been in traitorous correspondence with Tippoo, during the actual negotiation of the treaty: and that nothing short of Lord Cornwallis's energy, and ability in diplomacy, for which they were not prepared, had prevented their siding with Tippoo and attacking the English forces. This result was happily averted by the acceptance by the sooltan, after a long and anxious conference with his ministers and officers, of Lord Cornwallis's terms, and a determination to rely upon the good faith of the English commander alone. It may also be recorded, as a tribute to the memories of the two great commanders of the army, Lord Cornwallis and General Medows, that they refused any share of prize money, and gave up their portions to the forces.

Tippoo negotiates for peace.

Terms of the treaty.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE PROGRESS OF ADMINISTRATION, 1793.

THE Mysore war having thus been brought to a triumphant conclusion, Lord Cornwallis returned to Bengal to carry out the final measures of his administration, which had been in gradual progress. Of the consolidation of English power in India, after the result of the Mysore war, there could be no doubt. The Mahrattas and the Nizam had dwindled in influence, in proportion

as the new power had risen, and there was no longer a question that, but for the English intervention, Tippoo Sooltan would inevitably have defeated both. Notwithstanding the just ground of the war and its necessity—as well to preserve the Carnatic and repress ambitious violence, as to maintain a balance of power among the native States of India—the conduct of Lord Cornwallis was severely arraigned in England, where the idea of territorial conquest was still foreign to the people, and the peculiar political conditions of the several native powers necessarily very imperfectly known. Could it have been understood, that all, with few exceptions, were, so to speak, political adventurers; that the most powerful had, within a comparatively short period, obtained their dominions by usurpation and violence; that each was striving, or prepared to strive, for a general mastery—the position of England might well have been recognised as a military power, prepared to strike in the general *mêlée* and win what it could. This however, could not be; and the national feeling against territorial acquisition, or aggression in any form, was sedulously maintained, and became modified only by necessities which could not be anticipated. No one had laboured more earnestly to impress upon Lord Cornwallis the necessity of avoiding war and conquest, than Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, backed by the Court of Directors; and it was impossible for any one to have assented to their views more decidedly than Lord Cornwallis, when he accepted the office of governor-general; yet the violent ambition of one native power had rendered immediate action unavoidable, and in due time the war policy of Lord Cornwallis became thoroughly appreciated and approved by his country.

The triumph of the Mysore war was, however, only an episode of Lord Cornwallis's administration. It is on deeper foundations that his reputation as a statesman deserves to rest. Warren Hastings, whose efforts in reference to executive government have already been detailed, had in effect done little more than prepared the way; and the first three years of Lord Cornwallis's incumbency had been devoted to checking abuses, and placing the duties and responsibilities of public servants on a proper footing. These measures had been attended with very satisfactory results: and the field was open to the governor-general to proceed to further, and more enlarged, measures in relation to the collection of revenue, and the administration of justice. If Hastings had remedied some evils, by abolishing the double government, Lord Cornwallis was now to prescribe a future policy of more comprehensive executive administration.

Land tenure  
and revenue.

It would be necessarily beyond the scope of this manual to enter upon the varied and intricate ques-

tions of the tenures of land in Bengal and the condition of its occupants. As in all other provinces of India, the Moghul settlements by survey and valuation of land in the time of the Emperor Akbur had decided the amount of revenue to be paid. So also in Bengal; but these settlements had become obsolete in most respects. Increase or decrease of population and cultivation, the value of produce and money, had affected all; and the hereditary position of the collectors of revenue, with whom the subsequent Moghul governments had not interfered, had given them those prescriptive rights of which they were found in possession. Such was the state of affairs when the English obtained the imperial grant of Bengal: and the subsequent regulations of affairs were a succession of temporary makeshifts to secure the largest amount of revenue from year to year. Inquiries had led to the collection of information; but it was ill-digested and only very partially understood in England. Nevertheless, on April 12, 1783, the directors wrote a long and evidently deeply considered dispatch on the subject, condemning many former practices, and recommending a settlement with the hereditary Talookdars, or revenue officers, for a period of ten years, to be made permanent, if it should work satisfactorily. This dispatch can hardly be termed the basis of Lord Cornwallis's proceedings, for his measure was founded upon independent sources of observation and inquiry; and he now proposed to bestow upon the Zemindars of Bengal the property of the soil, and to fix the revenue to be derived from it in perpetuity, as far as the demand of Government was concerned. The only reservation was in favour of the cultivators, who were to be protected by leases: but were not thereby defended from increase of demand. Mr. Shore, to whose abilities Lord Cornwallis owed his knowledge of detail, opposed a permanent settlement very strenuously: and the question being referred for the decision of the Home Government, which approved of the perpetual settlement, the measure was finally proclaimed in Bengal on March 22, 1783.

The Court of Directors recommend a land settlement.

The perpetual settlement.

Although it relieved present apprehensions, and certainly inspired confidence, it is very questionable whether the advantages have in any degree counterbalanced the disadvantages which have proceeded from this measure. It established a local aristocracy and created immense private wealth. On the other hand, it depressed the cultivators to an extent hardly realisable. It secured the existing demands of Government without fluctuation; but provided nothing against the possible necessities of the State, while it alienated the prospective advantages, which would have been enormous; and it required additional

Merits of the measure.

legislation for years, to prevent that very oppression of the people which it was desired to avert. As to the native aristocracy, it is very questionable, except in a few instances, whether it has raised itself above its original condition; but the national covenant has never been infringed, all temptations and necessities to the contrary notwithstanding.

The judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis are in many respects open to objection; but were received, as was their due, with admiration for their advance upon existing institutions. He separated the office of judge from that of collector of revenue, and established separate civil courts in every district for the trial of native suits, with four general courts of appeal, and a final appeal from any one of them to the Sudder Dewány Court of Calcutta. The criminal courts were presided over by judges of the civil courts in rotation, who held sessions: and the Mahomedan law, as interpreted by native officers attached to them, became the basis of their decisions. Sir Elijah Impey's code was remodelled: but it is doubtful whether it was improved, and the appointment of native officers, called daróghas, who had minor jurisdictions, proved in the sequel unfortunate. It was equally to be regretted also that the service was closed to all natives, except in the most inferior positions; but reform, in this material respect and others, was only to ensue upon the bitter experience of years.

Lord Cornwallis, having concluded his administrative acts in Bengal, proceeded to Madras, intending to take command of an army against the French, with whom a new war had begun; but he found that his intended operations against Pondicherry had been anticipated, in the surrender of the town to Colonel Braithwaite, and he embarked for England in October 1793, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, a civil servant of Bengal, in connection with whom the great land settlement of Bengal had been effected, and who, in virtue of the commission sent to him from England, assumed charge of his office on October 28, 1793.

Meanwhile, the expiration of the period of charter had brought about new discussions in England in regard to the continuance of the company's monopoly of trade with India, and its extension was opposed by the mercantile interests of England, with much ability. The ministry, however, supported the claims of the company; and the prosperous state of the Indian finances justified Mr. Dundas in pointing to them as a result of good management with which interference would be inexpedient. The merchants of England were not, however, satisfied: and free trade to the amount of 3,000 tons per year became a clause in the new charter,

Judicial  
questions.

Lord Corn-  
wallis  
returns to  
England.

Sir John  
Shore  
succeeds.

Opposition to  
renewal of  
the com-  
pany's  
monopoly.

A limited  
free trade  
established.

which was to continue for twenty years. Hitherto all applications for missionaries, schoolmasters, and other instructors in religion and knowledge, had been refused, on the ground that dangerous effects might be produced by their presence among the people of India; and Mr. Wilberforce's motion for their admission to India, and recognition under the new charter, was rejected.

Christian missions are not permitted.

## CHAPTER VI.

MAHRATTA AFFAIRS, 1793 TO 1795.

SINDIA had not become a party to the treaty of Poona against Tippoo Sooltan. He had demanded the protection of his territory by the English during his absence at the war, and two battalions to be attached to his forces; and with these terms, which would have had the effect of neutralising the good feeling of Nana Furnawees, Lord Cornwallis did not comply. On June 20, 1790, Sindia's forces had defeated Ismail Beg, who was still in the field on his own account, in a bloody battle near Pátun, with the loss of all his artillery and ten battalions of infantry, who laid down their arms. In 1791 the Rajpoots again took the field; but were defeated on September 12, when peace ensued, on their promise to pay an annual tribute. Sindia's prosperity and the completeness of his army were now viewed with intense jealousy by Holkar, and he took the Chevalier Dudrenec into his service, for the purpose of raising a similar disciplined force to that of his rival. Holkar was, of the two, the favourite at Poona, and was employed by Nana Furnawees to operate as a check against Sindia's power; but Sindia, who was perhaps apprehensive that a too prolonged absence from Poona might operate to his disadvantage, set out for the Deccan, taking with him the insignia of the Peshwah's office, which he had obtained from the emperor. He reached Poona on June 11; and though opposed by Nana Furnawees, the permission of the Rajah of Sattara was obtained to the investiture of the young Peshwah with the honorary robes and jewels, and the ceremony was carried out with gorgeous pomp; but it was hardly questionable that the representatives of the ancient Mahratta families viewed the reception of honours from a pageant emperor with dissatisfaction and contempt. Mahdoo Ráo Peshwah, a high-spirited and generous youth, was delighted with Sindia, whom he found to be

Sindia's proceedings in Hindostan.

Rivalry of Holkar.

Sindia proceeds to the Deccan.

Investiture of the Peshwah.

a frank, free soldier : and the intercourse with him was very different and far more agreeable than that with his guardian and minister, Nana. Sindia hoped to gain over the youth to his interests and policy ; Nana's policy was to prevent his effecting this object.

While these intrigues were in action at Poona, Sindia's and Holkar's forces, which had been acting in concert in Hindostan for the collection of tribute, came into collision on a division of plunder, and one of the severest actions on Mahratta record was fought between them at Lukhairee, near Ajmere. Holkar's forces

Holkar's  
forces routed  
by Sindia's.

were routed, and his disciplined infantry, under Dudrenec, almost annihilated, with the loss of thirty-eight guns. On receipt of this news at Poona, Nana called up Puréshráam Bhow with 2,000 horse ; and, on the other hand, Sindia sent for an infantry brigade to reinforce the detachment which had accompanied him. What might have been the result of these movements it is difficult to conjecture ; but at a crisis when Nana, despairing of recovering his authority, had besought the Peshwah to allow him to retire to Benares, Mahadajee Sindia died of fever at Wurólee, near Poona, on February 12, 1794. He left no issue, but he had declared

Death of  
Mahadajee  
Sindia.

Dowlut Ráo, son of his youngest brother, Anund Ráo, to be his heir ; and this election, though it had not been confirmed by formal adoption, was recognised by the whole of the confederate Mahratta chieftains. At that time, Dowlut Ráo was less than fifteen years of age, and it would necessarily be some time before he could take a part in public affairs. Nana Furnawees, therefore, continued to exercise, now without interruption, the whole authority of the Mahratta nation.

There had remained many questions for settlement between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, in which no progress had been made

Disputes  
between the  
Nizam and  
the Mahrattas.

since the interview between him and Nana Furnawees at Yátgeer, before their brief war with Tippoo, and many of these were of old standing. On the other hand the Nizam preferred claims upon the Mahrattas ; and it is probable, if both had agreed to submit them to Lord Cornwallis, they would have been amicably settled ; but there can be little doubt that each party was jealous of the English success, though both had benefited by it, and the English was the last power to be resorted to, as from its decision there could be no appeal. But after the departure of Lord Cornwallis, the Nizam, pressed by the

The Nizam's  
application to  
Sir John  
Shore is  
refused.

Mahrattas for a settlement, applied for a treaty of guarantee to Sir John Shore, who, foreseeing that the grant of it would cause offence to the Mahrattas, refused to consent. This transaction became known to Nana

Furnawees, who was emboldened by the non-interference of the English to press the adjustment of the national claims more decidedly. But correspondence and envoys were alike unable to make any impression on the Hyderabad court. The Nizam had materially increased his forces, and under the able management of M. Raymond, twenty-three battalions of disciplined infantry, with an excellent artillery, had been organised, and seemed to be a formidable addition to his ordinary army. The demands of the Mahratta envoy, which amounted to no less than 260 lacs of rupees, or 2,600,000*l.* sterling, were roughly and insultingly rejected, and both parties prepared for war. The armies which took the field in January 1795 were enormous. The Nizam at the head of 110,000 men advanced by way of Beeder and Oodgeer, and descended the Mohree pass, in the direction of Purainda, where he purposed to meet the Mahrattas; while Nana Furnawees, taking the young Peshwah with him, appointed Puréshráam Bhow to the command of the army, which consisted of 130,000 men, chiefly cavalry, with 130 guns.

Nana  
Furnawees  
presses his  
claims.

The Nizam  
rejects the  
Mahratta  
claims;

and war  
ensues.

The advanced guards of the armies met on March 11, 1795, a little to the westward of the town and small fort of Khurdlah, below the Mohree pass; and the first attack on the Mahratta horse was favourable to the Patán cavalry of the Nizam; but M. Perron, who commanded Sindia's troops, had, with great judgment, occupied some low eminences on the left of the road, with his artillery; and as the main body of the Nizam's cavalry advanced to M. Raymond's support, he turned upon them the concentrated fire of thirty-five field-guns, while at the same time they were assailed by flights of rockets. The whole of the Moghul cavalry then broke and fled; but Raymond held his ground well, and the cavalry might yet have been rallied, had not the Nizam at this crisis recalled Raymond for his protection, and that of the ladies of his family. Thus the battle was lost. In the morning the Nizam was found to have retreated into the fort of Khurdlah, where, for two days, protected by Raymond, he was cannonaded by the Mahrattas; but escape was impossible, and his great army, now become a total rout, had fled up the Mohree Ghát, being pursued down the banks of the Manjera, and as far as Oodgeer, by the light Mahratta horse, and plundered without mercy. The Nizam now sued for terms, which were prescribed by the Mahrattas, and were very humiliating. He was obliged to agree to pay three millions sterling on all accounts—one third in cash; to surrender frontier districts including Dowlatabad, of the annual revenue of thirty-five lacs—350,000*l.*—and as a hostage for the fulfilment of these condi-

Battle of  
Khurdlah.

Defeat of the  
Nizam.

The Nizam  
executes a  
humiliating  
treaty.

tions, to surrender his minister, Musheer-ool-Moolk, who, at the memorable Council at Hyderabad, had boastfully declared to the Mahratta envoy that he would bring Nana Furnawees to sue for terms at his master's feet. The treaty was finally concluded on March 13, 1795, and the minister was escorted to the Mahratta camp, where he was honourably received by the Peshwah. Barely 200 men had been lost by both parties in the battle, and the young Peshwah, as recorded by Grant Duff, grieved that so disgraceful a submission had been made by the Moghuls, and that his own soldiers vaunted of a victory obtained without an effort.

The British envoys at the courts of Poona and Hyderabad had accompanied the respective armies, but took no part in their proceedings. The Nizam was incensed by the absolute neutrality of the English: and on his arrival at Hyderabad, dismissed the English brigade which had been attached to him, and increased the forces of M. Raymond, assigning for their support the districts which he had acquired from the Mysore war. Soon afterwards, Ally Jáh, the Nizam's eldest son, rebelled against his father, and being joined by the troops who had been discharged after the battle of Khurdlah, his movement had assumed a dangerous aspect, when he was pursued and taken prisoner by M. Raymond; but, dreading his father's resentment, he poisoned himself before he could be brought to Hyderabad.

It is urged by some authorities, that Sir John Shore, in preserving absolute neutrality on the occasion of the war between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, had sacrificed the Nizam to an unworthy desire to maintain peace; and the case of the Rajah of Travancore has been cited as an instance where, to preserve the provisions of a treaty, Lord Cornwallis did not hesitate to declare war—a precedent which ought to have been followed in this instance. But the situations are widely different. Tippoo's attack upon Travancore was unjustifiable: whereas between the Nizam and the Mahrattas old unadjusted claims existed, which the Nizam had admitted, but with which he evaded compliance or settlement. Moreover, in discussing them, the Mahratta envoy had been grossly insulted. If Sir J. Shore had interfered in force to protect the Nizam against the equitable demands of the Mahrattas, it would undoubtedly have produced a new Mahratta war, for which there was no true ground, and most probably thrown them into alliance with Tippoo: and the elaborate minute recorded by him, in which the disadvantages of war with the Mahrattas and Tippoo Sooltan were discussed at great length, was perhaps unnecessary, except to bring

Neutrality of  
the English.

The Nizam  
dismisses the  
English  
brigade.

His son  
rebels,

and poisons  
himself.

Sir John  
Shore's  
policy  
reviewed.

his own actions into accordance with the Act of Parliament. Lord Cornwallis might—probably would—have taken a bolder course, and at all risks have not only maintained peace, but interposed as mediator between the contending parties; but it need hardly be said that Sir John Shore had neither the resolution nor the abilities of his great predecessor.

The victory of Khurdlah was followed by a sad tragedy. Nana Furnawees had never relaxed the strict discipline in which he kept the young Peshwah; but soon after the return of the army to Poona, Bajee Ráo, the son of Rughonath Ráo, and, therefore the Peshwah's cousin, was allowed to visit him. Bajee Ráo was a gay libertine of seductive manners: and there is no doubt that his comparative freedom and pleasant life were contrasted by the Peshwah very bitterly with his own seclusion. Correspondence passed between the young men, which was discovered by Nana, and resented; and the effect of this harsh conduct upon the Peshwah produced despair. On the morning of October 25, 1793, he deliberately threw himself from a terrace of his palace at Poona, and was so injured, that he died on the second day, nominating his cousin, Bajee Ráo, as his successor. Nana Furnawees, who dreaded Bajee Ráo, and was convinced that his own power would cease on his accession, endeavoured to set him aside in favour of a successor to be adopted by the widow of the deceased Peshwah; but the intrigue, though for a while supported by Holkar and other chiefs, fell to the ground, and Nana became reconciled to Bajee Ráo. Further revolutions, however, were to follow, before the accession of Bajee Ráo was finally secured.

The Peshwah  
commits  
suicide.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CURRENT EVENTS AND MAHRATTA AFFAIRS, 1795 TO 1798.

ONE of the most important events connected with Sir John Shore's administration was the mutiny of the officers of the Bengal army, which, at one period, assumed even a more dangerous aspect than a similar occurrence in the time of Lord Clive. A project for the amalgamation of the local armies with that of the Crown had been proposed by Mr. Dundas in 1794, and on his arrival in England, Lord Cornwallis supported the ministerial view of the subject; but the measure nevertheless was thrown out, both by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. Whatever the final decision of the home authorities might be, and it was looked to with much anxiety, the

Mutiny of  
the officers  
of the Bengal  
army.

officers of the company's army in Bengal had associated themselves together for the protection of their general interests. They opposed the idea of amalgamation, and demanded that all previous allowances, including double batta, should be re-established. Their attitude was so threatening, that the governor-general sent for troops from Madras and the Cape, assembled the naval squadron at Calcutta, and even applied to General de Boigne for the services of a regiment of cavalry. These precautions, and the presence of Sir Robert Abercrombie, the commander-in-chief at Cawnpore, for a while maintained order; but the arrival of the long-expected decision from England only created fresh confusion, with which Sir John Shore confessed himself incompetent to deal; and the local regulations were, therefore, modified to suit the crisis. By these, the army obtained even more than they had expected: the arrears of batta were distributed, and brevet rank conferred; but Sir John Shore's apparent weakness caused real alarm in England, and it was determined he should be superseded. Lord Cornwallis was solicited to take up the office of governor-general again, and agreed to do so; but the concessions made to the London committee of the Bengal officers alarmed him, and he refused to proceed to India. These concessions had, however, restored order in Bengal, and no further notice was taken of the late proceedings.

If Sir John Shore be accused of weakness in some instances, yet in dealing with the affairs of Oudh he undoubtedly displayed courage of a very high order. The vizier died in 1797, and a reputed son, Vizier Ally, succeeded him; the accession being ratified by the governor-general. It transpired, however, that Vizier Ally was not the offspring of the late Nawáb Vizier, and the representations of the minister, Tufuzzul Hoosein, convinced Sir John that the only lawful successor to the throne was Saadut Ally, the brother of the late vizier. Negotiations were therefore commenced with him at Benares, where he resided: and a new treaty was concluded, by which the fort of Allahabad was given up to the English, and an annual payment of seventy-six lacs of rupees to be made for 10,000 English troops, to be stationed in the Oudh territories. When the arrangements were complete, Sir John Shore directed a British force to escort Saadut Ally to Lukhnow, where he himself had been encamped for some time, exposed to the constantly threatened attacks of the partisans of Vizier Ally, who were very numerous. Sir John, however, had firmly maintained his position, and the result showed the benefit of this course; for, on the approach of the legitimate prince, he was welcomed by the people, and the forces of Vizier Ally dispersed.

*Settlement of the officers' claims.*

*Affairs of Oudh.*

*New treaty with Saadut Ally.*

*Saadut Ally proclaimed.*

without firing a shot. Saadut Ally was proclaimed Nawáb Vizier on January 28, 1798, and seated on his throne; and Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, proceeding to Calcutta, sailed for England on March 25.

Lord Teignmouth leaves India.

After the death of Mahdoo Ráo Peshwah, as described in the last chapter, the affairs of the court of Poona continued in much confusion. Nana Furnawees, being pressed by

Events at Poona.

Mr. Malet, the British Resident, and equally by his own necessities, convened the officers of State, and prevailed on them to agree to the adoption, by the widow of Mahdoo Ráo, of Chimnajee Appa, the younger brother of Bajee Ráo, by which course his own power would have been secured. This was necessarily opposed by Bajee Ráo, who applied to Sindia and his minister, Balloba Tantia, for assistance. Of both these persons Nana was apprehensive. Of Sindia, because of his powerful position; and of Balloba, because he aspired to be chief minister of the nation. Nana, now reversing his policy, called up Puréshráam Bhow from Tasgaum, who, on this occasion, marched 120 miles in forty-eight hours with his cavalry; and they agreed, in order to neutralise Sindia's influence and that of Balloba, to proclaim Bajee Ráo themselves; and Puréshráam Ráo, proceeding to Sewnair, took a solemn oath that no deception was intended, and escorted Bajee Ráo to Poona. Balloba now advised Sindia to march on Poona, which was done; but Nana proceeded to Sattara, avowedly to avoid Balloba and Sindia, but actually to endeavour to rouse the rajah into action, and once more to proclaim his authority as the head of the Mahratta nation. On the other hand, Balloba, distrusting Bajee Ráo, now proposed to have Chimnajee Appa adopted as Nana Furnawees had arranged; and, strange to say, Nana, who had found his scheme in regard to the rajah impracticable, consented to this measure.

Intrigues for the Peshwahship.

On reflection, however, he considered that the proposed arrangement might only be a scheme to entrap him, and he went to Wáee on pretence of performing religious ceremonies; while Puréshráam Bhow, having carried off Chimnajee Appa to Poona, caused the ceremony of adoption to be performed, in spite of his protests against usurpation of his brother's rights, and his own oath to Bajee Ráo to protect them. Chimnajee Appa, therefore, was invested as Peshwah on May 20, 1796. Puréshráam Bhow, who was nominally at the head of the government, now proposed that Nana should come to Poona, and that a general reconciliation should take place; but Nana was in more alarm than ever, and retired into the Koncan, until he should be able to mature plans for his own defence. They were subtle, ingenious, and for the time effective. Sindia even espoused his

Nana's policy.

cause; and Balloba, trembling for his own position, sent off Bajee Ráo to Hindostan. Bajee Ráo now intrigued with Ghátgay Shirzee Ráo, who commanded his escort: and persuaded him to marry his beautiful daughter to Sindia, who had become enamoured of her; and this being agreed to, Bajee Ráo feigned illness, and did not proceed.

Nana had meanwhile enlisted the Nizam in behalf of Bajee Ráo and himself, by making a treaty with Musheer-ool-Moolk, the Nizam's minister, who had been released by Puréshráam Bhow; the main object of which, the accession of Bajee Ráo, was secured by extensive advantages to the Nizam, which included the relinquishment of the balance of arrears, and of the districts assigned under the treaty of Khurdlah. This treaty was executed at Mbar, on October 8. Rughoojee Bhóalay of Berar had also been gained over, and the English had signified, through their representative, their recognition of the claims of Bajee Ráo. Nothing being now wanting to the new arrangement, and Nana's wonderful political combinations having been matured, Sindia made the first movement by confining Balloba Tantia on October 27. Puréshráam Bhow, foreseeing the conclusion, fled from Poona,

Treaty with the Nizam. taking Chimnajee Appa with him; and Bajee Ráo returned to Poona, where he was joined on November 25 by Nana Furnawees, and finally invested as Peshwah on December 4, 1796. The adoption of Chimnajee Appa, as within the bounds of consanguinity, was declared illegal, and revoked. Thus concluded the strange revolution which, from the variety of its intrigues, and curious involvements, is unparalleled, even in Mahratta history.

The provisions of the several agreements and treaties were not, however, carried out: and the most material of them, that with the Nizam, was ignored by Bajee Ráo, without considerable modifications. To these Musheer-ool-Moolk would not consent, and he quitted Poona in great indignation. The Peshwah was not long in revealing his really perfidious disposition. He wrought upon the young Sindia by complaints of the power of Nana, and by arguments to prove that their mutual interests required his deposition. Sindia would perhaps have declined association with this infamous conspiracy; but Ghátgay's influence was brought to bear upon him, and he consented. By

The Peshwah's intrigues. December 31 all had been prepared, and on that day, on the occasion of a state visit paid by Nana to Sindia in his own camp, he was seized by Michael Filoze, one of Sindia's European commanders, who had previously guaranteed his safe return to Poona. Nana's escort had resisted, and was, for the most part, cut to pieces; and Poona became a

Nana Furnawees treacherously seized and imprisoned.

shocking scene of riot and slaughter for several days. Nana was sent to Ahmednugger in close confinement, and all the most influential members of his party were imprisoned. In the month of March, 1798, the marriage of Sindia to Báiza Bye, the daughter of Ghátgay, took place. The expenses of the ceremony were enormous, and Sindia, urged by Ghátgay, now demanded two millions sterling, which had been promised by the Peshwah. A secret understanding had previously existed, that Bajee Ráo should procure the office of minister to Sindia for Ghátgay, which was in fact the price of Ghátgay's base seizure of Nana Furnaweess; and the measure was pressed upon Sindia by the Peshwah, as a means for obtaining the money he required. Sindia did not hesitate, and on Ghátgay's appointment, the Peshwah proposed that the sum required should be levied by him from the bankers and other wealthy persons of Poona. The result was horrible. Tortures, which cannot be related, were invented by the miscreant, and Poona was literally given up to pillage. Sindia, however, did not depart; and the Peshwah proposed a joint attack upon the Nizam, which might have the effect of inducing him to march from Poona; but though the project was announced to the British Government as early as February 9, no movement was made.

Sindia marries the daughter of Ghátgay.

Extortion by torture from the bankers of Poona.

The Peshwah had created Amrut Ráo, his illegitimate brother, minister in succession to Nana Furnaweess, and he, despairing of other means of getting rid of him, proposed the assassination of Sindia. The scene is graphically described in Grant Duff's 'History,' vol. iii. p. 155-6; but at the moment when the Peshwah should have given the signal for the deed, his heart failed him, and Sindia escaped. Other disorders, however, ensued. The widows of the late Mahadajee Sindia were brutally treated by Ghátgay, and he endeavoured to have them conveyed to Ahmednugger; but they were rescued on the way by a Patán officer, who carried them to the camp of Amrut Ráo, who protected them. Sindia made an attempt to rescue them, by attacking the camp of Amrut Ráo, on June 7; but his force was beaten off with severe loss. Bajee Ráo now requested the intervention of Colonel Palmer, the British Resident, with Sindia; but this was refused, and the quarrel culminated in a fresh attack on Amrut Ráo by Ghátgay with two brigades of infantry. As the rupture between the Peshwah and Sindia was now complete, the Mahratta chiefs ranged themselves on either side, and the Peshwah concluded a fresh treaty with the Nizam, confirming that of Mhar.

Proposed assassination of Sindia.

The treaty of Mhar confirmed.

On the other hand, Sindia was in much perplexity, and the

arrears to his army had greatly accumulated. He even professed himself disposed to follow the excellent advice of Colonel Palmer; but this nevertheless failed of effect. Tippoo had been applied to by both parties; and in the end Sindia considered that Nana Furnawees might be his best protector, and released him on the payment of ten lacs of rupees. The effect of this act upon the Peshwah was his revocation of the treaty with the Nizam, and overtures to Sindia and Nana. About the same time Sindia, grown weary of the cruelties and exactions of his minister Ghátgay, caused him to be arrested and confined; but he still remained at Poona, and the intrigues incident to the position of all the parties present there continued unabated, and led, in the sequel, to the second Mahratta war.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, 1798.

THE successor to Lord Teignmouth, chosen in England, was the Earl of Mornington, whose remarkable talents were already developed by political experience, and whose acquaintance with Indian affairs, gained in the Board of Control, could not fail to be of the highest value in the office of governor-general. From the Cape of Good Hope he was accompanied by Major William Kirkpatrick, who, as Resident at the Nizam's and Sindia's courts, and otherwise actively engaged in political affairs, was enabled to supply Lord Mornington with the practical information he required as to the power and resources of the existing native States of India. This, no doubt, was of a very different character and purport to the knowledge possessed by the ministry or the Court of Directors, who, lulled by the non-interferent policy of Lord Teignmouth, considered that the peace of India would be maintained on the basis established by Lord Cornwallis. The current narrative of history will, however, have prepared the student for the possibility of future struggles, in the fact that no treaties could bind parties who made them and ignored them according to the results of local intrigues, or contemplated schemes of revenge, plunder, or aggrandisement. On these points Major Kirkpatrick's information must have combined, with other circumstances, to determine the policy of the governor-general: and it was more than ever evident that, sooner or later, the power of the English nation would be the only arbiter to all in India.

Appointment  
of the Earl of  
Mornington.

Condition of  
native States.

Lord Mornington reached Calcutta on May 17, 1798; and his attention was almost immediately directed to the designs of Tippoo Sooltan, whose intrigues with the Afghans, with the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, for operations against the English, had become notorious, though as yet abortive, and now took the form of alliance with the French Republic, then at war with England. Tippoo had entered into negotiations with General Malartic, governor of the Mauritius, for the aid of a fleet and 30,000 troops against the English, and these had been referred for the consideration of the French Government. He had already a considerable number of French officers in his pay, who had disciplined his troops; and although the results of the former war had crippled his resources, they were yet considerable, and the interval of peace had enabled him to refit his army with great efficiency. At Hyderabad, the forces of M. Raymond were 15,000 strong, with an efficient park of artillery; and the officers as Republicans were in close correspondence with those of Tippoo: both alike animated with the most hostile intentions against the English. De Boigne's forces with Sindia were at least 40,000 men, in the highest state of discipline and efficiency, with 450 guns. As yet these officers had not openly professed republicanism; but it was not beyond the bounds of probability that they might join the designs of their countrymen at Hyderabad and Mysore in a national effort against the British power. Lord Mornington was not deterred by these possible combinations; but wrote to General Harris, then governor and commander-in-chief at Madras, to march at once upon Seringapatam.

Intrigues of  
Tippoo  
Sooltan.

His negotia-  
tions with  
the French.

Condition of  
his army.

French  
troops at  
Hyderabad.

The govern-  
or-general's  
determina-  
tion.

These orders, utterly unexpected as they were, created the utmost consternation at Madras. The army was not more than 8,000 strong, and was unprepared to take the field; it would indeed have been unequal to check an invasion by Tippoo, and the treasury was empty. These facts induced the governor-general to recall the order of immediate advance, while he urged the completion of the equipment of the forces with every possible diligence. He now turned his attention to Hyderabad, where the minister, Musheer-ool-Moolk, now Meer Allum, was a steady friend of the English, and had foreseen the weakness, as well as the danger, of the French connection. He was also thoroughly aware of the helpless condition of the Nizam's State, between the Mahrattas and Tippoo Sooltan; and his detention at Poona had opened his eyes as to the futility of reliance on either. The governor-general's offer therefore of a subsidiary treaty, an object Meer

Madras  
unprepared  
for war.

Subsidiary  
treaty with  
the Nizam.

Allum had had long at heart, was immediately accepted : and the negotiation and subsequent proceedings were conducted by the Resident, Captain Achilles Kirkpatrick, with a rare degree of decision and ability. The first object was the disbandment of the French disciplined battalions. Raymond had died early in 1798, and his successor, Piron, had fortunately less influence over the Sepoys. The minister had withdrawn the districts from which the forces had been paid, and they had fallen into arrears : and the men were disaffected, if not mutinous. On October 10, four Madras regiments, destined for the Nizam's service, reached Hyderabad : and for a few days the Nizam and his minister hesitated as to their course of action ; but delay was impossible. The minister at last sent their dismissal to M. Piron and the officers under him, and the English brigade took up a commanding position near the French cantonments. M. Piron and his officers at once submitted, and claimed the protection of the Resident ; but the Sepoys would not let them depart without the adjustment of their arrears : and it was perhaps owing to the address of Captain, afterwards Sir John, Malcolm, more than to any other cause, that bloodshed was averted. The Sepoys, satisfied by his assurances, laid down their arms, gave up the guns, and the French corps no longer existed.

Another subject of anxiety had meanwhile occupied the governor-general. Zemán Shah, king of the Afghans, wrote to him, announcing his intention of invading Hindostan and attacking the Mahrattas, and claimed the assistance of the English, and he had now crossed the Indus and was at Lahore. Lord Mornington had applied to Sindia to conclude an alliance against Zemán Shah, or in any case to proceed to check him in Hindostan ; but Sindia was as yet too much occupied by his intrigues and difficulties at Poona, and would do neither.

But it was impossible to delay operations against Tippoo. Bonaparte had landed in Egypt, and the issue of that step was as yet uncertain. The directors had, however, approved of an immediate war with Tippoo, and so far, the policy of the governor-general was strengthened. The equipment of the coast army had been gradual, but complete ; and the 33rd regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, brother of the governor-general, and 3,000 volunteer Sepoys, were sent to Madras. Finally, the governor-general himself proceeded to Madras, to meet a reply from Tippoo Sooltan to a despatch already sent to him by the hands of Colonel Doveton. In that letter, the governor-general desired earnestly to remain at peace ;

Disbandment  
of the French  
battalions.

Threatened  
invasion by  
Zemán Shah.

Preparations  
for the  
Mysore war.

Lord  
Mornington  
proceeds to  
Madras.

but pointed out the French connection as a menace to the English Government which could not be permitted. Lord Mornington found the sooltan's reply awaiting his arrival. He had declined to see Colonel Doveton; and generally professing peaceful intentions, had evaded all other points of the governor-general's dispatch, appealing to the existence of the former treaties as the best means of future tranquillity. The governor-general was not a man to be satisfied with vague and plausible professions; and he again wrote in a friendly spirit, and with additional warning, but without effect.

Tippoo's evasions

and intrigues.

At that very time, Tippoo was urging the French Government to send him troops, and inviting Zemán Shah to advance and join him in a holy crusade against all infidels; he had confident expectations that the French would carry Egypt by a *coup de main*, and would speedily arrive in India; and a letter addressed to him by Bonaparte was afterwards intercepted. It was in vain that Lord Mornington advised him of the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, and sent him a letter from the Sooltan of Turkey to warn him against the French alliance. Nothing could affect him: and with the greatly augmented forces of his former enemies in his front, Tippoo was still defiant, or at least professing indifference.

The governor-general's remonstrances are futile.

Such a condition of affairs could have but one termination. Seringapatam could only be attacked while the Cauvery was low, and the sooltan's evident desire was to protract negotiation till the rains. The army, therefore, advanced from Vellore, on February 11, 1799. It consisted of about 21,000 English, European, and native troops, and 10,000 of the Nizam's contingent, nearly 4,000 of whom were the former Sepoys of Raymond, now commanded by their popular leader, Captain Malcolm. A corps of 6,000 men was advancing from the western coast, under General Stuart and the veteran General Hartley. General Harris reached Bangalore on March 15, unopposed; but on the 11th a sharp action was fought at Sedaseer, on the Coorg frontier, with Tippoo's forces,

The English army advances from Vellore.

Action at Sedaseer.

which retreated with a loss of 2,000 men. Tippoo now proceeded to meet the main army; but his movements evinced neither ability nor resolution. He acted as a man dazed and confounded by the magnitude of the effort made against him—the effect, not of what he could see, but of what he could not see. Only a few years had elapsed since the English were at his mercy, so to speak, in the Carnatic; and their strength now filled him with dismay. He drew up his army at Malavelly, where it was defeated on March 27, and the English forces, avoiding the country purposely desolated by Tippoo, moved southwards by

Tippoo defeated at Malavelly.

a fertile district, and crossed the Cauvery, by the hitherto unknown ford of Sosillay. The last hope of the sooltan perished with this movement, and he retired at once into his capital.

Returns to  
Seringa-  
patam.

Up to the time of Lord Harris's advance, Tippoo might have obtained peace on fair terms. Then, his arrogance prevented his consideration of it; now, his despair. On April 6, the fort of Seringapatam was invested, and it was evident to Lord Harris that the siege operations must be

Seringa-  
patam  
invested.

rapidly pushed on, not only on account of the near approach of the monsoon, which would flood the river, but because the supplies of the army were already short. On the third day there was a brief cessation of hostilities to receive Tippoo's proposals for peace; but the demands of General Harris were heavy: 2,000,000L sterling, and one half his dominions. These he refused, declaring death as a soldier was preferable to ignominious

Storm of the  
fort,

submission; and the siege recommenced. On May 2 the breach was reported practicable. On the 3rd, at noon, 4,400 men were assembled in the trenches, and were led to the storm by General Baird, who, from his long captivity in the fort, knew the place well. The breach was bravely defended, the fortifications were yet strong and intricate, and the sooltan himself took part in the conflict; but nothing could repress the

and  
capture.

dour of the assault: the place was carried, and all its defenders had submitted before evening. It was with difficulty that the European soldiers were restrained from outrage, for they had heard of the murder in cold blood, only the previous night, of twelve of their comrades. The sooltan was not found

Tippoo  
Sooltan killed  
in the  
assault.

in the palace, and on searching for him, his dead body was discovered by General Baird under a gateway.

It was conveyed to the palace, and the next day buried with all the honour which could be conferred by a military funeral, added to the solemn rites of his own faith. The descriptions of the event have a weird sublimity, in the crashing peals of thunder which mingled with the roar of the English cannon saluting the dead. No achievement of English arms as yet in India had equalled the capture of Seringapatam, and the details of the siege, and indeed of the whole campaign, which have been

Lord  
Mornington  
created  
Marquess  
Wellesley.

General  
Harris raised  
to the  
peerage.

described at length in many historical and military narratives, are of surpassing interest, as well to the student as to the general reader. For his conduct during this eventful year, Lord Mornington received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was created Marquess Wellesley. General Harris was also raised to the peerage, and the siege of Seringapatam

became as much one of the most popular victories of the British army as General Baird was of its heroes. The British loss in killed and wounded in the siege was 1,164 men. 929 pieces of ordnance, brass and iron, 424,000 round shot, and 520,000 lbs. of gunpowder were found in the fort; and the amount available for prize-money was 1,100,000*l.*, which was at once distributed to the army; the Marquess Wellesley, however, refusing to accept his share.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CURRENT EVENTS AND MAHRATTA AFFAIRS, TO THE TREATY OF BASSEIN, 1799 TO 1802.

THE character of Tippoo Sooltan was so strange, that it can hardly be passed without a few brief remarks. His cruelties to his own subjects, his forcible conversions of Hindoos, and the tenor of his administration, combined with his fierce religious bigotry and fanaticism, were sufficiently revolting to his people at large; while the murder in cold blood of many English prisoners, and his almost systematic ill-treatment of all, had produced a feeling of revenge against him personally, which had never before been excited in India, and pervaded all ranks of the invading army. There seemed to be no bound to his arrogance or his ambition in political questions, and treaties were made or repudiated as suited his convenience. His subjects even were weary of a reign which had lasted seventeen years in a succession of turmoil, cruelty, and oppression, which has been faithfully portrayed by the native historians of the period, and by Tippoo himself in his own diaries. Perhaps the best estimate of his character is given by Syed Hussein, one of his most confidential servants, whose memoirs of the sooltan are very interesting. He writes:—‘There was nothing of permanency in his views, no solidity in his councils, and no confidence on the part of the government. All was innovation on his part, and the fear of further novelty on the part of others; the order of to-day was expected to be reversed by the invention of to-morrow. All the world was puzzled what distinct character should be assigned to a sovereign who was never the same. The most intelligent and sincere well-wishers of the house concurred in the opinion of his (Tippoo’s) father, that his head and heart were both defective, however covered by a plausible and imposing flow of words; and that they were not always without symptoms of mental aberration.’ Of no court or

Character of  
Tippoo  
Sooltan.

sovereign of India, are there more profuse records than those of Mysore, nor have any Indian monarchs, not even Babur or Hoomayoon, left more copious memoirs than Tippoo, in his own handwriting. French, English, and native accounts differ little in details of murder, torture, and mutilation, which marked the savage; while the strange records of visions and dreams, the contemplated construction of a new sect, of which he should be the prophet and teacher; the wild doctrines he propounded, and his horrible superstitions, mark indeed but too strongly the 'mental aberrations' noted by his biographer. His father prophesied he would lose the kingdom he had gained; and he lost it, dying bravely in defence of what he had made the strongest fortress in India. Mr. Mill, strange to say, takes a high view of Tippoo's character in many respects; but it is difficult to receive it in the face of his own admissions and records, and those of his servants and biographers, who were at least uninfluenced by foreign considerations.

The Mysore territory was now to be divided. Portions were set aside on their several frontiers for the British, the Division of Mysore. Nizam, and the Peshwah; for though the latter had taken no part in the contest, he could not, in the face of the former tripartite treaty, be entirely ignored; and the remainder, which consisted of the ancient kingdom of Mysore, The ancient kingdom of Mysore restored to its rajah. was made over to the real rajah of the country, a boy of five years old, who was found with his family in confinement. Lord Wellesley appointed English commissioners to arrange the details of administration during his minority; and Poornea, the able finance minister of the late kingdom, was associated with them in the executive detail. The family of Tippoo Sooltan was removed to Vellore, and an Allowances to the family of Tippoo. allowance of 240,000 pagodas, about 84,000*l.*, per annum assigned to them, payable from the revenues of the British portion of the conquest, the balance of which was indeed inferior to that allotted to the Nizam. The portion to be assigned to the Mah-rattas brings the narrative of history again into connection with them.

Sindia still, as has been related, remained at Poona; but he was really desirous of returning to his dominions, and a Mahratta affairs. further advance of money by Nana Furnawees enabled him to do so. This aroused the fears of Bajee Rao, who, so long as he could play off one against the other, conceived himself secure, and he now visited Nana secretly by night, reiterating his promises of good faith, and laying his head on the feet of his minister—the most sacred oath he could take—swore to be true to him. Nana, therefore, retained his office; but shortly afterwards

understood from Sindia himself that the Peshwah was faithless, and was trying to persuade him to arrest him. The Peshwah, upbraided by Nana, denied the accusation; but Nana's suspicions were not removed, and, to an unavoidable extent only, he continued the duties of his office. While these intrigues had been in progress, the Nizam had concluded the new subsidiary alliance with the governor-general; and a similar one was offered to the Peshwah, but declined, on the grounds that the former treaties were sufficient, and that he was ready to afford his aid in the war with Tippoo. The Peshwah was still uncertain whether his interests lay in a junction with Tippoo, whose agents were at his court, or with the English against him. The Mahratta force, therefore, which had been assembled avowedly to co-operate with the English and the Nizam, was kept inactive. After much irresolution, the Peshwah finally determined to side with Tippoo; and a scheme was prepared with Sindia to attack the Nizam, which must necessarily, they considered, cause a diversion of the British forces; they hoped, also, that Rughoojee Bhósley of Berar would join their confederation. Of these intentions the governor-general was completely advised: and before any action could be taken by the Peshwah and Sindia, the death of Tippoo, and distribution of his territories, had occurred. On this event, the Peshwah and Sindia both tendered their congratulations to the governor-general, though Sindia, at the same time, had dispatched messengers into Mysore to stir up disaffection. The Peshwah agreed to receive the territory allotted to him, 'as an equivalent for the demands of chouth on the Mysore State;' but as he still distinctly refused to accede to the mediation of the English in regard to his claims on the Nizam, or to recognise the treaty of Mhar, the negotiations with him entirely broke down, and the reserved territory was ultimately divided between the English and the Nizam.

With his highness a new treaty was concluded on October 12, 1800, by which the subsidiary force was increased to eight battalions; and for their payment the districts obtained from Mysore were ceded by him in perpetuity.

*New treaty  
with the  
Nizam.*

On their part, the English contracted to defend the Nizam's territories from all aggression. This treaty was necessarily the death-blow to the schemes of the Peshwah and Sindia, who, in the event of any movement on the Nizam, would be attacked by the British forces. On the other hand, the Nizam, by the cession of territory just acquired for the payment of the British forces, was in no worse pecuniary condition than before, was removed from all demands and liabilities for

*Advantages  
gained by the  
Nizam.*

money, and was protected from his hereditary enemies. The possession of the ceded districts brought up the British frontier to the Krishna river, which, with the exception of a small portion of the Mahratta territory in the west, formed a well-defined line of frontier.

Omitting details of a war between the Peshwah and the Rajah of Kolapoor, which desolated the Southern Mahratta provinces, and in which the gallant Puréshráṃ Bhow was killed, the death of Nana Furnawees must be mentioned, which occurred on March 12, 1800. 'With him,'

Death of  
Nana  
Furnawees.

wrote Colonel Palmer, the Resident at Poona, 'has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government.' He had consistently been opposed to the

His cha-  
racter.

political progress of the English as subversive of Mahratta power, and he objected to the employment of foreign troops under any conditions; but he was faithful to his political engagements, and his devotion to the maintenance of the honour of his own nation is attested by the respect of all his contemporaries. The faithless materials with which he had to deal at the close of his life threw him into intrigues and combinations for his own preservation, which would otherwise have been avoided, and left him at liberty to continue the able administration he had conducted for twenty-five years. Disorders soon became prevalent in the De-

Disorders in  
the Deccan.

can. Sindia took the lead in them, in an attempt to possess himself of the estates of Puréshráṃ Bhow:

Ghátgay was released, and renewed his horrible barbarities; and

Dhondia  
Wáug pur-  
sued and  
slain in  
action.

the Rajah of Kolapoor was at war with the Peshwah: Dhondia Wáug, who had passed from Tippoo's service to that of Kolapoor, left the latter, and commenced a career of plunder on his own account, which was cut

short by a force under Colonel Arthur Wellesley, which pursued him for four months, and at last brought him to bay in an action, on September 10, in which he was killed. Sindia kept guard over the Peshwah, who probably, in order to be freed of him, would now have courted a more intimate English alliance: but, always wavering, and involved in petty intrigues and temporary expedients, he could decide upon no consistent course of policy.

Meanwhile, the Holkar family were again rising into notice and power. Jeswunt Ráo, though illegitimate, was bold and enterprising. He was joined by the Chevalier Dudrenec and his battalions, and he commenced to plunder Sindia's dominions in Malwah with so much pertinacity and success, that Sindia, at the close of 1800, was obliged to leave Poona, and

Sindia  
opposes him,  
and is  
defeated.

advance into Malwah. Holkar was prepared to receive him, and in an obstinate battle near Oojein, in June 1801, Sindia's forces were defeated; but Holkar, who

afterwards attacked Sindia's convoy of artillery, was in turn repulsed. The departure of Sindia left the Peshwah entirely at liberty; but, instead of consolidating his authority, he began deliberately to destroy and despoil all families whom he conceived had ever opposed him. Among others, Wittoojee, the brother of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, was executed in his presence, by being dragged at the foot of an elephant. In Malwah, the war between Sindia and Jeswunt Rao Holkar proceeded; and on October 14 the latter was defeated near Indoor, with the loss of ninety-eight pieces of cannon and the plunder of his capital. By this event, however, he was not discouraged. He soon afterwards attacked Sindia's possessions in Khandesh, and his operations had extended almost to Poona, when the Peshwah again besought aid from the British Government, but still refused the terms prescribed by the governor-general in regard to the Nizam, which were the only basis on which they could be obtained. After a variety of manœuvres, Jeswunt Rao advanced close to Poona, professing allegiance to the Peshwah, but demanding his interference in regard to Sindia; and this having been refused, the Peshwah's and Sindia's united armies drew up for battle on October 25. The forces on both sides were nearly equal; but Holkar, displaying great energy and valour, led charge after charge against Sindia's disciplined battalions, broke and defeated them, and the rest of the army fled, leaving all their guns and stores to the victor. The consequence of this victory was, that the Peshwah fled immediately to the fort of Singurh, and transmitted an engagement to the British resident, Colonel Close, to conclude a subsidiary treaty for the maintenance of six battalions of Sepoys. From Singurh, the Peshwah proceeded to Mhar, and thence to Bassein, where he was joined by Colonel Close; and by December 31, the articles of a new treaty were completed. In substance, they comprised mutual defensive alliance, with the cantonment of six regiments of native infantry, and a proportion of European artillery, in the Peshwah's dominions; and districts yielding twenty-six lacs of rupees were to be assigned for their support. The Peshwah also confirmed the treaty of Mhar, and submitted his claims on the Nizam and the Gaikwar to English arbitration, and finally contracted to enter upon no hostilities, without consultation with the British Government. The treaty was a virtual surrender of independence; but it arose out of a position into which his own intrigues had driven him.

Holkar  
defeated by  
Sindia.

Holkar  
advances  
to Poona,

and defeats  
the Peshwah  
and Sindia.

The Peshwah  
executes the  
treaty of  
Bassein with  
the English.

## CHAPTER X.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY,  
1800 to 1803.

BEFORE he left Madras, the governor-general placed the State of Tanjore under British administration. The rajah had died in 1787, and having no natural heir, had adopted a boy named Syfajee. This adoption was set aside by the deceased Rajah's half-brother, Ameer Singh, as illegal: and his own succession was confirmed by the Court of Directors, upon the representation of the Madras Government. It was discovered afterwards, however, that the adoption had been perfectly legal, according to Hindoo law: and the court having admitted the fact, Syfajee was declared rajah, with an allowance of 40,000*l.* a year, and a fifth of the net revenues in addition. It will be remembered that this State had been founded by Shahjee, the father of Sivajee, in the time of the Beejapoor monarchy.

About the same time also, the governor-general directed that the small State of Surat, in which the authority was divided between the Nawáb, who was a descendant of the last imperial governor, and the English, should be managed on the same principle as Tanjore. The settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic followed. Suspicions had not been wanting that the present Nawáb, Oomdut-ool-Oomrah, as well as his father, had not been, at heart, well affected to the English; and a correspondence was found among Tippoo Sooltan's papers which confirmed the fact beyond question. Lord Wellesley did not hesitate to make this discovery the basis of a final settlement of the Carnatic affairs: and he wrote on May 28, 1801, to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, to proceed with it. Oomdut-ool-Oomrah, the Nawáb, was then on his death-bed, and expired on July 15. It was found that he had appointed his reputed son, Ally Hussein, as his successor, who was now informed that the illness of the late Nawáb had formed the only ground for action not having been taken upon the discovery of the traitorous correspondence with Tippoo, and that the only terms on which his succession could be recognised, would be his relinquishment of the administration, and acceptance of an allowance from the revenues of the country. The youth, acting under the influence of his advisers, rejected this; and there is hardly a doubt that he was counselled to resist by the clique of English and native money-lenders who still flourished at the court. Lord Wellesley's

instructions, however, allowed of no modification; and setting aside Ally Hussein, application was made to Azeem-ood-Dowlah, son of the late Nawáb's brother, who accepted the terms offered without hesitation. A fifth of the net revenues of the Carnatic was assigned for his support, and the entire administration of the provinces was assumed by the Government of Madras, to the extinction of the double authority from which they had so long, and apparently so hopelessly, suffered.

In the north-west, the threatened progress of Zemán Shah had been stopped by the rebellion of his brother at Kabool; and by the effect of a native agent sent to the King of Persia by the governor-general—who, being a Sheea, contrived to excite the King of Persia against the Afghan Soonies—the diversion was caused which obliged Zemán Shah to leave India.

The cordial reception of this agent encouraged Lord Wellesley to send a formal embassy to Persia in 1800, and Captain Malcolm made an admirable ambassador. The embassy was the first that had visited Tehrán since the period of Queen Elizabeth; it was magnificently equipped, and furnished with costly presents, and was so far successful, that it established commercial intercourse with Persia, bound the king not to permit the introduction of French influence, and to check the Afghans should they have designs upon India. Perhaps, however, the results of the previous native agency had had the most practical effect.

Malcolm's  
embassy to  
Persia.

It will be remembered that Vizier Ally, who had assumed the government of Oudh, had been displaced by Lord Teignmouth in favour of the now reigning prince, Saadut Ally. Vizier Ally took up his residence at Benares, where it was found he was in correspondence with Zemán Shah, and was a focus for many other traitorous intrigues. The local agent,

Murder of  
Mr. Cherry by  
Vizier Ally.

Mr. Cherry, was directed to remonstrate with him, and to cause his removal to Calcutta, and Vizier Ally affected to comply; but on an occasion of an apparently friendly visit, on January 14, 1799, he attacked Mr. Cherry, killed him, Mr. Graham, and Captain Conway, then present, and endeavoured to murder Mr. Davis, the judge, who, however, defended himself valiantly in his house, and escaped. Vizier Ally's house was then attacked in turn by the British troops: but he contrived to escape, and after endeavouring to create a rebellion in Oudh, was given up by the Rajah of Jeynagurh, and confined for life in Calcutta.

He is  
imprisoned  
for life.

This melancholy episode preceded the adjustment of affairs with Saadut Ally, the Nawáb Vizier, which had fallen into a very unsatisfactory condition; and so far from

Affairs of  
Oudh.

Oudh being a barrier against Mahratta or other encroachment from the north-west, as it was hoped according to former policy it would be, the province had become a serious weakness, and subject of apprehension. Sir John Craig, who commanded the British forces in Oudh, had reported the utter uselessness and disorganisation of the Nawáb's forces, and considered them more a source of danger than advantage. On the other hand, the exactions of the Nawáb, and the effete character of his administration, had disgusted his people, and decreased the legitimate revenues of the State. Reform could not, therefore, be delayed,

and the governor-general applied himself to effect it with his accustomed vigour. His right of interference had been established by former treaty; in short, the Vizier held the country only upon the sufferance of the English: there was more absolute right of control in Oudh than had existed in the Carnatic, and had that right been at once declared and exercised, the effect would have been better, perhaps, than the policy of expediency, as subsequently followed in the other case. The negotiations in the question were very protracted. They had commenced in 1799, on the apprehended danger from Zémán Shah. The Nawáb was asked to disband or reduce his useless forces, and to receive, in lieu of them, additional English troops, equal to the defence of his territories; but the increased expense would be fifty lacs of rupees a year, and to this he objected, and offered to abdicate. Lord Wellesley trusted that the abdication would be made, when, as he advised the home government, he should assume absolute charge of the Oudh territory; but this course had never been the real intention of the Nawáb, and he contrived to protract the negotiation by every means in his power.

It must be admitted that many of his representations have truth on their side; and that at first sight the policy of the governor-general appears harsh and exacting. On the other hand, that policy was exclusively directed to the defence of Oudh against the restless and unstable Mahrattas, which, as Lord Wellesley foresaw, was an unavoidable necessity, because it involved also the defence of Bengal; and though the Nawáb at one time showed indications of submission, in the discharge of some of his troops, yet he still pleaded inability to pay the new demands, or to make any arrangement for them. The governor-general was not disposed to relax these demands; he pointed out the districts of Corah, Alla-

Mr. Wellesley  
is sent to  
Oudh,

habad, and Rohilkhund, as sufficient for the purpose: and dispatched his brother, the Hon. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, to bring the affair to a conclusion. Mr. Wellesley found the Nawáb Vizier practically,

though professing submission, as much opposed to the execution of a new treaty as ever; but he nevertheless induced him to conclude one on November 14, 1801; not, however, before orders had been issued to the revenue officers of the province to retain their collections on account of the British Government. The amount of these revenues was estimated at 135 lacs—1,350,000*l.*—per annum. The whole of the transaction has formed a subject of discussion which it is useless to revive; but it will at least be conceded that the defence of Oudh was completed, and the substitution of territorial revenue for continued demands for money, never before punctually paid, and the security of the Nawáb in the territory which remained to him, were at least effected; while it was evident that the release of the people from the baneful effects of a government which had never either been protective or efficient, was a corresponding advantage which can hardly be overrated. Some slight resistance was made by Zemindars, who had always been lawless and refractory: and by the Nawáb of Furrukabad, who had been a feudal tributary of Oudh; but these local affairs were soon adjusted by Mr. Wellesley, and the Nawáb of Furrukabad was pensioned.

and the  
Nawáb  
executes a  
new treaty.

Results of  
the treaty.

Indian troops  
sent to  
Egypt.

Reforms in  
the civil  
administra-  
tion.

College of  
Fort William  
established.

If the governor-general could have secured the co-operation of Admiral Rainier, he would have attacked the Mauritius in 1799, when French privateers committed great depredations; but the admiral could not be persuaded to enter upon such an enterprise without an order from the king, and the project was necessarily abandoned. The expedition to Egypt, however, in 1800, was fully carried out. Seven thousand English and native troops landed at Kosseir; made a memorable march across the Desert, and from Ghennéh descended the Nile to Rosetta. Peace with France prevented their having an opportunity of meeting the French troops in action, but the moral effect of the expedition made a deep impression throughout India.

During all his political negotiations, Lord Wellesley had devoted a full measure of his great talents to the improvement of the civil administration of India, and reforms of what he considered, and really were, existing abuses. In regard to the Sudder Court of Appeal, the head of which was the governor-general in council, he renounced his own authority: and in 1800 separated the court finally from the legislative and executive functions of the administration. New judges, selected from the ablest of the civil servants, were appointed, with a result which was hailed with satisfaction by the people, and proved as useful as it was necessary. For the education of the young civilians in duties and responsibilities now immensely extended, the college of Fort William was established

in the same year. It was perhaps—though its use was unquestionable—founded on too magnificent a basis, and on January 22, 1802, the directors ordered its abolition. Many alterations had been made by the court in regard to officers in India, to which

Encourage-  
ment of  
private  
trade offends  
the Court of  
Directors.

Lord Wellesley had appointed the ablest men he could select. They were displaced, and nominees of the court, in many instances totally inefficient, were appointed; but his greatest crime in the eyes of the court, was Lord Wellesley's encouragement of private Indian trade, by means of which, in India-built ships, he was creating a noble mercantile navy, with corresponding increase of trade. The company, under their narrow views of monopoly, could not follow the practically magnificent plans of their governor-general: and though he was supported by the ministry of the

Votes of  
censure  
passed.

crown, the Court of Directors and Proprietors recorded severe resolutions of censure. Against these, and against the general policy of the court, in regard to vexatious interference with his acts and patronage, Lord Wellesley protested in vain. It was impossible for him to bring about any conception of the magnitude or effect of his general policy. It can be followed now, with full admiration and appreciation of the views and acts of a great statesman; but then it was simply alarming and incomprehensible to men of narrow minds, professing a policy jealously guarded and circumscribed by previous tradition and experience. Lord Wellesley, there-

The Marquess  
Wellesley  
resigns  
office, but  
retains it for  
a year.

fore, tendered his resignation, and awaited the reply, which arrived early in 1803, and in which, perhaps to his surprise, with a commendation of his great zeal and ability, he was requested to continue in office for another year.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY (*continued*)— THE SECOND MAHRATTA WAR, 1803.

THE treaty of Bassein was viewed with great alarm by the Mahratta chiefs. The policy which Nana Furnawees had continued for twenty-five years, to remain independent of foreign alliances, had been deliberately broken by the head of the nation; and it was evident that the English possessed not only the will, but the power, to resent and punish any breach of faith. Sindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, had neither been consulted in regard to it, nor

Alarm of the  
Mahrattas in  
regard to the  
treaty of  
Bassein.

were aware of its purport till its execution. After the battle of Poona, Holkar indeed tried to induce the Peshwah to return, in order to mediate between himself and Sindia; but, failing in this, he affected to consider Bajee Rao's flight as a virtual abdication, and offered the office of Peshwah to his brother, Amrut Rao, who accepted it; and a deed of investiture was obtained from the Rajah of Sattara. In order to supply themselves with funds, the unhappy inhabitants of Poona were again mercilessly plundered by Holkar and Amrut Rao, and the country around devastated. Meanwhile, the Peshwah had no sooner signed the English treaty than he was prepared to ignore it; and he sent private letters to Sindia and the Rajah of Berar, urging them to march upon Poona, avowedly to punish Holkar, but in reality to support him against the English.

New Intrigues by the Peshwah.

With Sindia, the governor-general had entered into negotiations, and offered a subsidiary treaty. Captain Collins, Lord Wellesley's agent, visited Sindia in his camp at Boorhanpoor, at the end of February 1803; but he found him impracticable on the subject of such an alliance. He professed himself hurt, that as in the case of the treaty of Salbye, that of Bassein should not have been conducted through his instrumentality; and he gave it to be understood that though he could not interfere with its provisions as regarded the Peshwah, he considered himself altogether independent of the transaction. The fact was, that he was then negotiating with the Rajah of Berar a joint confederacy of the whole of the Mahratta nation against the English—a course in which both he and the Rajah of Berar were secretly encouraged by the Peshwah. It is impossible within the scope of this work to review the various able papers to which this crisis gave rise; but the student should not fail to peruse the Marquess Wellesley's dispatches on the subject, and the opinion of Lord Castlereagh in his minute on the treaty of Bassein, which he condemned; but by far the most practical and correct of all, is the late Duke of Wellington's (then General Wellesley's) paper upon Mahratta affairs, which reviews the whole subject, with a clearness and precision which are truly admirable; and was continued, in the war which followed, by those numerous military and political dispatches, which form in themselves a complete illustration and history of the period. Holkar was as yet at Poona, and declined association with the league. His plans were, no doubt, then directed to his own aggrandisement in Hindostan; and he foresaw, should Sindia decide upon war with the English, that his possessions in Hindostan and Malwah would be defenceless.

Sindia refuses a subsidiary treaty.

His motives.

State papers, and review of Mahratta affairs.

These events were fully known to the governor-general; and,

whatever might be the result of the combination between Sindia and the Rajah of Berar, it was at least necessary to carry out the provisions of the treaty of Bassein, and place the Peshwah in his authority at Poona. This was an object in which the subsidiary force with the Nizam, as well as some of the Nizam's own troops, could be employed under the treaty; and on March 25, 1803, the Hyderabad subsidiary force, under Colonel Stevenson, with 9,000 horse and 6,000 foot of the Nizam's, reached Purainda, on the Seena river, which formed the Peshwah's boundary. At the same time, General Wellesley, with 8,000 infantry, 1,700 cavalry, and 2,000 Mysore horse, was moving up from Mysore, through the Southern Mahratta provinces, whence he succeeded in carrying with him 10,000 Mahratta horse, contributed by the Peshwah's feudatories to assist in his restoration.

Holkar did not wait the arrival of the British troops, fearing, as was reported, that Poona would be burned by Amrut Ráo. General Wellesley made a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours with the cavalry, and found the city evacuated. Holkar had retired northwards to Malwah, and Amrut Ráo towards Nassuk, where he was plundering the country. He made overtures, however, to General Wellesley, for reconciliation with his brother; but this being refused by the Peshwah, Amrut Ráo retired from the contest to Benares, on a pension of 80,000*l.* per year, paid by the British Government.

On May 13, 1803, the Peshwah arrived at Poona under an escort of British troops, and took possession of his office. Holkar was invited to come to Poona, and the British Resident offered his intervention: but between thoughts of revenge for his brother's execution, and the chances of war in Hindostan, Jeswunt Ráo could not be prevailed upon to abandon his own independent designs. It was impossible, however, for the governor-general to be content with the attitude assumed by Sindia, and he was called upon for explanation of it. The answer was evasive and defiant: he could promise nothing, he replied, till he had seen the Rajah of Berar, when 'the Resident should be informed whether there would be peace or war.' To General Wellesley, as political agent, the governor-general now confided the negotiations to ensue, and a remarkable document was drawn up by him, proposing to the chiefs, who all as yet professed friendly intentions, to withdraw their armies within their own territories: while, on his own part, he promised a similar proceeding on behalf of the British forces. This straightforward proceeding had the effect anticipated. The

Military  
operations to  
support the  
Peshwah.

Holkar  
returns to  
Malwah.

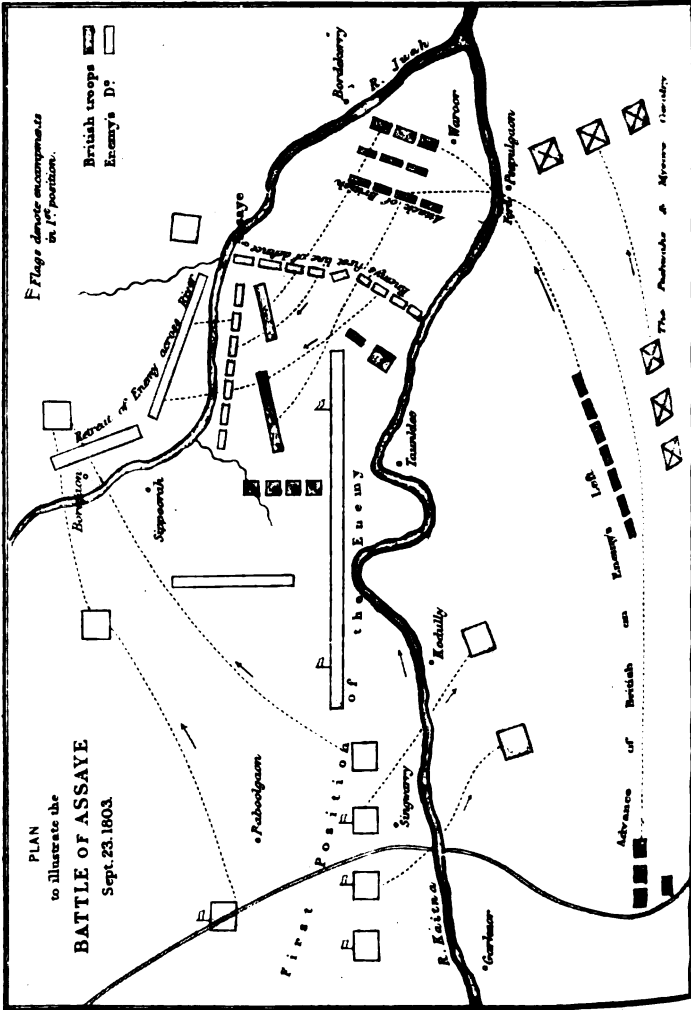
The Peshwah  
reaches  
Poona.

Defiant  
attitude of  
Sindia.



**F** Flags denote encryptions in 1<sup>st</sup> position.

British troops ☒   
 Enemy's D: ☐



appeal to the confederate chiefs was rejected by them, and on the withdrawal of the envoys, on August 3, war was virtually declared. Lord Wellesley, it will not be doubted, had fully foreseen the contingency of war, and had made every preparation for it. In addition to the army in the Deccan, under General Wellesley, 8,000 men as a reserve were placed in the Southern Mahratta provinces, under General Stuart; a similar number in Guzerat, under Colonel Murray; in Hindostan, an army of 10,500 men, under General Lake; with a reserve force of 3,500 at Allahabad; and towards Cuttack, 5,000 men were prepared for the invasion of that province, held by Rughojee Bhóslay of Berar. The whole amounted to upwards of 50,000 men, animated with the highest ardour, and in every respect complete in equipment. On no other occasion had the English displayed such force in the field, nor had they ever before encountered greater, because such efficient, adversaries.

War ensues.

Enumeration and positions of the British forces.

General Wellesley had with him an army of about 7,000 British troops, with which he opened the war by capturing the strong and important fort of Ahmednugger, on August 12, which formed a basis for his operations. Dowlut Ráo Sindia, to whom he was immediately opposed, had with him about 18,000 disciplined infantry, with a noble park of artillery and 20,000 cavalry, in addition to which were the more irregular troops of the Rajah of Berar. The capture of Ahmednugger was a severe blow to Sindia; but he advanced by ascending the Ajunta Ghát from Berar, on August 24, and took up a position at Jaulnah. Sindia's design seemed evidently to get in the rear of General Wellesley, and to plunder the Nizam's districts; but an advance made by General Wellesley from Aurungabad defeated this intention, and Sindia halted on the banks of the Kailnah river, between the villages of Assaye and Bokerdun. On the 23rd, General Wellesley found himself within six miles of Sindia's camp, and resolved, without waiting for Colonel Stevenson's junction with him, to attack the Mahratta army. He had not more than 4,500 men of all arms; but by sheer valour and hard fighting he won the most splendid victory that had ever been achieved in the field in India. Sindia's army was routed, with the loss of 98 pieces of cannon, and 12,000 men killed on the field; for the old battalions of De Boigne had fought desperately by their guns. On the other hand, General Wellesley's loss in killed and wounded exceeded a third of his whole force; but the combined Mahratta armies were irretrievably routed, and Sindia and Rughojee Bhóslay had fled from the field early in the action, leaving their troops to their fate.

Ahmed-nugger captured.

Sindia advances from Berar.

Battle of Assaye.

Defeat and rout of Sindia's army.

On the 24th, Colonel Stevenson joined General Wellesley, and was immediately dispatched in pursuit of Sindia beyond the Tapti—a movement which, by October 21, resulted in the capture of the city of Boorhanpoor and the famous fortress of Aseergurh.

Meanwhile, Sindia's possessions in Guzerat had been reduced, and Barôch, Pawángurh, and Champaneer captured; by September 17, Hindostan alone remained, and was the scene of a spirited campaign by General Lake.

Sindia's forces were commanded by M. Perron, the successor of De Boigne, who had retired to Europe in 1793. They had not decreased in efficiency, and formed the best part of his army. In addition to his military command, M. Perron had been invested by Sindia with civil and political power over the whole of his northern territories, and during the events at Poona, he had managed them with great ability. Now, however, local

intrigue proved too strong for him, he was superseded in his civil office, and no doubt foreseeing the issue of the war with the British, he resigned Sindia's service, and retired to Calcutta, when the command of the

disciplined troops devolved upon M. Louis Bourquin. General Lake found Sindia's forces, chiefly cavalry, encamped at Coel, near the fort of Allygurh, which was forthwith attacked and carried by storm, on August 29, by an extraordinary *coup de main*, on the almost impregnable gateways. This was followed up, on September 7, by an advance upon Dehly, where General Lake was met near the city by the Mahrattas, under

M. Louis Bourquin, whom he defeated, after a bloody action, with the loss of his guns, and 3,000 killed and wounded, that of the British being proportionably

severe. Dehly was then taken possession of, and the unfortunate sightless emperor found himself again under English protection. On October 10, Lord Lake, who had been joined by 5,000 horse, sent by the Ját Rajah of Bhurtpoor, defeated the enemy near Agra, taking 26 guns; and on the 18th, the celebrated imperial

fortress capitulated, and the treasury, arsenal, and 162 pieces of cannon were captured. The last action of

this campaign was fought at Laswaree, on November 1. Sindia's forces consisted of the battalions of Dudrenec, which had been sent

up from the Deccan, joined to those of Bourquin. The engagement proved to be the most obstinate yet fought;

the battalions of De Boigne in their last battle, though they lost 71 guns, covered themselves with glory, and for the most part died fighting to the last; but the British loss was proportionably severe in 824 killed and wounded.

Pursuit of  
Sindia.

Boorhanpoor  
and  
Aseergurh  
captured.

Sindia's  
forces in  
Hindostan.

M. Perron  
resigns, and  
is succeeded  
by M.  
Bourquin.

Lake's first  
campaign.

Mahrattas  
defeated at  
Dehly.

Agra  
captured.

Victory of  
Laswaree.

In Cuttack, the resistance was comparatively feeble; and by October 10 Cuttack itself had fallen, and the capture of the fort of Barabutte by storm, on October 14, completed the reduction of the province. <sup>Cuttack reduced.</sup> The operations in Bundelkhund present no remarkable features. The Peshwah's possessions were occupied, and in consideration of the importance of their situation, they were retained under an engagement with him, by which the quota of troops he had contracted to supply was reduced in proportion to their value. The cession of territory of the value of twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum for the payment of the subsidiary force to be made in the Deccan, was also exchanged for the Peshwah's possessions in Bundelkhund. These, however, proved to be more nominal than real, and involved much subsequent difficulty.

Meanwhile, the movements in the Deccan and Berar had continued; but the details of them have comparatively little general interest. <sup>Campaign in Berar</sup> Rughojee Bhósley found that he had no chance of plundering the Nizam's districts, or of outmanœuvring General Wellesley, and turned towards his own dominions. In this movement he was followed by both corps of the British army: the capture of the great hill-fortresses of Narnalla and Gáwilgurh being a material object. Sindia, now thoroughly disheartened, sent an envoy for peace, and after the arrival of his proper credentials, a suspension of hostilities was granted, on November 22, by General Wellesley, on condition that Sindia's forces should move to the eastward: but the same terms could not be extended to the Rajah of Berar so long as his army was in the field. <sup>Sindia proposes peace.</sup> At this time Rughojee Bhósley's troops were encamped at Argaom, in West Berar, in order to cover Gáwilgurh <sup>Battle of Argaom.</sup> and Narnalla. Some of the wreck of Sindia's infantry, with his own, and a park of artillery, were with them in this position, protected by a body of Sindia's cavalry stationed at a short distance. General Wellesley, as Sindia had not complied with the conditions of the armistice, determined to attack the whole; and, having been joined by Colonel Stevenson, advanced on November 28 and 29. At the close of a long march, on the afternoon of the 29th, intending to halt at Argaom, General Wellesley, on the arrival of the advanced guard, found himself in front of the army of the confederates. He immediately attacked them, and though a portion of their troops fought well, and a brilliant charge was made by Sindia's cavalry, they were defeated with severe loss in men and their guns. The capture of the stupendous mountain-fortress of Gáwilgurh followed—an operation of exceeding labour <sup>Gáwilgurh taken.</sup> and skill, patiently and successfully achieved. On

December 15, the outer or northern fort was breached, and the whole place stormed and captured; but the Rajpoot commander and his relatives were found to have put their families to death before they met the storming party by which they were killed.

Thus the last hope of the Mahratta confederates perished, and negotiations were now opened in earnest. The treaty with Rughoojee Bhósley, rajah of Berar, was first concluded on December 17. He was obliged to cede the province of Cuttack, the whole of Berar lying west of the Wurdah river, and to resign all claims on the Nizam. The negotiation for the treaty with Sindia was not so quickly accomplished, and as the principal aggressor and contriver of the confederacy, the terms insisted upon were more severe. Nor was it until he was assured that in case of a protraction of the war the whole of his dominions would be inevitably annexed by the governor-general, that he agreed to receive the conditions offered. The treaty was concluded at Sirjee Anjengaoon on December 30, and by it he relinquished all his territory between the Jumna and Ganges called the Dooáb; all his districts in Rajpootana, except those between Jeypoor and Joudhpoor; all his possessions in the Deccan and Khandésh, except his private hereditary estates; and he resigned all claims upon the Nizam, the Péshwah, and the Gaikwar. There were also many other minor points, in regard to his own private estates in other localities and settlements with dependants, which need not be enumerated. He was offered a defensive alliance, which he accepted, on February 27, 1804, by a new article added at Boorhanpoor, and agreed to maintain a force of 6,000 infantry with artillery; but this portion of the treaty was never carried out.

Thus concluded the Mahratta war of 1803. The whole of the operations, from the capture of Ahmednugger, on August 8 to 12, and that of Gáwilgurh on December 15, had occupied only four months and four days, and had been carried on simultaneously and with unvarying success in four quarters of India, separated from each other by many hundreds of miles, while the revenues of the provinces obtained amounted to nearly six millions sterling a year.

Treaty with  
Rughoojee  
Bhoslay.

Treaty of  
Sirjee  
Anjengaoon  
with Sindia;  
its provi-  
sions.

Conclusion of  
the first  
Mahratta  
war.

## CHAPTER XII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY (*concluded*)—  
THE WAR WITH HOLKAR, AND SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF THE  
MARQUESS CORNWALLIS, FOLLOWED BY THAT OF SIR G. BARLOW,  
1804 TO 1805.

THE great Nizam Ally had died at Hyderabad on August 6, 1803, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sikunder Jáh. Death of Nizam Ally. This event had no effect upon the result of the war, or the obligations of the subsidiary treaty; nor was Sikunder Jáh the Nizam made answerable for the conduct of his dis- succeeds. trict officers, who behaved traitorously, and were strongly suspected, and in many instances accused, of complicity with the enemy. The governor-general, notwithstanding, bestowed upon the Nizam the fine province of Berar lying west of the Wurdah river. Many other treaties of offensive and defensive alliance were concluded by General Lake, of which Bhurtpoor and the Játs, with several minor Rajpoot principalities, were Other new treaties with native States. rendered independent of Sindia and the Mahrattas. A subsidiary treaty, concluded with the Gáikwar, provided that five battalions of infantry should be received by him, and districts yielding twelve lacs of rupees were assigned for their payment. At this period, the Gáikwar's State was oppressed with debt, and the expenditure was far above the income; but, under the admirable management of Colonel Walker, the Resident, the turbulent local army, a great proportion of which were Arabs, was paid off and reduced, and the State affairs gradually recovered.

Although the additional year of service requested by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control had expired, the Marquess Wellesley still remained in India, and the Effects of the Marquess Wellesley's policy. events recorded are among the most wonderful in the history of the country. In no portion of the political or military combinations had any weakness been displayed, or check appeared. Sindia's power was broken, that of the Rajah of Berar circumscribed, and the prestige of the capture of Dehly, and the protection of the aged emperor, belonged to the British, who, from Calcutta to Dehly, were now supreme. Holkar, how- Holkar's proceedings. ever, remained; and it was evident that he could not be allowed to continue as he was, a nucleus for all the disbanded soldiery of the north-west, supporting them by indiscriminate plunder. He had already levied contribution in Sindia's territory

to a large extent, and, after his own violent fashion, devastated several of his provinces; and he was evidently watching an opportunity for further action. In the war with Sindia he took no part; and openly rejoiced at the complete humiliation of his rival.

**His demands.** Early in 1804, he addressed demands to General Lake

and General Wellesley, by letter and by his agents, for chouth, and in regard to certain districts in the Dooab, which he asserted had many years before belonged to his family; and they were made in such threatening terms, and with such arrogance, that it was impossible even to consider them. Holkar had indeed determined, as he expressed it, 'to fight Lake,' and to take the place of Sindia in Hindostan; and the governor-general was

**Military movements against Holkar.** equally resolved to repress this fierce outbreak of predatory power. He therefore, on April 16, directed Generals Wellesley and Lake to attack Holkar's possessions. Owing to famine in the Deccan, General Wellesley was

unable to move; but Colonel Murray advanced from Guzerat upon Indoor, and by General Lake's arrangements in the north, Holkar was soon driven south of the Chumbul river. Tonk Rámpoora was taken on May 16, after which the British army retired into cantonments, for the monsoon had commenced early.

**Monson's injudicious advance.** Colonel Monson was, however, left in the field with

a force of five Sepoy regiments and 2,000 horse, partly belonging to Sindia and partly to Jeypoor, as a corps of observation. Monson, wishing to form a junction with Colonel Murray, advanced into Holkar's territory without adequate caution, and without sufficient supplies for his camp. It was at the best a useless, and proved an unfortunate, movement. When he heard of Murray's retirement into position for the rains, he began to

**Monson's disastrous retreat.** retreat himself on July 8, and Holkar followed him with his whole army. On the next three days the

column was attacked during its march, and the surrender of the whole demanded. On the 12th, the force reached Kóta, where they had hoped to receive assistance in food, and, in any case, shelter; but the rajah refused both, and the retreat continued. The miserable hardships endured, the repeated attacks and the gallantry displayed by the whole force, are well described in General Monson's narrative of the event, and it was not till August 31 that the shattered remains of the troops reached Agra.

This defeat, as it was considered by Holkar, and by many of the

**Holkar continues the war.** native chiefs who were as yet neutral, excited him to fresh exertion. At the head of 60,000 cavalry, 15,000

infantry, and 192 guns, he advanced to Muttra, whence the British force retreated, and he afterwards made an attempt to capture Dehly, which was gallantly and successfully defended

by Colonel Ochterlony, from October 8 to the 14th, with a weak detachment of Sepoys under his command. No action of the war, indeed, deserves greater commendation than this very brave and skilful defence of an almost untenable position. Dehly was relieved on October 18 by General Lake; and Holkar, who avoided an action with him, retired into the Bhurtpore territory, where the rajah, doubtful, after Monson's retreat, of the English supremacy, had broken the treaty with General Lake, and leagued himself with Holkar. On his way, he burst into the Dooáb, burning villages, and plundering the people without mercy; indeed, since the outbreak of the war, Holkar's conduct towards all belonging to, or connected with, the English, had been shockingly cruel and vindictive. General Lake's pursuit of Holkar was persistent and effective; and on November 12, his forces, no longer able to pursue their march, were found to have taken up a very strong position at Deeg, with their right resting on the batteries of the fort. Here they were attacked by Major-General Fraser, on the 13th; who fell early in the action, which was conducted to the finish, with great bravery, by Colonel Monson. The enemy lost about 2,000 men and eighty-seven guns; and on the side of the British, 643 men were killed and wounded; but the victory was complete. General Lake meanwhile, with his cavalry, was pursuing Holkar's horse, which was moving eastwards with a vast celerity; but they were overtaken near Furrukabad, and routed with a loss of 3,000 men. Holkar fled towards Deeg to join the remains of his broken infantry, and General Lake undertook the siege of Deeg, which was commenced on December 13, and ended in the surrender of that important place, after the storm of the city and outworks, on the 23rd.

For the present Holkar escaped; and General Lake, instead of pursuing him, which would have been the better policy, commenced the siege of Bhurtpore, and with very inefficient means. Accustomed to the capture of fortresses by *coup de main*, and comparatively feeble resistance, he was not prepared, either for the real strength of Bhurtpore, or for the obstinate valour displayed in its defence. Holkar had thrown the whole of his remaining infantry into the fort, and the Jâts themselves were brave soldiers. During the progress of the siege, Ameer Khan, on the part of Holkar, made efforts for its relief, but in vain. The Bombay divisions under Major-General Jones joined General Lake's army on February 10, 1805; and a previous assault having failed, another was made on the 20th, when two European regiments, one being the hitherto invincible 76th, the

Defence of  
Dehly.

Holkar  
returns to  
Bhurtpore.

He is  
pursued by  
General Lake.

Battle of  
Deeg.

The fort of  
Deeg  
captured.

First siege  
of Bhurt-  
pore.

victors in many a desperate fight, refused to follow their officers; but the 12th Bengal Native Infantry took their place, and covered themselves with glory. The assault, however, failed; but was renewed next day by the 75th and 76th, though without result, and with terrible loss. Holkar continued to hover around the fort with his cavalry, and to endeavour to intercept convoys; but on one occasion he was routed by Lord Lake, losing a thousand men; and about the same time a detachment of his infantry, 3,000 strong, was attacked and defeated with some loss, by Captain Royal. The Rajah of Bhurtpore, finding no hope from Holkar's efforts, now made overtures for peace, which were accepted. He paid twenty lacs of rupees, and renounced the advantages of his former treaty with General Lake. This result, it must be confessed, was somewhat humiliating, for Bhurtpore remained unshaken; and till its final capture, held the proud distinction of being the only fortress of India which had defied the British arms: but the pursuit of Holkar was an imperative necessity, and it had become doubtful whether he would not be joined by Sindia. Two of Sindia's officers had already joined Holkar; his father-in-law, Ghátgay, who continued to possess much influence over him, urged him to do the same, and he had attacked and plundered Mr. Jenkins, the acting Resident, retaining him prisoner in his camp. This attitude was promptly checked by the advance of General Martindell's force from Bundelkhand, and Sindia's tone now moderated; but he was joined soon after by Holkar himself, and General, now Lord, Lake advanced upon them with his whole army. They did not wait to meet him; but retired upon Kotah, and afterwards to Ajmere, and as the monsoon was commencing, the British troops took up positions for the season.

So long as the Marquess Wellesley's combinations had been successful, his authority had not been interfered with: but on the first sign of difficulty, a strong opposition was organised against him in England; the Marquess Cornwallis was solicited to resume the office of governor-general, and he reached Calcutta on July 30. There can be no doubt that by this unfortunate act the war was ultimately protracted, and Lord Wellesley's plans for peace frustrated. He had become disposed to make some cessions to Sindia on which that chieftain had set his heart; and there is no question that he would have prevailed, as Sindia had no real desire for a renewal of war. Ghátgay had been set aside by Holkar, and Sindia was already experiencing in some degree what would have inevitably been his fate, had he irrevocably linked his destinies

Unsuccessful  
attack on the  
breach.

The Rajah of  
Bhurtpore  
sues for  
peace.

Movements  
of Holkar  
and Sindia.

Recal of the  
Marquess  
Wellesley.

Lord Corn-  
wallis  
succeeds.

with those of his rival. But the chances of bringing his great policy to a triumphant conclusion were denied Lord Wellesley, and he returned to England to find his conduct condemned in the Court of Proprietors, by 928 to 195. Lord Wellesley's policy condemned in England, It was only after a period of nearly thirty years that the verdict was reversed, by a record of his eminent services, but subsequently approved. 'in upholding the interest and honour of the British empire.' His statue was placed in the India House, and a grant of 20,000*l.* made to him.

Lord Cornwallis arrived in India in very feeble health, and at the most trying period of the year; and he survived only till October 5, 1805. He was proceeding to the upper provinces, in order to carry out the policy which he had intimated to Lord Lake, and died at Ghazeepoor at the age of sixty-seven. His second administration had continued little more than two months. He had been sent to India to repress what was called the frenzy of conquest, which it was said had possessed not only Lord Wellesley, but all the company's servants in India; and as he thoroughly concurred in this policy, he made preparations to carry it out. On September 19, he wrote Lord Cornwallis's project for peace. an elaborate despatch on the subject to Lord Lake. Sindia was to be conciliated by the restoration of Gohud and Gwalior. The possession of Dehly was deemed unfortunate; and the city should be given up to Sindia, the emperor being removed to Calcutta or some other city near it. The territory acquired west of the Jumna should also be relinquished. On the other hand, should Holkar prove reasonable, all his family dominions were to be restored to him. Lake was then in active negotiation with Sindia, and withheld communication of his instructions until their conclusion. He wrote a spirited remonstrance to Lord Cornwallis, but he had died before it reached him. Holkar, unable to restrain himself, and seeing he had little hope from Sindia, set out for the Punjâb at the head of about 15,000 men. He evaded detachments sent to intercept him; but Lord Lake was in his rear, and pursued him with five regiments of cavalry and four of infantry into the Punjâb. Holkar invades the Punjâb. Sir George Barlow succeeds Lord Cornwallis. Sir George Barlow succeeds Lord Cornwallis. The senior member of Council, had succeeded the Marquess Cornwallis; but this did not interfere with the conclusion of the treaty with Sindia, which was effected on November 22; and the particulars need not be enumerated, as, together with the confirmation of the treaty of Surjee Anjengaom, all minor subjects of dispute were amicably settled. Holkar had perhaps hoped for assistance from the Sikhs, and to excite their chief, Runjeet Singh, against the British Government; but they were immovable, only

professing their willingness to mediate between him and Lord Lake, who had advanced to Amritsur; and Holkar, finding his own dominions closed against him, and being totally helpless, now sued for terms. Lord Lake had already in his possession Lord Cornwallis's instructions, and had no authority for modifying them, as Sir George Barlow had adopted the same policy. Holkar, therefore, obtained much easier terms than he expected, or indeed deserved. His own dominions were restored and secured to him, but he had to renounce all right to Boondee and Rampoor, and to accept the Chumbul as his northern boundary. The treaty was afterwards modified by Sir George Barlow, who restored Rampoor to Holkar, and in his declared policy of non-interference, left the Rajah of Boondee to his fate. Thus, for a period, the transactions with the Mahratta States came to a close. Each was left in possession of his own proper dominions, a strictly non-interferent policy had begun, and it remained with their several rulers to maintain this policy by their own good faith and moderation to the British Government, and to each other.

Holkar sues  
for peace.

Treaty of  
peace with  
Holkar.

### CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW (*concluded*)—THE APPOINTMENT OF LORD MINTO, 1805 TO 1809.

THE policy of the Marquess Wellesley, and the tenor of all his acts, were directed as well to the preservation of the territories of the native powers of India as to that of general peace and amity to themselves. Accustomed, as the narrative of history shows, to make and unmake treaties as they pleased, to plunder each others' dominions on any or no provocation, they would be bound to one common superior power to observe mutual good faith. His policy was the very reverse of aggressive; and while a general peace on a sound footing was established, all native powers were left free and independent in the administration of their dominions, and only ensured condign punishment in the event of any deliberate breach of faith. When it is considered how deeply the peace of India affected the existence of millions of its people; how terribly the whole country had suffered, and was still enduring the ravages of war, which had hardly ceased for nearly a hundred years, it seems strange now, that so great and so humane a policy as Lord Wellesley's was not only unrecognised by the ministry of England, but directly

Character of  
Lord Wellesley's  
policy.

opposed, and another substituted, which, in the words of Sir George Barlow, allowed the national interests of England in India to rest upon 'the certain operation of contending and circumscribed interests among the States, whose independence will admit of their individual views of rapine, encroachment, and ambition.' Native States were, therefore, to be left to themselves, to fight with and plunder each other as they pleased; and all that would remain to the English was, that they should be passive witnesses of these conflicts so long as they were not attacked.

Nor was it to future contingencies alone that the new policy was directed. Had it been possible, every subsidiary alliance would have been cancelled, and the native powers of India left to the chances of lawless anarchy. Happily, however, this detestable course was impossible; and as it were as a premonitory example, Holkar soon displayed the effects of the liberty which the treaty had accorded to him. As Lord Lake was obliged to return quickly from the Punjab, he left Holkar to follow, who deliberately plundered the country as far as Jeypoor, where he extorted 18 lacs—180,000*l.*—from the rajah. The agents of this unfortunate prince in vain appealed to Lord Lake, and even upbraided him with inaction and want of faith: but his hands were now tied, and being unable to produce any effect on the governor-general, he resigned his political functions. Holkar next fell upon the Rajah of Boondée, who had been conspicuous for his loyalty to the English, and ravaged his country without any interference or remonstrance on the part of the governor-general. He put his own nephew Khundy Ráo and his brother Khasee Ráo to death; and it is impossible to conjecture to what extent his violent conduct might not have extended—for he continued to cast cannon, and increase his military preparations—when, partly from habitual intemperance, and partly from constitutional tendency, he became afflicted with furious mania, and was placed under restraint, in which condition he continued till he died, on October 20, 1811.

Although Malwah and Rajpootana, under the effect of this non-interferent policy, continued the arena for the struggles of Ameer Khan, Sindia, the Rajpoot chieftains, and many petty chiefs, by whom the country was desolated, yet it is probable that the affairs of Hyderabad were the first direct means of convincing Sir George Barlow of its inadvisability. The Nizam considered himself, like others, at liberty to prosecute new plans; and opened communications with Sindia, Holkar, and the Peshwah, the object of which, however,

*Its contrast with the policy adopted.*

*Holkar's extortion from Jeypoor*

*and Boondée.*

*Holkar becomes insane, and dies.*

*Intrigues at Hyderabad.*

did not appear certain, except a general desire to be rid of English control. This feeble attempt at the establishment of a new league was, however, instantly repressed by the governor-general. Meer Allum, the minister, who had been obliged to take refuge at the British Residency, was re-established in his authority, when Rajah Mohiput Rám, under whose advice the hostile combination had been planned, commenced plundering the country, but was quickly subdued. As peace had now ensued, Sir George Barlow

had leisure to apply himself to the financial concerns

of the State, and the reduction of expenditure soon placed them on an easy footing. The local administration of the new provinces of Cuttack, Bundelkhund and the Dooáb, was also well established, the previous experience of the governor-general giving him considerable advantage in questions of executive detail.

The family of Tippoo Sooltan had, it will be remembered, been located in the fortress of Vellore, with a strong garrison

Mutiny at  
Vellore.

of part of a European and two whole native regiments. On July 10, 1806, the native regiments mutinied; and at three in the morning, when the Europeans were asleep, attacked them, pouring volley after volley into their barrack-rooms, and shooting the officers as they came out of their houses. News of this rising was taken to Arcot, nine miles distant, and Colonel Gillespie, of the 19th Dragoons, at the head of a squadron and two field-guns, galloped to Vellore, blew open the gate, and with the assistance of the survivors of the 69th, the mutineers were soon shot down, sabred or captured—but they had killed 82 and wounded 91 of the 69th, and killed 13 officers. This movement, though it

Causes of the  
mutiny.

was traced to other causes—of new regulations regarding dress and caps—was not supposed to be without the complicity of the Mysore family, whose standard was hoisted by the mutineers, and they were removed to Calcutta. Subsequent inquiry proved that the movement had been an essentially military one, as the whole of the Madras native army was, at the time, disgusted by vexatious interference with established practices. On Lord W. Bentinck, then governor of Madras, however, the chief consequences fell, for he was recalled from his administration; but unjustly, for no time had been allowed him for explanation of the circumstances which had in reality led to the mutiny. No rising

Sir George  
Barlow  
transferred  
to Madras.

subsidied

gradually.  
Lord Minto  
arrives as  
governor-  
general.

or other demonstration in favour of the Mysore family followed, and the apprehensions which had existed, particularly in England, in regard to general disaffection, subsided gradually. Sir George Barlow was transferred from Bengal to the government of Madras, in place of Lord W. Bentinck, and Lord Minto, who had been President of the Board of Control, arrived in Calcutta in July 1807.

Coinciding with the policy of his predecessors Lord Cornwallis and Sir G. Barlow, Lord Minto found India at peace, with the exception of Bundelkhund, the petty chiefs of which, continuing their hereditary lawless opposition to any superior government, had proved themselves as intractable as in the times of the Moghul emperors. Lord Lake, indeed, if his actions had been unfettered, would speedily have disposed of them, by the reduction of their strongholds; but Sir George Barlow refusing to second him, had temporized with the difficulty, and their resistance, accompanied with rapine and plunder, continued to be maintained. Lord Minto, however, at once reversed this policy, and declared that the British Government had no resource but to interfere for the 'suppression of intestine disorder.' All the great fortresses were therefore captured in succession by General Martindell, the most important operation being the reduction of Kalinjer, always supposed to be impregnable; and the banditti which had desolated the province, deprived of shelter and encouragement, were gradually suppressed.

Disorders in  
Bundel-  
khund.

which are  
suppressed.

In the year 1807, an embassy from the Emperor Napoleon to Persia, under General Gardanne, excited the apprehensions of the Governments at home and in India; and Lord Minto began to renew negotiations with the powers on the north-western frontier, the nearest to India being that of the Sikhs, now consolidated under Runjeet Singh. The Afghans, to whom the Punjáb

The Sikhs  
gain the  
Punjáb.

had belonged, were broken into parties after the death of Ahmed Shah Dooránee; and no longer able to maintain themselves against the Sikhs, had evacuated the province as far as the Indus, while the Sikhs had gradually established a federation of their principal clans. This, at first, was in many respects weak and disunited. Churut Singh, the grandfather of Runjeet, was the first to take advantage of intestine disagreements, and his son Máha Singh followed his example with greater success; but it was not till Runjeet Singh, by his own ability and bravery, had overcome all opposition, that the confederacy attained its real strength. There were other Sikh States lying east of the Sutlej river, whose rulers had kept aloof from the Sikh confederation, and refused allegiance to Runjeet Singh. They had been obliged to submit to Sindia, but were now practically independent, and desired the protection of the British Government, with whom the chief of them had maintained friendly relations. Runjeet Singh, however, desired to extend his dominions to the Jumna river; and taking advantage of a quarrel between the Rajahs of Putialla and Nabha, in which the latter called for his interposition, crossed

Confederacy  
under Runjeet  
Singh.

Sikh States  
east of the  
Sutlej  
remain in-  
dependent.

the Sutlej in 1807, and laid contributions upon the province of Sirhind.

Fearing a repetition of the visit, and being unable to oppose an invasion if it were made, the chiefs sent agents to Dehly in 1808, imploring the protection of the British Government. On the other hand, Runjeet Singh asserted his authority over the whole of these Sikh States. It became, therefore, a question, the solution of which admitted of no delay, whether these Sikh States should be supported, and the river Sutlej declared the boundary between the British and the Sikhs, or whether Runjeet Singh should be allowed to advance to the Jumna. Under the apprehensions of French influence, combined with a real desire to protect States who were unmistakably friendly, Lord Minto set aside the non-interference policy, and determined to protect Sirhind. To this end, he dispatched a young Bengal civilian, Mr. Metcalfe, already distinguished for his political ability and firmness, as envoy to Runjeet Singh : preparing at the same time to maintain his demand by force of arms, should negotiation prove unavailing. Mr. Metcalfe's mission was conducted with profound ability and a patient courage and determination, which, even under threats and insults, never failed him ; and on April 25, 1809, a treaty with Runjeet Singh was concluded at Amritsur, not however before General Ochterlony had advanced with an army to the banks of the Sutlej, and declared the chiefs of Sirhind to be under the protection of the British Government. It is due to the memory of Runjeet Singh, to state that this treaty was observed by him with absolute fidelity as long as he lived : and thus the British frontier was extended to Loodhiana, on the banks of the Sutlej, where a small force was stationed, with the full concurrence of all concerned.

About the same time, an embassy under the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to the Afghan king, Shah Soojah, who resided at Pesháwur, also directed against the admission of French influence. The object was not well understood by the Afghan king, who was at the time helpless, in consequence of his brother's rebellion ; and he applied for assistance in men or money, to recover Kabool and Kandahar, which had been wrested from him. This, however, was not granted by Lord Minto, though advised by Mr. Elphinstone, to the extent of ten lacs of rupees, and the embassy was withdrawn ; its proceedings, however, proved most valuable, in the interesting record of them written by the young envoy, and

They claim the protection of the British Government,

and their request is granted.

Mr. Metcalfe's mission to Runjeet Singh.

Treaty of Amritsur.

The Sutlej becomes the frontier.

Embassy to Kabool under Mr. Elphinstone.

in his accounts of a people, and their country, then comparatively unknown.

The embassy to Persia, where French influence was for the time in the ascendant, was very nearly the cause of a war with that power, which, in the sequel, was happily averted. Sir Harford Jones was appointed envoy by the ministry and the Court of Directors; but Lord Minto desired an embassy of his own, and dispatched Colonel Malcolm, who proceeded as far as Shiráz, where he was directed by the king to place himself in communication with his son. At this treatment Colonel Malcolm took offence and returned to Calcutta, advising a demonstration in force against Kurrack, an island in the Persian Gulf. In this view Lord Minto concurred, and the expedition was even determined upon; but Sir Harford Jones, who had proceeded to Persia from Bombay before Lord Minto had known of Colonel Malcolm's retirement, contrived to effect the object of the mission; the French alliance was abandoned by treaty, which was confirmed by Lord Minto, and in order to establish direct friendly relations with the government of India, Colonel Malcolm was dispatched again, with good effect, in 1809, and the king was reconciled as much by his ready wit as by the general tenor of the negotiations. Both ambassadors were, however, superseded in 1810, by the appointment, by the crown, of Sir Gore Ouseley, who continued to reside at the Persian court as permanent envoy.

Malcolm's  
embassy to  
Persia.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO (*concluded*), 1809 to 1813.

As if it had been necessary to prove, by practical illustration, the mischiefs which would arise out of a strictly non-interferent policy, the case of Ameer Khan occurred in 1809. This chieftain had been an ally of Jeswunt Ráo Holkar in his predatory operations; and had taken an active part, now on one side and now on the other, in the wars and revolutions of Northern India. The Patáus, the descendants of the Afghan soldiers of the former empire, formed a numerous class in the country; and were not as yet in any way changed in character, being fierce, restless, and unwilling to adopt cultivation or other means of peaceful employment. Of them, Ameer Khan was recognised as the head: and he supported a large body of them from

Ameer  
Khan's  
predatory  
movements.

the revenues of districts which he had wrested from weaker powers than himself. He had also collected around him a large body of irregular horsemen, who, subsisting upon plunder alone, had gradually increased with every Mahratta army, and were called Pindhárees. In 1809, no longer able to support his increasing followers, Ameer Khan left Rajpootana at the head of 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindhárees, and on pretence of a claim on the Rajah of Nagpore for jewels said to have been deposited with him by Holkar, crossed the Nerbudda, and attacked his territory.

He attacks  
the Rajah of  
Nagpore.

According to the strict letter of the non-interferent policy, Lord Minto would have had no pretence for noticing Ameer Khan so long as his ravages were confined to native States; but happily the governor-general had become sensible of the evils which would accompany these outrages: and without application from the Rajah of Berar, forces were ordered into the field, when Ameer Khan was directed to withdraw into his own territory. It was in vain that he remonstrated, and even pleaded the provisions of the treaty with Holkar, on whose behalf he professed himself to be acting: Lord Minto was resolved to repress the first efforts of predatory warfare in Central India, and the British forces continued to advance. It is only to be regretted that such intentions were not fully carried out, and that one severe example was not made. Ameer Khan was checked, but not suppressed. He retired upon Indoor, and his territories, which had been occupied, were restored to him; but no diminution of his forces was required, and in the sequel it will be admitted, with what bad effects such precaution, at least, had been overlooked. Lord Minto, in truth, was still afraid of the non-interferent edict of the Court of Directors: and yet it is curious to observe in the history of this transaction, that he was actually blamed by the court for the very moderation to which he had considered himself constrained.

Change in  
Lord Minto's  
policy.

Forces sent  
against  
Ameer Khan,

who is forced  
to retire.

In the year 1809 vigorous proceedings for the suppression of piracy were undertaken in India, and in the Persian Gulf. The pirates of the western coasts, issuing from the small ports of the Kolapoor and Sawuntwurree States, still preyed upon coasting vessels; the ports themselves were, therefore, occupied. In the Persian Gulf, the pirate stronghold of Ras-el-Khyma was attacked and captured, with several other places. The fleets, as they actually proved to be, of piratical vessels, were invariably burned, and though the Arabs defended themselves with great desperation, they were everywhere defeated.

In the same year all the Portuguese settlements in India were

held by British detachments, in consequence of the occupation of Portugal by Napoleon; and a force was dispatched to Macáo, in China—the first occasion of British troops being employed in that country—for the same purpose. No resistance was made by the governor of Macáo, but the Viceroy of Canton protested against the location in any part of the country of a foreign force, and refused to allow trade to continue. The troops were therefore withdrawn, and the former good understanding re-established.

On November 30, 1810, the important island of Mauritius was surrendered to the British Government. Lord Minto had fitted out this expedition with great care and efficiency. 6,300 European infantry, 2,000 seamen and marines, and 3,000 Sepoys, backed by one ship of the line and thirteen frigates, formed an overwhelming force, to which the French governor submitted without resistance. This measure had become imperative. Mauritius was the great French naval station in the Indian seas, and the effects of the depredations on Indian commerce by its frigates and privateers had become very serious indeed. In one year the company had lost six fine ships, valued at half a million sterling.

Occupation  
of Portu-  
guese pos-  
sessions.

Expedition  
against the  
Mauritius.

Events at  
Madras.

Insurrection  
of Vailoo  
Tumbee,  
Travancore.

Meanwhile, the administration of Sir George Barlow at Madras had been neither tranquil nor easy. In 1808, the payment of the subsidy by the Rajah of Travancore had fallen into arrears, and the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, attributing the neglect to the conduct of the rajah's minister, Vailoo Tumbee, requested his removal from office. This the minister resented, and resisted by actual insurrection. Colonel Macaulay was attacked in his house, and escaped with difficulty; and Colonel Chalmers, who commanded in Quilon, had not sufficient force to take the field against the rebels. On the arrival, however, of Colonel Picton, with H.M.'s 12th regiment, the minister's forces, though 30,000 strong, with eighteen guns, were resolutely attacked on January 15, 1809, and defeated with great loss. Troops were now poured into Travancore, and Vailoo Tumbee, whose followers had deserted him, was found dying of self-inflicted wounds in a pagoda where he had taken refuge. His insurrection had been marked by savage cruelty in the murder of twelve men of H.M.'s 12th regiment, who had fallen into his hands, and of Surgeon Hume, from whom he had previously received medical services; and he had put to death 2,000 native Christians in cold blood on account of their religion. The relations of the States of Travancore and Cochin continued, however, to be unsatisfactory. Their subsidies were irregularly paid, and the internal administration of both was unsound and inefficient.

By the treaty of 1805, the British Government was authorised, in the event of irregularity, to assume the direct management of the local administrations, and this measure was carried out, as it already existed in the case of Tanjore.

In the year 1809, the retrenchments in the military service, as had previously been the case in Bengal, excited much and deeply laid discontent among the European officers of the Madras army, and to a great extent they were sympathised with, if not actually encouraged, by General Macdowall, the commander-in-chief, who had his own special grievance in having been denied a seat in Council by the Court of Directors. He resigned his office, and embarked for England in 1809; but the vessel he had sailed in foundered at sea. He had left, however, abundant seeds of discord. Colonel Munro, quartermaster-general

Discontent of  
the Madras  
officers.

Case of  
Colonel  
Munro

and of Major  
Boles.

Mutinous  
proceedings.

Sir George  
Barlow's  
measures.

The  
mutinous  
officers  
submit.

of the army, had been directed to report upon the contract of tents, which was lucrative to officers in command of regiments, and had been hitherto, like most others, much abused. Colonel Munro's report offended the officers of the army generally, and also General Macdowall, who placed him under arrest, for the purpose of being tried by court-martial; but he was released by the Government, and the commander-in-chief retorted, in an intemperate general order, which was promulgated to the army, in their official capacity, by Colonel Cuppage and Major Boles, the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general. Colonel Cuppage sailed for England, but perished at sea. Major Boles remained, but was deprived of his appointment. His cause was now taken up by the whole of the European officers of the army, and those of several stations were in actual mutiny, which in several instances proceeded to outbreaks; the officers of the Hyderabad, Jaulnah, and Masulipatam forces had even determined to march their troops upon Madras. Colonel Malcolm was dispatched to Masulipatam to endeavour to restore order; but he failed, and reported that submission by Government would be the best measure. Sir George Barlow, however, was not to be intimidated. He satisfied the native officers and Sepoys, and they remained faithful. The only actual outbreak which occurred was at Seringapatam, where the European officers of the garrison shut the gates of the fort and cannonaded the detachment of royal troops sent against them; but they eventually submitted, as did all the other stations and garrisons, and the full authority of Government was confirmed by their penitential letter. Lord Minto, alarmed by the crisis, had proceeded to Madras in September 1809; but it was already past. Some of the ringleaders were punished by being cashiered, and

sixteen by dismissal, and the whole proceeding was closed by the recall of Sir George Barlow, who, though he had displayed equal firmness with Clive on a similar occasion—a merit which was fully accorded to him—had undoubtedly given provocation to the army in his conduct to Major Boles, and otherwise, before the discontent commenced.

Sir George  
Barlow is  
recalled.

As Holland had become a portion of the French empire, it was resolved to reduce the Dutch possessions in the East; and in 1810, Amboyna was captured, with Ternate and Banda; but the operations against Java, which had been reinforced from Europe, required a larger force than had hitherto been employed. As soon, therefore, as the Mauritius expedition was at liberty, it was directed by Lord Minto against the island. The troops, about 13,000 strong, European and native, assembled at Malacca on June 1, 1811, under the command of Sir Samuel Achmuty, and were accompanied by the governor-general himself, though only as a volunteer. The French army, European and native, in Java, amounted to 17,000 men. The English forces reached Batavia on August 4, and the city submitted on the 7th; but the main body of the French army had taken up a very strong position at Cornelis, which had been strengthened by field-works thrown up by General Janssen and was believed impregnable. After several days' operations, the flank of the position was turned by a splendid attack made by General Gillespie, of Vellore celebrity, and by a simultaneous charge in front, the whole position was carried, and the enemy pursued for many miles; but the loss on both sides had been very severe. Eighty-five British officers and about 900 men were killed and wounded, and the French slain on the field were computed at 1,500; 6,000 soldiers were captured, with nearly 300 pieces of cannon. General Janssen retired into the eastern part of the island; but was ultimately obliged to capitulate, and the Sooltan of Joje Kurta, who had assembled an army, and held his capital with 17,000 men, was attacked by General Gillespie, who carried the place by storm, capturing 100 guns with which the forts were manned, and inflicted some loss upon the sooltan's army. Java was now subdued, and the people submitted easily to their conquerors. General Gillespie was left in command of the army, and the administration was confided to Mr., afterwards Sir, Stamford Raffles, who justified the appointment by his ability in the management of his new and peculiar duties. The Court of Directors had indeed ordered the abandonment of the island, should it be captured; but in deliberately disobeying this order, the governor-general acted with wisdom

Action  
against the  
Dutch pos-  
sessions.

Expedition  
against Java

accompanied  
by the  
governor-  
general.

Capture of  
Cornelis.

Java  
subdued.

and true humanity; and it is difficult to realise the heartless policy which had influenced the court in dictating the dispatch.

When Lord Minto returned to Calcutta, he found it necessary to take measures against the Pindhárees, who, no longer able to follow native armies, had commenced indiscriminate plunder; and it is necessary to sketch briefly the antecedents of the principal leaders. In 1808, two persons, Hurrun and Burrun, who had been attached to Sindia, were employed by the Rajah of Nagpoor, to ravage the territories of the Nawáb of Bhopál, with whom he was at war; and the mischief they had created was incalculable. On their return to Nagpoor, the rajah, as was commonly the case, imprisoned Burrun, and extorted from him all he could of the plunder. Hurrun escaped, but died; and his two sons, Wasil Mahomed and Dost Mahomed, continued their father's profession and authority. The leadership of Burrun's band was conferred by the family and dependents upon Cheetoo, who had already attracted the notice of Dowlut Ráo Sindia, from whom he had received an estate and its appanage. These three men eventually became the most daring leaders of the whole of the Pindhárees of Central and Northern India; but there was still a fourth, Kureem Khan, a Patán, who was perhaps the most celebrated of all. Sindia, from his irrepressibly lawless disposition to plunder, and for outrages in his own territory, had at one time imprisoned Kureem Khan; but he eventually released him on payment of a heavy fine. Kureem now rose higher than before; and for a time was joined by Cheetoo; and he became so mischievous, that he was again imprisoned at Indore.

It is impossible to follow the depredations of the Pindhárees for four years, 1807 to 1811-12, in Central India, which were confined to native territories; but in 1812, emboldened by success, Dost Mahomed swept through Bundelkhund, plundering unresisted as far as Gya, and escaped free. Lord Minto might well now ask the Court of Directors, whose detestably selfish policy he was carrying out in only too obedient a spirit, whether he could longer observe a strict neutrality amidst these scenes of disorder and outrage, 'or refuse to listen to the calls of suffering humanity, and interfere to protect weak native States who called upon us for assistance.' For several years in succession, the Pindhárees had roamed over Central India, Rajpootana, Berar, and the Nizam's dominions, increasing in numbers, strength, and daring, year by year, and inflicting torture, misery, and desolation, on every province they mercilessly plundered. These acts had been correctly known in England; but not a line was written, or a

First  
measures  
against the  
Pindhárees.

The  
Pindháree  
chiefs.

Depredations  
of the  
Pindhárees.

The non-inter-  
ferent policy  
prevents  
their sup-  
pression.

soldier moved to prevent them. It cannot be doubted that had Lord Minto been free to act, they would have been summarily checked and suppressed. Now, indeed, the 'company' were touched to the quick by the invasion of one of their own provinces; but till the reply from England arrived, Lord Minto was as little a free agent as ever.

In other respects his administration was just, and, as far as his powers extended, comprehensive; and he was thoroughly respected by the native princes and people of India. In his civil administration, he was at once liberal and practical, and the measures applied for the suppression of dacoity, the normal crime of Bengal, were to a great extent effective; but the police administration still continued inefficient, and in many respects scandalous and oppressive to the people. He took much interest in the maintenance of native literature; but it is strange that at the same time he was neutralising, as far as possible, the efforts of Christian missionaries, and preventing their attempts to spread true knowledge among the people. It may be questionable whether he really approved of the orders he received from the Court of Directors on this subject, which, like those of the non-interference policy, he had not sufficient determination to set aside; and it still required many years of experience to induce the executive Government to manifest to the people of India that the English were neither ashamed of their religion, nor the promulgation of the knowledge they possessed. Lord Minto's financial administration had been very creditable. If he had not succeeded in reducing the debt, he had at least been able to pay off old loans raised at twelve per cent. per year, by others raised at six; which showed a healthier state of public credit than had previously existed, and carried with it a proportional diminution of expenditure. Before he left India, at the close of 1813, he was impressed with an opinion that there was not a cloud to dim the political atmosphere, except the Pindhárees, in regard to whose suppression he wrote fully and earnestly. As the reward of his eminent services he was created Earl Minto, a dignity which he did not long enjoy, as he died the year after his arrival in England. Earl Minto was succeeded as governor-general by the Earl of Moira, who had been nominated to the office nearly two years before, but whose departure had been delayed.

Character of  
Lord Minto's  
administra-  
tion.

Lord Minto  
leaves India.

He is suc-  
ceeded by the  
Earl of  
Moira.

## BOOK VII.

## CHAPTER I.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS, 1813 TO  
1816—THE GOORKHA WAR.

WHEN Lord Minto left Calcutta, political events had not been so tranquil as before, in all respects: and had he remained he would have had the several questions to deal with that speedily occupied the attention of Lord Moira, who wrote there were no less than seven of a pressing character, which he found he had to settle. The fact was at last proved, that the non-interferent policy had been misunderstood by the native powers: and in some instances they had become overbearing and intractable. In Central India, matters continued in the same state as before; but the armed classes of the country were augmenting the ranks of Sindia, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the Pindhárees; and every petty chieftain was supporting levies as well for his own protection, as to strike in whenever a general *mêlée* should commence. Lord Moira was a man of mature age and experience, he had taken part against Lord Wellesley's policy in England, and had belonged ostensibly to the non-interference school of Eastern politicians; but on his arrival in India, affairs which admitted of no delay, and which had arisen out of the previous inaction of the English authorities, were early forced upon his attention, and gave that tone of decision to his political acts which continued, with such eventful results, throughout his administration.

Among the last political questions with which Lord Minto had been occupied before he left India, was that of relations with the Goorkha State of Nipál, whose dominions consisted of a broad fertile valley lying between the lower, or southern, range of the Himalayas and the northern. The frontier on the British side extended nearly from Dehly to

Condition of  
the native  
States.

Relations  
with Nipál.

Bengal, and had never been properly defined. The Goorkha State had been established by an invasion of the valley, in the fourteenth century, by Rajpoots, who had gradually conquered the former Tibetan possessors; and of them, one family had gradually extended its authority over all. The inhabitants had become for the most part converts to Brahminical Hindooism; they were divided into classes, and of these, the military was brave and reliant. While they defended their own territory to the south, the Goorkhas had attempted conquests in China; but had been driven back, and forced to pay tribute. Foiled in their attempts northwards, they had made gradual encroachments upon the country lying south of their mountains, the whole of the northern frontier of Oudh became insecure, and they finally demanded and seized two districts of that province, Bootwul and Seoráj.

Antecedents  
of the  
Goorkhas.

Lord Minto's negotiations with the Goorkha court had been abortive, and he had been obliged to threaten the re-occupation of these districts by force of arms; but no reply had been received to his demand. The governor-general, therefore, directed immediate action upon the question, and the town of Bootwul was occupied by the police. It now became a question of peace or war among the Nipálese, and many of their Council declared for peace; but the majority were for war, which was entered upon with great enthusiasm. The prospect of driving back the 'cowards who had failed to take Bhurtpoor,' with the certainty of unlimited plunder, were temptations too strong to be resisted; but their whole army did not exceed 12,000 men, and they had no guns. On May 29, 1814, they attacked the police at Bootwul, and murdered the native officer and eighteen of his men in cold blood. This cruel act admitted of no hesitating policy. Lord Moira was then travelling in the upper provinces, and had visited Lukhnow, where his honourable and dignified treatment of the Nawáb so deeply impressed that prince, that he offered a loan of 1,000,000*l.* sterling for the war, which was accepted; and though more than half was unfortunately applied by the Council of Calcutta, in the absence of Lord Moira, to the liquidation of an old loan, the balance enabled him to enter upon vigorous proceedings. On the west of the Goorkha frontier, General Ochterlony took post with 6,000 men. General Gillespie having arrived from Java, advanced with 3,500 troops on the east; and the two central columns were one of 4,500 men under General J. S. Wood, and one of 8,000 under General Marley, which was to move direct upon Khatmandoo, the Goorkha capital. In all, therefore, 22,000 troops were employed for the campaign, with

The Nipálese  
declare war,

and murder  
an officer of  
police.

English  
troops take  
up positions.

60 guns; but never, in any war in which the English had been previously engaged, was more incapacity displayed.

The first attack was made by General Gillespie, with his accustomed desperate valour, on the fort of Kalungah, which he endeavoured to carry by a *coup de main*, on October 3, 1814; but was shot through the heart in a vain attempt to rally the storming party, which had failed, after a loss of 20 officers and 220 men, killed and wounded. On the arrival of a battering-train from Dehly, the fort was breached, and Colonel Manbey attempted to storm it; but was repulsed, with a loss of 680 killed and wounded. The garrison had originally consisted of 600 Goorkhas, who had already inflicted a loss of nearly double their number on the invaders, and being reduced to only seventy men, their brave commander evacuated the now untenable fort and escaped. By this successful resistance, the Goorkhas had at once established a high reputation as soldiers, and were proportionally dreaded by the Sepoys, who were utterly unaccustomed to mountain warfare.

General Martindell's operations against the fortified position of Jythuk were not more fortunate, for it proved so strong, that he was held at bay. General Ochterlony, after obtaining some success over the Goorkha officer opposed to him, Umur Singh Thapa, was unable to force the highest of the enemy's positions, and the winter coming on, prevented further operations in the upper ranges of the mountains.

The central and largest force had no better success; and General Marley proved utterly incompetent for the enterprise of advancing upon the capital. He lost the whole of two important detachments, with their guns and stores, which he had sent to effect diversions from the main attack, and which were cut off by the Goorkhas. He then retired, as he professed, to guard the frontier, and was even reinforced by Lord Moira with two European regiments; but on February 10, 1815, he, as it were, deserted from the army, leaving it privately by night and proceeding to Dinapoor. General George Wood was appointed to succeed him, and in a skirmish with the enemy they lost 400 men, leaving the road to the capital open; but the general had neither the courage nor the capacity to avail himself of the circumstance. General J. S. Wood's operations were of a similar character. He advanced about the middle of December, and was conducted by a guide, in the interest of the enemy, to the stockaded position of

Death of  
General  
Gillespie.

Gallant  
defence of  
Kalungah.

General  
Martindell  
falls against  
Jythuk, and  
General  
Ochterlony  
obtains only  
partial  
success.

General  
Marley's in-  
competency,

who retires,  
and deserts  
his post.

General  
Wood suc-  
ceeds, and  
fails.

General J. S.  
Wood also  
fails, and  
retreats.

Jeetpoor, which he failed to carry, and retreated within the frontier. Thus the first campaign of 1814-15 ended disastrously, with the exception of the division under General Ochterlony, which maintained the position it had won in the most stupendous country of all. His force continued to be animated with the highest ardour, and were impatient to be led on; but the other troops were disheartened, if not actually intimidated.

End of the  
campaign of  
1814-15.

The crisis was indeed a momentous one; for the British operations had been watched with intense anxiety in every native State of India. Sindia, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the Peshwah were known to be preparing a league against the English power; and some of their forces took up threatening positions. Sindia's army was advanced to the frontier. Ameer Khan, who represented Holkar, assembled an army of 25,000 men with 125 guns, and threatened Agra. Runjeet Singh, with 20,000 men, moved to the Sutlej, and the whole of the Pindharees chiefs were engaged by the Peshwah to assemble and act when called upon. To provide against this formidable combination, the Madras army was moved northwards, a Bombay force occupied Guzerat, and the Bengal army was increased to 80,000 men. While these arrangements were in progress, the threatening aspect of affairs moderated. Ameer Khan, who had been the most boastful, began to ravage Rajpootana; Sindia's army separated into two portions, and even the Pindharees were inactive.

Threatening  
aspect of  
native  
States.

Precau-  
tionary  
measures.

Early in the spring of 1815, General Ochterlony's force had carried every Goorkha position in the west, as far as the fort of Malown. On April 15, this place was invested, and on the 16th a spirited attack by the enemy on the British positions was repulsed, with the heavy loss of 500 men. At this time, the central hill district of Almórah had been occupied by Colonel Gardner, who had been formerly in Sindia's service: and who, with some irregular forces raised in Bundelkhund, had already beaten the Goorkhas out of the Almórah district, and being assisted by Colonel Nicoll at the head of a division of British troops, the possession of Almórah itself was completed. Malown was now no longer tenable, and most of the Goorkha soldiery joined General Ochterlony. Ameer Singh would have continued to defend the fort; but, unwilling to sacrifice the remaining few men that stood by him, he surrendered, and marched out with the honours of war.

Second  
Goorkha  
campaign.

Malown  
surrendered.

With one flank of their territory open, the Goorkha Council now proposed terms of peace, and agreed to the governor-general's demands to cede all territory west of the Káty river, already occupied by General Ochterlony; to

The Goorkhas  
propose  
peace.

abandon their claims on the low country ; to cede the district of Sikkim, and to receive a British envoy as permanent Resident. On these terms, the treaty was signed by the Goorkha agents on December 2, 1815, and by the governor-general at Calcutta ; but peace was not yet to be established. Ameer Singh and his sons, the fiery defenders of Malown, arrived at Khatmandoo, upbraided the Council for cowardice, and urged them to

The treaty  
is revoked by  
the Goorkhas.

war anew.

The cam-  
paign  
renewed.

The Chowrea  
Ghat turned.

General  
Ochterlony  
advances on  
the capital.

The treaty  
executed ;  
conclusion  
of the Nipal  
war.

Lord Moira  
created  
Marquess of  
Hastings.

continue the war. This advice prevailed, and the treaty was revoked. Remonstrance was evidently useless. The governor-general had no resource but to commence the war anew, and General, now Sir David, Ochterlony, was selected for the chief command and placed at the head of 17,000 men. With these, he opened the campaign on February 10, 1816, determining to advance on the capital by the Chowrea Ghat pass. This he found had been rendered impregnable ; but by the intelligence of Captain Pickersgill and the guide department, another, though very rugged ascent, was discovered to the left, and by it, General Ochterlony, leading the third brigade, ascended in the night of February 14. As the morning dawned, he found he had completely turned the flank of the enemy's position, who fled to Mukwanpoor. Sir David, now joined by the fourth brigade, advanced on Mukwanpoor, within fifty miles of the capital. It was a strongly fortified position, but the outworks were carried, with a loss of upwards of 500 men by the enemy, and preparations were being made for the siege of the fort, when the Council at Khatmandoon, seeing further resistance hopeless, transmitted the treaty, duly executed, on March 2. No additional demands were made by Sir David Ochterlony, and the Goorkhas, notwithstanding many temptations to the contrary, have ever since maintained the peace of 1816 with perfect fidelity. Though they had fought valiantly, yet they had the good sense to perceive that the result of the campaign of 1815 had been the effect of chances which could never occur again, and that of 1816 was the true test of their possibility of resisting the English. For his masterly conduct of these affairs, Lord Moira was created Marquess of Hastings, and to Sir David Ochterlony and the army were voted the thanks of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, with a pension of 1,000*l.* per annum to Sir David. The direct advantages gained by the British were the mountain provinces of Kumáon and Gurhwál, which strengthened the flank of the north-west provinces very materially ; but the greatest benefit of all was the early and effectually permanent detachment of the Goorkhas from the machinations of the unstable and perfidious

princes of India. In reference to the details of the Nipál war, and in particular the stupendous operations of Sir David Ochterlony's force, the student is referred to Prinsep's most interesting narrative of the campaign.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS (*continued*), 1816 to 1817.

ALTHOUGH Lord Minto, and now the Marquess of Hastings, had laid before the Court of Directors, in the fullest manner, the necessity of suppressing the new predatory system established by the Pindhárees and Ameer Khan in Central India, and which, as regarded the Pindhárees, had already been extended to Mirzapore in Bengal, to Guzerat, and to the dominions of his highness the Nizam, they still adhered to their policy of non-intervention, and upheld the opinion of Sir George Barlow, that in the disorders of native States lay the true safety of the company's dominions. They replied to Lord Hastings's earnest dispatch of September 29, 1815, that he was not at liberty to engage in operations with the Pindhárees, 'either with a view to utter extirpation, or in anticipation of expected danger,' and they reiterated their orders in regard to the reduction of the army. But besides the Pindhárees, there were other causes at work, which rendered intervention imperative and immediate.

The Peshwah, although he had been re-established in his authority by the English, had never ceased to intrigue against them with all the other Mahratta chieftains; and when news of the first reverses against Nipál reached him, his schemes became more actively propagated. From the period of his restoration up to 1814, he had been employed in endeavouring to reduce the power of his feudal chiefs in the Southern Mahratta provinces; principally by inciting quarrels among themselves, the result of which had been almost perpetual warfare, and corresponding desolation of the country. For his own immediate protection he proposed, in 1813, to raise a brigade of Sepoys, to be commanded by English officers, to which no objection was offered; and Captain Ford, of the Madras army, was selected to organise and command it. So far, his professions and outward acts bore the appearance of good faith; but they proved to be only a cloak to other and very perfidious designs. In 1813, Khoosrojee Moodee, a Parsee, who had been employed as agent

by the Peshwah with the Resident at Poona, was appointed to the charge of a province, and Trimbukjee Dainglia, originally a spy, who had raised himself to favour by pandering to the Peshwah's vices, was nominated in his room. Dainglia detested Europeans, and became his master's counsellor and adviser in all schemes for throwing off allegiance to them, and once more establishing the superiority of Mahratta domination. The purpose was excusable, if not indeed meritorious, considered as a national object; but the means employed, suggested by the narrow deceitful mind of the Peshwah, and the savage instinct of Dainglia, were detestable.

The Mahratta army, which had fallen below its usual footing, began to be gradually increased in numbers and efficiency: and distrusting his own subjects, the enlistment of Arabs and Gosains, and other foreign mercenaries, was carried on by the Peshwah under Trimbukjee's advice. The secret agencies at the courts of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajah of Berar and Ameer Khan, were also re-established. In 1814, the existing differences between the Gaikwar's State and the Peshwah, arising out of the Gaikwar's farm of the Peshwah's districts in Guzerat, and the counter-claims of the Gaikwar, required final adjustment: and Gunga Dhur Shastree was nominated agent on the part of the Gaikwar, to effect a settlement at Poona. In sending this envoy, the Gaikwar asked and obtained the guarantee of the British Government for his safety; and it was already understood that, according to the terms of the treaty of Bassein, a final arbitration should be made by the British in case the mutual negotiations broke down. but without effect. The mission was not successful. The Peshwah, under Dainglia's advice, refused to continue the farm of the Guzerat districts, which were taken possession of by agents and troops sent for the purpose; and by means of these, local insurrections against the Gaikwar's authority were fomented. The Shastree now prepared to leave Poona; but this might bring on a collision with the English, and he was importuned to stay, and was invited to accompany the Peshwah on a pilgrimage to the annual great festival of Punderpoor, on the Bheema. Here, on the night of July 14, shortly after he had quitted the Peshwah's presence, who had been unusually familiar and courteous, the unfortunate Shastree was attacked in the street, and almost cut to pieces.

There was no doubt that the act had been contrived by Trimbukjee Dainglia, and sanctioned by the Peshwah, for the complicity of both was proved afterwards by the clearest evidence. At the same time, the actual motive

The Peshwah increases his army.

The Gaikwar sends an agent to Poona

under British guarantee;

but without effect.

Murder of Gunga Dhur Shastree.

at the instigation of the Peshwah and Dainglia.

for the crime, beyond a desire to be rid of a man who preserved an honest opinion on the subject of his embassy, is not apparent. There was but one course for the Bombay Government; and the person of Trimbukjee was demanded by Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident; but he was not surrendered till September 25, <sup>Dainglia</sup> the intermediate time being occupied by considerations <sup>surrendered.</sup> whether or no it would be possible to oppose the British demand by force. This, however, being impossible, Trimbukjee was apprehended, and imprisoned in the fort of Tannah; whence, on September 12, 1816, he effected his escape, <sup>His escape.</sup> in a somewhat romantic manner, retiring to the fastnesses of the mountains near Nassuk, where he was protected by their rude inhabitants.

The Peshwah, by his friendly demeanour, continued for a time to overcome the suspicion which had attached itself to him, in regard to the proceedings of Trimbukjee Dainglia; but in truth at no period had he been so active in his intrigues through him with the several Mahratta chiefs and the Pindharees; and he was secretly supplying his favourite with large sums <sup>The Peshwah's assistance to Dainglia.</sup> of money to raise troops. These levies soon appeared in considerable numbers, and their existence was noticed to the Peshwah by Mr. Elphinstone. Beyond affecting to consider them ordinary insurgents, and sending out a party of horse to disperse them, the Peshwah took no further measures for their suppression; but they were followed and routed by detachments of the subsidiary force—not, however, before one of their parties <sup>Murder of Lieutenant Warre.</sup> had murdered Lieutenant Warre of the Madras Artillery. These proceedings, and the now evident assistance Trimbukjee was receiving from the Peshwah, the repair of forts, and levies of new troops in all directions, duly reported by Mr. Elphinstone, induced the governor-general to demand the arrest of the person who was instigating the Peshwah to hostility, within a month: and as a pledge for the fulfilment of his demand, that three principal forts were to be placed in the hands of the English. The Peshwah at first absolutely refused compliance; but on May 8, 1816, he agreed to the demand—not, however, before Poona had been surrounded by British troops; sent orders for the delivery of the fortresses, and issued a proclamation offering two lacs of rupees for Trimbukjee Dainglia, dead or alive. After this, on May 10, a new treaty was executed, by which the Peshwah even <sup>A new treaty with the Peshwah.</sup> admitted the guilt of Trimbukjee, and agreed to surrender his family as hostages till his apprehension, He also ceded districts yielding thirty-four lacs a year, as an equivalent for the contingent of 5,000 horse and 3,000 infantry which had formed an

article of the treaty of Bassein, with the fort of Ahmednugger, and his rights north of the Nerbudda river; and he admitted the Toombuddra to the south, and the Nerbudda to the north, to be the boundaries of his dominions. The disputes with the Gáikwar were also settled, and finally the Peshwah covenanted neither to send agents to, nor hold communication with, any foreign powers.

The foregoing embrace the principal items of the treaty, which also included many other minor points of which recapitulation is not needed. The terms were no doubt hard and stringent; and have been impugned as more calculated to drive the Peshwah to despair, than to secure, as they professed to do, his future peaceable possession of his real dominions. At the same time it must be remembered that they were dictated to one whom no treaties could bind, under a perfect acquaintance with his long career of deception, intrigue, and treachery, faithless alike to his own people and to the English; that his aim, from the first, had been to throw off the obligations of the treaty of Bassein into which he had entered with apparent good faith, and that, in the face of the guarantee of the English, an unprovoked and deliberate murder had been committed upon an envoy to his court, with his full approbation. The negotiations with him had been committed to Mountstuart Elphinstone, than whom, one more considerate and humane never filled high office in India; and whose name to this day is revered among the Mahratta people.

Meanwhile, the Pindhárees had been unusually active. An extraordinarily large body of them, estimated at 25,000 men, under Cheetoo, assembled at Nimáur, in Central India, in the autumn of 1815, and, on October 14, 8,000 horsemen advanced into the Nizam's territories, plundering and devastating the country as far south as the Krishna river, returning safely to Nimáur, laden with an immense booty. This successful expedition was followed by another, upwards of 20,000 strong, in February 1816, a portion of which entered the Northern Circars, carried the English civil station of Guntoor, and returned plundering as they had come. They had destroyed 339 English villages, put 182 persons to death, wounded 500, and tortured 3,000; while they had carried off booty valued at fifty lacs of rupees—500,000*l*. Pursuit of Cheetoo was impossible. Spreading themselves over the country as the Pindhárees advanced rapidly from thirty to even fifty miles a day, not a town, village, or hamlet, escaped them. Wherever they stopped, their proceedings were immediate, and horribly cruel. The most ingeniously devised and agonising tortures were resorted to for the extortion of valuables, from men

The terms of  
the treaty  
reviewed.

Proceedings  
of the  
Pindhárees.

and women alike, and after collecting all they could, the town or village was set on fire, and the devastating horde passed on. They were men of all castes, creeds, and provinces, and in some instances well mounted; but the hardy small horses and ponies of the country were perhaps the most serviceable. They had no baggage or supplies of any kind, and the surprising rate at which their vast bodies moved, baffled pursuit.

It has been before mentioned, that the Pindhárees of Dost Mahomed had plundered the English districts in Behar, and that Lord Minto had applied to the Court for permission to punish them; but the reply, as has been already stated, which was received by Lord Hastings, was unfavourable. Now, however, a second and far more formidable irruption had taken place; it was quite uncertain in which direction the next blow would fall; and the absolute necessity of a reversion of the non-interferent policy could no longer be delayed or denied, even in England; but as yet no final decision had been made. Lord Hastings, however, commenced his plans by concluding a subsidiary treaty <sup>Subsidiary treaties.</sup> with the Rajah of Nagpoor. The old rajah, Rughoojee Bhóslay, who had refused all former offers of such an alliance, was dead; his successor was an idiot, and his nephew, Appa Sahib, who became regent, concluded a subsidiary treaty on March 22, 1816. In the same year Jeypoor had been attacked by Ameer Khan; but on the application of its rajah to Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Dehly, Lord Hastings, though opposed in Council, determined to assist the State and save it; and two separate forces were assembled for the purpose, backed by other combinations, which it would have been impossible for Ameer Khan to oppose. He therefore raised the siege, but the rajah, notwithstanding the aid afforded him, evaded making any alliance with the English.

Mr. Canning was now at the head of the Board of Control, and the receipt of the news of the Pindháree irruption <sup>Mr. Canning's policy.</sup> into the Northern Circars gave the final blow to the indecision which had prevailed in England. In a dispatch dated September 26, 1816, the governor-general was freed from his trammels. He was assured of the approbation of the Home Government in any measures he might have undertaken for 'repelling invasion and chastising the invaders,' and, added Mr. Canning with spirit, 'We can no longer abstain from a vigorous exertion of military power, in vindication of the British name, and in defence of subjects who look to us for protection.' Had this decision arrived a year earlier, the third Pindháree irruption might have been prevented; but the governor-general's military preparations were not as yet complete; <sup>The third Pindháree movement.</sup> and crossing the Nerbudda again, and breaking through

the Nagpoor troops, one body plundered Kimedý and Ganjám, while the other, dashing through the Nizam's territories, repeated, and even exceeded, the enormities of their former visit. Even the stubborn Calcutta Council now yielded, and the already matured plans of the governor-general were suffered to proceed. 'Vigorous measures for the suppression of the Pindhárees,' as the Council unanimously resolved, 'had become an indispensable act of public duty!' What had been denied to justice, was now yielded to fear.

Towards the end of 1817, the military preparations of the governor-general were completed. He took command of the central division himself, which was at Cawnpore; and the other five divisions of the Bengal army were stationed at Agra, in Bundelkhund, and in Behar: with a reserve near Dehly under General Ochterlony. The whole numbered more than 60,000 men. In the south, the army of Madras was placed under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, in five divisions, under Generals Doveton, Malcolm, Lionel Smith, and Colonel Adams. The forces of Guzerat were assembled under General Kerr; and the whole British army in the field was not less than 115,000 men, with 300 guns. Lord Hastings then intimated to Sindia, that the policy of non-interference had been renounced, and that he should proceed to contract alliance with all native States that desired connection with, or protection from, the British Government. He also required him to assist in the suppression of the Pindhárees. Sindia's acquiescence was not cordial; but he had sense enough to see that he had no alternative, and his neutrality, if not his active co-operation, was secured. The fact is, like others of the time, Sindia had been double-faced and treacherous. While he was treating with the governor-general, he was urging the Nipálese to attack the company's districts in the rear, and, to his great confusion, one of his intercepted letters to them was returned to him in open court by the English agent. It was equally well known that he was in treaty with the Peshwah, and had received as much as twenty-five lacs from him; but he had little time to consider, for Lord Hastings advancing across the Jumna, on October 16, marched directly upon Gwalior, supported by General Doveton's division from Agra; and resistance to those forces would have involved destruction. Ameer Khan alone remained to be secured or attacked. His army consisted of 52 battalions of disciplined infantry, 150 guns, and a heavy body of Patán cavalry. To him, Lord Hastings offered to guarantee the districts conferred upon him by Holkar, and to purchase all his artillery. He did not immediately

Lord Hastings takes the field. His military arrangements.

Sindia's co operation invited.

His previous treachery detected and exposed.

Offer to Ameer Khan.

acquiesce in this proposal; but the advantages were too solid to be declined, and he continued neutral, promising his best consideration of the terms offered.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS (*continued*)

#### —THE SECOND MAHRATTA WAR, 1817 TO 1818.

As the British armies were gradually converging upon the Pindhárees, who collected annually in the south-eastern portion of Malwah, a wild and rugged tract of country, the Péschwah suddenly broke into war, supposing that his example would be simultaneously followed by Sindia, Holkar, the Rajah of Berar, Ameer Khan, and the Pindhárees, and that in the contest with all these separate powers, the English forces would be distracted and overcome; but never in the many strange estimates of delusive strength in India had a greater mistake been made. After the conclusion of the new treaty, the Péschwah appeared actuated by candour; and while he deplored the humiliation of the new engagements, professed acquiescence in their provisions. He went on his usual annual pilgrimage to Punderpoor, and appeared to reduce his cavalry, though to each man pay for seven months was disbursed, under agreement for all to assemble when called upon. Instead of returning to Poona from Punderpoor, the Péschwah went to Mahóly, in order, as was alleged, to complete his religious observances; and was visited there by Sir John Malcolm, whom he satisfied as to his peaceful intentions; but Mr. Elphinstone's suspicions continued as strong as ever, and he viewed with apprehension the march of the subsidiary force from Seroor, on October 9, to its position in the general distribution of the grand army, a movement which left Poona entirely undefended. It had been arranged, however, that a regiment of European infantry should be sent up from Bombay.

Bappoo Gókla was now the adviser of the Péschwah in all political and military affairs, and the organisation of troops and the missions to the Mahratta courts were pushed forward with every possible expedition; but of all the Péschwah's wild schemes, that of corrupting the English officers and their Sepoys, coupled with the assassination of Mr. Elphinstone, seems to have been most at heart. It need hardly be recorded, that the Sepoys tampered with indignantly rejected the offers made to them, and that the corruption

War commenced by the Péschwah.

His peaceful professions.

His covert proceedings.

Apprehensions of Mr. Elphinstone.

of their officers was never even attempted. Even his minister, Bappoo Gókla, refused to be concerned in any treacherous attack upon Mr. Elphinstone, from whom he had received many kindnesses.

The annual festival of the Dusséra was to take place on October 19, and is an occasion, in every Hindoo State, not only for a military display in commemoration of the capture of Ceylon by King Ráma, but for taking the annual muster of troops. The assembly on this occasion was greater than usual; while the only English troops at Poona were a weak brigade, partly composed of the battalions nominally belonging to the Peshwah. In noticing the unusual number of levies present, Mr. Elphinstone was informed that they were destined to operate against the Pindhárees; and to this no objection was open, as it was a point on which he had been already urgent. But in a few

Threatening  
position of  
the  
Peshwah's  
troops.

days the Peshwah's horse and foot began to crowd upon the British position very unpleasantly; and on November 4, Captain Ford was privately informed by Moro Dixit, a native friend, that the Peshwah intended to cut off the British troops, and recommended him to withdraw. There was no doubt, therefore, from every concurring circumstance, that an attack was imminent.

The arrival of the European regiment was looked to with intense anxiety, for it had been already debated in the Peshwah's Council whether the British force should not be attacked before its arrival; and it was still believed to be at a considerable distance, when by forced marches it arrived on October 30. The whole force then, on November 1, took up an open position near the village of Kirkee; and on the 3rd, Mr. Elphinstone directed a battalion of light infantry, and a party of auxiliary horse, then at Seroor, to join him. On November 5, the Peshwah's plans were completed, and the whole army was ordered out, on pretence of escorting him to a temple in the suburbs of Poona. A last endeavour was made by him to remonstrate against the advance of the regiment from Bombay, and that of the battalion from Seroor, and to request their being returned; but Mr. Elphinstone resisted both demands firmly, and the Pesh-

The  
Peshwah's  
army  
advances,  
and is met by  
the British  
troops.

wah's officer had barely left him, when the great army was put in motion. No one knew the Mahrattas better than Mr. Elphinstone: and instead of allowing Colonel Burr, the officer in command of the brigade, to await attack, he directed him to move at once on the Mahratta forces. The effect of this act was a strange panic among the Mahratta troops; and an evil omen had occurred in the breaking of the staff of the Juree Putka, or national standard, as it left the

city. Beyond one brilliant charge led by Gókla, which was successfully repulsed with heavy loss by Colonel Burr's own regiment, the 7th Bombay Native Infantry, the vast host of the Mahratta army did nothing; and as the British brigade still advanced, the whole took to flight. The strength of the forces engaged were—2,800 British, in the proportion of 2,000 natives to 800 Europeans; of the Mahrattas, 18,000 horse, 8,000 foot, with fourteen guns. In the night, the battalion from Seroor arrived, and the Mahratta attack was not renewed. This event was followed by the murder, in three instances, of English officers who were travelling; and Cornets Hunter and Morrison, of the Madras cavalry, were overpowered and confined in a hill-fort.

The Mahratta army abandon the field.

General Smith, who retraced his steps on hearing of the outbreak, arrived near Poona on November 13, and had made dispositions to attack the Peshwah's army, which was encamped west of the Moota river, on the morning of the 15th, at daylight; but this was prevented by the state of the ford. On the 16th the Mahratta army began to retreat. On the 17th no portion of their host was to be seen: the whole, with the Peshwah, had fled to Sattara. Poona was now taken possession of without resistance, and General Smith, after depositing his heavy guns and baggage at Seroor, commenced a pursuit of the Mahratta army. It is unnecessary to follow the movements of the several divisions of the British forces which were put in motion for the same purpose, and to avoid which the Peshwah adopted every expedient in his power; but an episode in the war occurred which cannot be passed by without record.

Arrival of General Smith's force.

The Peshwah flies to Sattara.

Poona occupied.

Pursuit of the Peshwah.

The second battalion of the 1st Bombay Native Infantry had been left at Seroor; and Colonel Burr, apprehending that the Peshwah might suddenly return to Poona, directed it to join him. It therefore set out on December 31, 1817, under the command of Captain Staunton, accompanied by two six-pounder guns of the Madras Artillery, and 300 of the newly-raised irregular cavalry. On the morning of January 1, 1818, having marched all night, the detachment reached the small village of Korygaom, on the Bheema, and Captain Staunton found the whole of the Peshwah's army, 25,000 strong, encamped before it. He did not halt, but passed on till he occupied the village. Here, throughout the whole of that day, he was attacked, by several bodies in succession, of Arabs, Gosains, and other foot soldiers; and every post of the village was desperately contested. The guns were taken and retaken; several of the few officers were killed and wounded; and the men, from whom water was cut off, were frantic with thirst, and faint with

Memorable defence of Korygaom by Captain Staunton.

hunger; but the defence was maintained with high valour, until nightfall, when the men obtained water, and the enemy gradually withdrew. At daylight, Captain Staunton opened his guns upon parties of horse which were careering about on the plain; but they had no disposition to renew the fight, and the whole Mahratta army gradually disappeared. Captain Staunton had lost 175 men in killed and wounded, with eight officers—three killed and five wounded—and only himself, Lieutenant Jones, and Assistant Surgeon Wyllie escaped; the Mahratta loss was between 500 and 600 men. The glory of the defence, with that of the battle of Seetabuldee, which had preceded it, are still sung by Mahratta minstrels, in every part of the Deccan; and a monument erected near the fort at Korygaom commemorates the names of every man who fell.

The Peshwah witnessed the fight all day from a distant eminence, and seeing the successive failures of those on whom he had most relied, bitterly upbraided them for having misled him. He had now no refuge but in flight, and the British divisions allowed him no rest. He proceeded to the south, being chased in turn by Generals Munro and Pritzer; and obliged to recross the Krishna, he turned northwards to Sholapoor, where General Smith took up the pursuit. On February 10, Sattara was taken possession of, and a manifesto issued to the people; and the Mahratta force, under Bappoo Góklá, was overtaken at Ashta, and routed by General Smith's cavalry, with the loss of their brave, but misguided commander, who was killed in the *mêlée* by a dragoon. The action was important, however, as the Rajah of Sattara, who had been hitherto in confinement, was rescued, and assured of the good intentions of the governor-general, remained with Mr. Elphinstone. The Peshwah still fled northwards, intending, it was supposed, to make for Nagpoor.

Meanwhile, events of the highest interest had occurred there. Appa Sahib, the regent, had caused the idiot rajah to be strangled, and himself to be proclaimed successor, in February 1816. From that period he maintained an active correspondence with the Peshwah. Chestoo, the Pindháree chief, visited him, and large levies of troops were made. This conduct was remonstrated against by the Resident; but protestations of loyalty to the English were received, perhaps, with too great reliance. So long as the Peshwah had made no direct movement, Appa Sahib was tranquil, and the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, saw no cause for apprehension; but on the news of the Peshwah's outbreak, he threw off the mask, and on the evening of November

The Peshwah pursues his flight.

Sattara occupied.

Combat of Ashta.

Release of the Rajah of Sattara.

Events at Nagpoor.

26, when he had drawn out his forces to witness his investiture with an honorary dress sent by the Peshwah, the British troops were suddenly attacked by the whole of his army. They had fortunately been able to occupy two eminences near the Residency, called Seetabuldee, and the possession of these was hotly contested during the whole of the 27th; but the enemy were at last repulsed, and the attack was not renewed. The disparity of numbers was even greater than at Poona. Appa Sahib's army was 18,000 strong, while the British force did not reach 1,400, who, with the exception of the artillerymen, were all Sepoys. Their loss was 333 in killed and wounded, with twelve officers. Appa Sahib endeavoured to lay the blame of the attack upon his Arabs, and other mercenaries; but the Resident, strengthened by reinforcements on November 29, and December 5th, 14th, and 19th, would listen to nothing short of unconditional submission; and the rajah came to the Residency and surrendered himself; but his army did not obey his orders in regard to the delivery of its guns, and they were taken in an action fought at once upon the spot. Mr. Jenkins dictated terms to the rajah, which involved a territorial cession of twenty-four lacs, equal to the pay of the subsidiary force, and included the military control of the country; and these terms were subsequently confirmed by the governor-general.

Remarkable  
battle and  
defence of  
Seetabuldee.

Battle of  
Nagpoor.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS HASTINGS (*continued*) —THE MAHRATTA AND PINDHÁREE WAR, 1818.

THE issue of events at Poona had placed the Mahratta dominions at the disposal of the governor-general, who, on hearing of the Peshwah's outbreak, resolved to annex them. Mr. Elphinstone was appointed commissioner for the whole of the Mahratta territories in the Deccan; but the public manifesto was not issued until Sattara had been taken possession of, when it was proclaimed that the authority of the Peshwah had ceased to exist, and that a portion of the territory had been set apart for the Rajah of Sattara. The dominant authority of the Peshwahs, from the recognition of Ballajee Wishwánath in 1717, by the Emperor Mahomed Shah, to the flight of his great-grandson, Bajee Ráo, in 1817, had been as nearly as possible a hundred years. Now, not only had the once vast power of the dynasty crumbled to pieces under the effects of mutual divi-

Annexation  
of the  
Mahratta  
dominions.

Proclamation  
at Sattara.

sions and contests for pre-eminence, but the dominions of one of the most important of the Mahratta confederacy, the Rajah of Berar, also lay at the mercy of the governor-general, and those of a third, Holkar, were speedily to follow.

On the death of Jeswunt Ráo Holkar, in 1811, his favourite mistress, Toolsee Bye, a young and very beautiful woman, adopted Mulhar Ráo, an illegitimate son of her husband, and assumed the conduct of affairs as regent. Her government was profligate and ineffective; the army was mutinous and uncontrollable, and plundered the country at large for subsistence, and without opposition. Ameer Khan, whose Patáns formed the chief element of Holkar's military establishment, withdrew from Indoor soon after his death, to prosecute his operations in Rajpootana, leaving a relative, Ghufoor Khan, as his substitute. Before her own forces, Toolsee Bye was obliged in the sequel to fly to the protection of Rajah Zálím Singh of Kóta; but she could not long remain inactive, and entered into a contest with Ghufoor Khan, in an action with whom she displayed great valour at the head of her cavalry, but was obliged to fly from the field. The hereditary minister of the State was Gunput Ráo, who became her paramour; and there seemed little hope of a reconstruction of an efficient executive government, till Tántia Jóg'h, formerly a banker, was appointed minister, and rallied the Mahratta party about her. Ghufoor Khan, however, maintained his position, and for upwards of five years the scenes of contention and anarchy were but little, if at all, abated. Towards the close of 1817, the Peshwah's agents were again active at Indoor; and the support of the great military chiefs in his action against the English had been secured. Toolsee Bye's authority was little more than nominal; but it does not appear that she had entered into the schemes of the Peshwah, or the views of her military commanders; and on the proposal of a treaty by the governor-general, she had offered, though secretly, to place herself and the young prince, Mulhar Ráo, under the protection of the Resident at Dehly. It became, however, impossible for her to carry out this purpose, or to escape from the control of the army; and no sooner had the news of events at Poona become known at Indoor, than the commanders resolved to make common cause with the Peshwah; and the army, 20,000 strong, to whom liberal supplies of money were disbursed by the Peshwah's agents, marched at once for the Deccan. At this juncture, the divisions of Sir T. Hislop and Sir John Malcolm had united, and lay in their path. Nor was it possible for Holkar's forces to avoid them. Holkar's army, therefore, took up a strong position near Mehidpoor, on the Sipree river, in the

Events at  
Holkar's  
court.

Regency of  
Toolsee Bye.

The  
Peshwah's  
intrigues at  
Indoor.

Holkar's  
army  
marches for  
the Deccan.

middle of December. Here, on the morning of December 20, a long existing plot for the destruction of Toolsee Bye and her paramour was carried out by Ghufloor Khan and others in his interest. The young Holkar, Mulhar Ráo, was first separated from them, when Gunput Ráo endeavoured to escape, but was brought back and imprisoned; and at night, Toolsee Bye was taken from her tent to the bank of the Sipree, beheaded, and her body cast into the stream.

Sir Thomas Hislop's force was then within ten miles of the Mahratta camp, and he had opened negotiations with the army; but they were haughtily rejected, and the commanders, reliant upon the strength of their position and their guns, decided to fight. The British force advanced upon them on the morning of December 21; and carried the artillery by storm, after a sharp contest, when the whole of Holkar's army dispersed and fled in confusion, except the horse, which, without an attempt to redeem the day, went off in a body unharmed. The brunt of the action had fallen upon the artillery, and disciplined infantry battalions, who had fought bravely, and suffered severely; and the loss on the part of the English was 778 in killed and wounded. The victory was, however, complete; and sixty-three guns, with all their stores and the camp-equipage, were captured. Holkar retreated with the wreck of his force to Mundisore, followed by Sir John Malcolm; but no further resistance was made, and on January 6, 1818, he concluded a treaty with the British Government, which provided for Ameer Khan and Ghufloor Khan, abandoned demands upon the Rajpoot States, which were transferred to the English, and agreed to maintain a contingent of 3,000 horse. On the other hand, the British Government guaranteed to protect his territories for the future.

The Pindhárees alone remain to be accounted for in this remarkable contest. Sindia's forces, closely watched by the governor-general's and other British divisions, had perforce remained neutral; but Jeswunt Ráo Bhow, one of his superior officers, harboured Cheetoo and other Pindháree chiefs, and so pertinaciously maintained his disobedience to Sindia's orders, that General Browne's division was sent against him, by which he was defeated at Jáwud, and his guns captured on January 28, and the districts he had usurped from the Rana of Oodipoor rescued from him, and restored to their lawful prince. As to the several divisions of Pindhárees, they had found themselves helpless from the first against Lord Hastings's combinations; and the events of the period, at Poona, Nagpoor, and Indoor, proved to them

Execution of  
Toolsee Bye.

Battle of  
Mehldipoor.

Defeat of  
Holkar's  
army.

Treaty of  
peace with  
Holkar.

The  
Pindhárees.

Jeswunt Ráo  
Bhow de-  
feated.

Check of  
Pindháree  
movements.

that they could receive no help from the Mahrattas. Cheetoo, finding no refuge at Jáwud, had fled in a north-westerly direction, his followers deserting him at every march. He was hunted through Guzerat by General Keir, and afterwards by General Malcolm in Malwah; and on January 25, his camp was surprised and attacked by Captain Heath. This was the last appearance of his force; but for nearly a year he wandered among the fastnesses of the Vindhya and Sátpoora hills, and at last was killed by a tiger in the jungle between Aseergurh and the Tapti river, where his half-devoured remains were discovered by a shepherd, and recognised.

Flight of  
Cheetoo.

His death.

Kureem Khan and Wasil Mahomed were routed by a force under Colonel Adams, in January 1818, and their followers dispersed in every direction. Kureem sought protection from Jeswunt Ráo Bhow at Jáwud, whence he escaped when it was taken, and finally surrendered to Sir John Malcolm on February 15. He received a small estate for his support in the province of Gorukpoor, in Bengal, and his example was followed by his celebrated lieutenant, Námдар Khan. Wasil Mahomed betook himself to Sindia's camp at Gwalior, where he was surrendered, and sent to Ghazeepoor; he was not imprisoned, but he attempted to escape from thence, and was apprehended, when he committed suicide by poison. Thus ended that formidable combination of freebooters, which had wholly desolated large provinces, inflicted inconceivable torture and misery upon thousands of the people, was utterly without control or check, and if allowed to gain further organisation, would have carried fire and sword into every accessible province of India.

Other  
Pindháree  
chiefs.

Ameer Khan alone remained, and finding hopes from the Mahrattas futile, he dismissed the Peshwah's agents, and turned to Mr. Metcalfe and Sir David Ochterlony as his best friends. The offer before made to him by Lord Hastings was accepted; but it required all the address and firmness of Sir David to conclude a settlement with his Patán troops, and to obtain their artillery. This, however, was finally effected, and without bloodshed. Without entering into minute details of the alliances contracted with all the smaller chiefs of the central and northern provinces, which the non-interferent policy had before prevented, it will gratify the reader to learn that two especial instances of fidelity were amply rewarded. The Rajah of Boondée was freed from all demands on the part of Sindia; Holkar's and Sindia's usurpations were restored to him, and the State was established in the prosperity and independence which it still enjoys. The other was the

Settlement  
with Ameer  
Khan

and with  
minor States.

Nawáb of Bhopál, whose ancestor, it will be remembered, had rendered hospitality and material assistance to General Goddard, in his famous march across India. The Nawáb received a material addition to his small territory from the Mahratta possessions in Malwah, and the gratitude and good faith of the family have since been conspicuously displayed.

The results of the campaign of 1817-18 may be very briefly summed up. In the middle of 1817, the Mahratta and Pindháree power, though divided, was unbroken, and has been estimated at nearly 200,000 men, with 500 guns. It was fast hastening to a combination of all interests, which the Peshwah, the Rajah of Berar, and Holkar had already joined, and which Sindia, Ameer Khan, and the Pindhárees would not have refused, had the British preparations been delayed. The whole was utterly shattered in a brief campaign of four months. The Peshwah's dominions had been annexed, and those of Sindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar lay at the mercy of the governor-general, and were saved only by his exceeding and honourable moderation. There was at last, after sixty years from the battle of Plassy, no question of the supremacy of British power throughout India, now more perfectly established, and more effectively dominant, than that of Aurungzebe.

With the fate of the Peshwah himself, this chapter may be appropriately closed. In the month of March, it was discovered that Appa Sahib, the rajah of Nagpoor, was still in active communication with the Peshwah, and assisting him by every means in his power to continue the war. Mr. Jenkins, therefore, arrested him, and kept him prisoner till Lord Hastings's pleasure should be known. The Peshwah, deprived of the promised succour, was still hunted from place to place by detachments from the several divisions, and his force was attacked and routed at Sewnee, by Colonel Adams, on April 18. The capture of Chandah followed, and he was driven northwards, all chances of aid from the south being cut off. During these wanderings, he had addressed himself successively to Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Elphinstone, and to the British commanders, offering terms; but as the only replies he received required his unconditional surrender, he pursued his route northwards, hoping to reach Sindia. This, however, was impossible: all the fords and passes were guarded; and abandoned by every adherent of importance, he reached Dhólkote, near Aseergurh, with about 8,000 men. Thence he dispatched an agent to Sir John Malcolm, who was at Indoor, who sent to him his two assistants, Lieutenants Low and McDonald, requiring him to renounce all

Bhopál.

Summary.

The Peshwah is assisted by Appa Sahib.

His force is routed.

He sues for terms.

The demands made on him.

claim to the sovereignty of the Deccan, to give up Trimbukjee Dainglia, and the murderers of the English officers. He was also to proceed to meet Sir John Malcolm. It is almost inconceivable why any negotiations whatever should have been opened, or anything short of unconditional submission accepted by Sir John Malcolm. It was quite impossible, either that Bajee Ráo could have escaped the forces which were rapidly closing round him, or have maintained himself in the rude tract of country into which he had been driven; but the negotiations with him nevertheless continued, and were even protracted. The best and only excuse for them lies in Sir John Malcolm's kindly disposition and generosity, and in spite of his treachery, sympathy with a prince so lately a monarch, and now a fugitive. His final agreement with the Peshwah provided him a pension for life, of eight lacs—80,000*l.*—per year: and it is due justice to Bajee Ráo to state that he was able also to secure estates, and other provisions, for those who had followed him to the last. These terms, though accompanied with some censure to Sir John Malcolm for exceeding instructions, were ratified by Lord Hastings, and Bithoor, near Cawnpoor, was selected by the Peshwah as his place of future residence. The surrender of Trimbukjee was evaded; but he was afterwards apprehended, and died at Chunar, in confinement.

The Peshwah pensioned.

Trimbukjee Dainglia arrested and imprisoned for life.

## CHAPTER V.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS HASTINGS (*concluded*),  
1818 to 1823.

WITH an inconsiderable number of sieges and operations in the field, the campaign of 1818 closed. Aseergurh was surrendered to Sir John Malcolm on April 9: and as his justification for resistance and aid to the Peshwah, the commandant, Jeswunt Ráo, showed to Sir John, his master Sindia's instructions. It was not the only instance of Sindia's treachery which had been brought to light; but he had been effectually restrained and humbled, and the retention of Aseergurh, which was garrisoned by British troops, was thought sufficient punishment. Lord Hastings was, however, determined to make the treachery of the Rajah of Nagpoor an example to all, and ordered him to be transmitted to the fort of Allahabad as a state

Closing operations of the campaign of 1818.

prisoner. On the road thither he contrived to seduce some of the Sepoys of his escort, and was allowed to escape. Escape of Appa Sahib. For a time, assisted by Cheetoo Pindháree, and at the head of a lawless rabble, he maintained a precarious existence in the Vindhya and Sâtpoorá mountains; but these bands were dispersed, and after wandering from court to court of the Hindoo princes, he received eventual protection, under the cognisance of the British Government, from the Rajah of Joudhpoor. In regard to the Nagpoor territories, the widow of Rughoojee Bhóslay was allowed to adopt a boy, who was duly proclaimed rajah, under the regency of his adoptress; but the authority British administration of Nagpoor. was only nominal, as the whole of the administration was placed under the Resident, until the youth should attain his majority.

In a comparatively few instances, resistance was offered to the British troops. Talnair, the former Patán capital of Capture of Talnair. Khandésh, was extremely strong, and defended by a body of the Peshwah's Arabs. After a short resistance, the native officer in command submitted, and came out to Sir T. Hislop, who sent a party to take possession. It appeared, however, that the garrison had either not been consulted, or that it was an act of treachery; for the party, being allowed to pass several of the gates, were at last set upon by the Arabs, and the officer in command killed. On the news of this event reaching Sir Thomas, he ordered an assault, in which nearly the whole of the Arab garrison was killed, and the native commandant was hanged the next morning as an example. This act, which caused a good deal of subsequent discussion—especially in England—with the particulars of the attack on Talnair, will be found detailed at length in Prinsep's narrative, which, in regard to the final operations of this campaign, possesses extreme interest. Another somewhat memorable siege was that of Malligaom, in Khandésh, Siege of Malligaom. into which fort all the fugitive Arab mercenaries had collected. They defended the place very bravely, but from the first inefficient means had been employed in the attack; the garrison were in proportion confident, and they repulsed one assault. They eventually proposed terms, and were The garrison capitulated. allowed to march out under promise of payment of their arrears of pay, and a free passage to Arabia. This generous treatment was, however, misunderstood. The Arabs considered they had had the best of the contest; and the result ever since then, has been held up as an instance of successful resistance by Arabs to English troops which could not be overcome, and at Hyderabad and elsewhere has produced many bad consequences.

The hill forts in the Western Ghauts fell, one by one, to General

Pritzler's force, and in Wasota, Cornets Hunter and Morrison were found in good health, as also the wives and families of the Rajah of Sattara and his brother. It was then ascertained that the brave Bappoo Gókla had himself written to the commandant of Wasota, directing the two 'poor Europeans' to be well treated, and the order had been obeyed. The whole of the stupendous mountain fortresses having either submitted or been captured, the Rajah of Sattara was placed upon his throne with great pomp on April 11; the territory assigned to him, which yielded about fourteen lacs, or 140,000*l.*, was that of his ancestor Sivajee, and for the present an English officer, Captain Grant Duff, was placed with him to manage the affairs of his principality.

General  
Pritzler's  
operations.

The Rajah of  
Sattara  
enthroned.

General  
Munro's  
spirited  
conduct.

At this period, General Munro's conduct was spirited and useful. Having no regular forces, he raised a levy of the armed people of Northern Mysore and adjacent districts, and with these he not only took possession of several of the strongest forts in the country, but followed up 4,500 of the Peshwah's infantry, with thirteen guns, to Sholapoor, where he routed them, with the loss of their guns; and the capture of the strong fort of Sholapoor followed.

As far as military operations were concerned, the occupation of the Peshwah's territory was completed before the rainy season of 1818; the establishment of a civil administration necessarily occupied a longer period. The whole of the dominions were divided into four great portions. To the south-western, bordering on Mysore, Mr. Chaplin, an eminent Madras civilian, was nominated; Captain H. D. Robertson to the district and city of Poona; Captain Briggs to Khandésh, and Captain Pottinger to the central portion from the Bheema to Chandoor. To assist them, a number of native officers were selected from those of the late government,

and it was surprising with what rapidity whole provinces and their people submitted to a new government. Here and there parties of the old soldiery, and of lawless characters, from time to time committed outrages and depredations, and some plots were discovered among the Brahmins; but these were unimportant in comparison with the great measures of pacification of the country, security of life and property, and

Cheerful  
submission  
of the people.

Effects of  
the British  
rule.

guarantee of peace, which all well-affected classes desired, and which, up to the present time—upwards of fifty years—has continued unbroken; while the names of the four subordinate, and the chief commissioner, Mr. Elphinstone, live among the Mahrattas of all classes as household words. No portions of India had become more desolated from perpetual war, exactions, and misgovernment, than the Mahratta territories

at the period of the war, and equally may be it declared that at the present time none is more content or prosperous. In place of widespread desolation, and thousands of deserted villages, there is not now a single ruined hamlet; or an acre of unoccupied land, except what is unculturable. The Peshwah's great feudatories, the Rajahs of Kolapoor and Akulkote, Appa Desaye Nepankur, the Putwurdhun, Rastia, and other great families, gave in their allegiance, and their possessions and estates were secured to them; and the hereditary rights of all district and village offices were continued. Any revaluation of the land, or change in the collection of revenue, would, necessarily, have been premature; and what had been the basis of the Peshwah's revenue system was continued. All hereditary pensions and allowances, rent-free lands, and charitable and religious endowments, were confirmed throughout the country. The great originator of these most judicious and benevolent measures, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, succeeded to the government of the Bombay Presidency on November 1, 1819, and was thus enabled to preside over the execution of details without interruption; and from first to last his liberal and generous settlements received the fullest approval of the Marquess of Hastings.

Security of property.

Opinion on the war in England.

Hostility of the Court of Directors to Lord Hastings.

Native education.

The first native newspaper.

The final issue of the war, triumphant as it had been, was, to say the least of it, ill received in England: not indeed as regarded the military operations, which were beyond cavil; but as regarded the policy of the governor-general. Mr. Canning led the way in a speech to the House of Commons, in April 1819. The Court of Directors, while appreciating 'the promptitude and vigour with which Lord Hastings had dispersed the gathering elements of a hostile conspiracy,' denounced the extension of territory; but posterity has awarded ample recognition of his Lordship's great measures, by which Central and Western India had been delivered from a condition of never-ceasing anarchy, so long as the lawless armies of the rival powers were unconstrained. It was not only in regard to the issue of the war that the Court of Directors were hostile to Lord Hastings. He had undertaken the support of native education, and he followed it up with all the energy and generosity of his character. Vernacular schools began to be established, which were crowded by native scholars; and Lord Hastings himself became the patron of a society established for the education of native children in English literature and science. A native newspaper was issued by the missionaries at Serampoor, and the English press became virtually free. All these acts were directly opposed to the traditional policy of the Directors, which

amounted in fact to the assumption that India could only be safe so long as its people were ignorant; and they afforded scope for irritating comments and censure upon the governor-general's conduct, which were as undeserved as they were illiberal; but he persevered notwithstanding, and laid the foundation of that great extension of education which is now in active progress.

The last years of Lord Hastings's administration were devoted by him, with a rare amount of labour, ability and comprehensive-  
Disapproval of the court. ness, to the duties of civil and financial administration; and though the details of Madras and Bombay were managed by their respective governments, his Lordship's supervision extended over all. His personal labour for nine years was enormous, and hardly credible; and wherever his intervention extended, it was on the side of liberal measures, and for the removal of oppressive or ill-suited laws: while at every turn he had to encounter the hardly-concealed enmity of members of his own Council, and their faction in the Court of Directors and Proprietors.

Lord Hastings's civil administration. In 1819, the governor-general secured the cession and purchase of the island of Singapoer, which had become the great entrepôt of Eastern commerce; and an insurrection in the province of Kuttack, which had arisen from the rapacity of the subordinate government officials, was subdued and remedied. The

Singapoer purchased. financial results of this period of his tenure of office were more satisfactory, notwithstanding the expenses of the Nipál and Mahratta wars, than those of any of his predecessors. There was an annual surplus of two millions sterling, with ample reserve in the treasury, and the national credit was established upon a more sound and enduring basis than it had ever before attained. During Lord Hastings's period, not

Successful financial results. the least reform was effected in the private and official conduct of the officers of government, civil and military, who were in every respect changed from the lawless times of Clive and Warren Hastings. Lord and Lady Hastings gave a high tone to the society of Calcutta; there was an honourable ambition to excel, induced by his patronage, and the new provinces and extended fields of labour excited efforts for distinction which were won by able servants of the period in all departments of the service. The servants of the company were no longer adventurers; on the contrary, it had become difficult to obtain India appointments by even the best families of England. Among all this glorious success, however, there arose a cloud which overshadowed the last days of Lord Hastings's administration, the story of which, though the details are immensely voluminous, must be told in a few words.

The Nizam's State, ravaged by Pindhárees and banditti, oppressed by its district administrators, and for the most part run to waste, was in an almost hopeless condition of insolvency. The Nizam, always weak and vacillating, had from the first no experience; and having secured private estates and sources of income, left the conduct of his affairs to his minister Moneer-ool-Moolk, and altogether retired from public life. Moneer-ool-Moolk had neither firmness nor capacity; and the executive administration fell into the hands of Rajah Chundoo Lall, whose ability could not indeed be questioned, but whose reckless financial conduct led to almost irretrievable results. The Resident at the court had no power to interfere, except by remonstrance, which was of little or no avail. It had been an object of the governor-general, in which he was supported by the court, to have the useless horse and foot of the Nizam's army reformed, as a measure of economy as well as efficiency; and, as regards a compact force of 10,000 men, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, the object was fully accomplished. No corresponding reduction was, however, made in the old or irregular troops, and the expenditure in the new force was established on a scale of liberality, hardly perhaps proportioned to the means available; but for the suppression of all local disorders, it was most efficient. The reckless extravagance of the minister continued, in spite of remonstrances; and as the revenue had fallen to a very low amount, Mr., afterwards Sir, Charles Metcalfe, in 1820, proceeded on a tour through the country, with a view to ascertaining its real condition. He then proposed, with the consent of the Nizam, to establish English officers in the several provinces, to make and guarantee the revenue settlements, and to act against the banditti; and the measure was carried out with good effect. Nor was it opposed by Chundoo Lall, whose ministerial revenues and credit were considerably enhanced. In the same year, Chundoo Lall solicited a loan of sixty lacs—600,000*l.*—from the banking-house of William Palmer & Co. of Hyderabad, and permission was granted for the transaction by the governor-general in Council on July 15.

Condition of the Nizam's State after the Maratta war.

Supervision of the provinces by English officers.

Loan from Messrs. Wm. Palmer & Co.

The banking-house of Messrs. William Palmer & Co. had been established in 1814, under the license of the Supreme Government. The head of it, Mr. W. Palmer, was the son of General William Palmer, one of the ablest of the older school of diplomatists in India; he had entered the military service of the Nizam at an early age, and afterwards became a banker, in association with local native capitalists. In 1816, the Act 37 of Geo. III. c. 142, which prohibited pecuniary dealings with native powers by Europeans, was suspended in Messrs. Palmer's favour by an order in

Council, dated July 23, 1816, and the official instrument or deed which was transmitted to them, left them at liberty to carry on 'all acts within the territories of the Nizam, which are prohibited by the said Act of Parliament,' provided, that 'they communicate, when required to do so, the nature and objects of these transactions.' These transactions were manifold: the loan and other employment of capital, the opening of the trade of the country in cotton, timber, and other productions, and the import to a large extent of English manufactures; and it was by the punctual advances of the house alone, that the valuable reformed contingent was enabled to take and keep the field during the Mahratta war of 1817-18. Up to 1820, therefore, the same relations continued. The rates of interest were necessarily high, ranging from eighteen to twenty-four per cent.; but the Government of India had already borrowed at twelve per cent., and in the Nizam's and other native States the ordinary rates were from thirty-six, forty, and even more.

The faction of the Calcutta Council which had consistently opposed Lord Hastings's measures was supported by a powerful party in England; and in 1820, the court withdrew the sanction of Council to the Hyderabad transactions. Messrs. Palmer's dealings with the minister were suddenly interdicted, and the sixty-lac loan paid off by the Resident. On his first arrival at Hyderabad, Mr. Metcalfe reported that, with the exception of a high rate of interest, he observed nothing in regard to the transactions of the house 'which required interference or restraint.' Again, 'that the house should be unfettered in its transactions,' and much more to the same purport. The change was sudden and overwhelming; and before the house could afford explanations, or draw up the documents which were afterwards so voluminously rendered, it had been irretrievably destroyed. Reasons for this strange issue appeared in time. Under the wealth and influence of the house, Sir Charles had considered himself slighted, and he recorded, perhaps on his convictions, however erroneous, that its further existence was dangerous. He saw also an opportunity for ridding the English Government of the annual payment of seven lacs—70,000*l.*—for the peshkush, or tribute for the Northern Circars, which had been punctually disbursed to the Nizam from year to year since their cession. This peshkush was, therefore, capitalised, to represent the sums due—78,70,670 rupees to Messrs. Palmer's, and 20,00,000 to the company; 98,70,670 rupees—987,000*l.*—or, in a fraction above, only twelve and a half years' purchase of the annual payment.

The house of  
Wm. Palmer  
& Co. sup-  
pressed.

Capitalisa-  
tion of the  
peshkush of  
the Northern  
Circars.

From this arbitrary course, two prominently important results ensued. First, the utmost offence was given to his High-  
 ness the Nizam, by the cessation of the peshkush under  
 any circumstances—much more on a point connected with the  
 financial affairs of his dominions, with which the British Govern-  
 ment had no pretence whatever of interference. His protestations  
 were in proportion bitter and vehement; but they were unheeded,  
 and the act of spoliation has neither been forgiven nor forgotten to  
 this day. It was considered a deliberate insult, and an arbitrary  
 exercise of power over a helpless ally, and it was un-  
 questionably both; while the sum allowed was quite  
 inadequate to the value obtained. Secondly, to Chundoo  
 Lall, or to the Nizam's government, the payment of the loan was  
 of no practical benefit, but indeed much the contrary: for it loosed  
 the minister's hands, and drove him into the power of Arabs,  
 Patáns, Gosáins, military chiefs, and local bankers, who, desperate  
 as the credit of the State was, extorted the highest possible rates  
 of usurious interest and bonuses for years afterwards, and brought  
 it to the verge of extinction. 'So long,' said Chundoo Lall, 'as  
 I can borrow three and pay one, I can go on.'

Offence to  
the Nizam.

Mischievous  
results of the  
transaction.

It was not, however, before the payment of the loan only that  
 the house of William Palmer & Co. broke down. All  
 their other dealings, of every kind, were at the same time  
 proclaimed to be illegal, and the consequences were in-  
 evitable destruction. All outstanding debts, instalments, districts  
 held in mortgage, district advances for timber and cotton, were  
 forfeited. The house paid twenty-five per cent by way of instalment,  
 but its further exertions were for the time utterly paralysed. The  
 sequel to these transactions did not follow for several years, and  
 will be related in its appropriate place; but the mortifi-  
 cations to which Lord Hastings had been exposed by  
 the unworthy suspicions of the Court of Directors, and  
 more than insinuations of corrupt motives in regard to Sir William  
 Rumbold's connection with William Palmer & Co., were insup-  
 portable. He sent home his resignation in 1821, though he did not  
 leave India till January 1, 1823: a great and good man, who, like  
 Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Wellesley, was yet to experience  
 the bitter effects of that clique by which his greatest acts, and most  
 triumphant policy, had been persistently opposed.

Causes for  
the insol-  
vency of Wm.  
Palmer & Co.

Mortification  
of Lord  
Hastings.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AMHERST—THE BURMESE WAR,  
1823 to 1825.

LORD HASTINGS was succeeded by Mr. Adam, the senior member of Council, who had uniformly opposed all his liberal measures, and who had assisted in, if not brought about, the ruin of Messrs. William Palmer & Co. Mr. Can-  
Mr. Adam acts as governor-general. ning had been nominated to succeed the governor-general; but he preferred to remain in the English ministry, and of the two other candidates, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Amherst  
Lord Amherst appointed. who had recently conducted an embassy to China, the choice fell upon Lord Amherst; but it was seven months before he arrived in India. During this period, the narrow, despotic mind of Mr. Adam found congenial employment in ruining Mr. Silk Buckingham, the editor of one of the Calcutta newspapers, by deporting him from India, and prohibiting the issue of his paper. This was the only event of moment by which the interregnum was rendered memorable, and by which it attained an unenviable notoriety. Mr. Adam died at sea, on his passage home, and thus escaped the retaliation of Mr. Buckingham before the English people, and Mr. Buckingham was subsequently silenced by an annuity.

Lord Amherst reached Calcutta on August 1, 1823, and found the relations of the Government of India with the  
Disturbed relations with Burmah. Burmese in an unsatisfactory and menacing position. During the administration of Lord Hastings, the Burmese, in 1818, had arrogantly demanded the cession of the whole of Eastern Bengal, and threatened to take it, if not given up. The governor-general, affecting to believe the letter a forgery, sent it back without comment; but it was not the less an authentic document. It proceeded out of the success which had attended the Burmese extension of their dominions, which, in 1822, had included Assam by conquest, and thus brought them, without any intervening power, to the frontiers of the British. Over the province of Assam the authority of the English had not been extended; and up to the date of its conquest, from a very early period, it had not only preserved its entire independence, but maintained its position against every attempt to subdue it by the Imperial viceroys of Bengal. Desirous as the Burmese were for war with the English, affairs were brought to a crisis by a claim made by the Burmese governor of Assam to the island  
The Burmese occupy Shalipooree.

of Shahpooree, at the mouth of the Naaf river; and without attending to the governor-general's desire that the right to it should be decided by a mutual commission, forcibly occupied it by troops, which drove out the British detachment in charge, <sup>The island recovered.</sup> with some loss. The island was soon recovered, and a remonstrance addressed to the King of Ava; but this only produced a fresh ebullition of arrogance, and Máha Bundoola, the great Burmese general, was dispatched with an army, and a pair of golden fetters, to conquer Bengal, and send the governor-general, bound, to the 'golden feet' of the king.

Remonstrance being useless, Lord Amherst, finding the Burmese general was preparing to invade Bengal on two points, <sup>Lord Amherst declares war.</sup> issued a declaration of war on February 24, 1824. In regard to funds for the war, the situation of Government was one of unexampled prosperity. There was a surplus of two millions sterling a year, and ten millions sterling were in reserve in the public treasuries; and there was no apprehension felt as to the conduct of the native troops in a foreign country, who, at Java, the Mauritius, and in Egypt, had already proved their devotion. The greatest difficulty was in selecting a <sup>Difficulty of attacking Burmah.</sup> point for invasion. The eastern part of Bengal was a succession of forests, morasses, and deep unfordable streams; the climate was known to be most unhealthy, if not deadly, and the difficulty of transporting an army by land, with all its stores, was evidently insuperable. On the other hand, Captain <sup>Captain Canning's project.</sup> Canning, who had been employed as envoy to the Burmese court, suggested an attack by sea on Rangoon, to be followed by an advance up the river Irrawaddy; and this plan was ultimately carried out.

The Burmese had, in the meantime, been prompt in action. They had sent 20,000 men, under Bundoola, to the frontier of <sup>Burmese proceedings.</sup> Bengal, where they drove in and destroyed a light detachment, under Captain Norton, on May 17; but their progress was checked by the advance of a regular force from Bengal. Meanwhile the army of invasion, consisting of 12,000 men, chiefly from Madras, had assembled at the Andaman Islands <sup>Rangoon captured.</sup> under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell; and on May 11 the town of Rangoon, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy, was occupied, almost without resistance. Advance, however, proved impossible; the heavy continuous rain prevented movement for six months, and the army had to lie inactive, suffering from short supplies of bad unwholesome rations, and the climate. Some employment was found in minor operations on the Tenasserim coast, when its capital, Martaban, was taken possession <sup>Martaban captured.</sup> of; and also in the capture of stockades near Rangoon,

many of which were extremely strong, but in most instances ill defended.

On December 1, Bundoola, abandoning his attack on Bengal, arrived near Rangoon with an army of 60,000 men, and the campaign opened in earnest. He commenced his operations by stockading the whole of his front, which was effected with great skill and rapidity. On the 6th these stockades were attacked by a combined force of infantry and gunboats, and partly destroyed; but Bundoola retaliated on the 7th by an assault on the English position at the great pagoda, which was repulsed with heavy loss to his forces, and followed up by four columns, which broke through the Burmese stockades and breastworks, and drove their whole army from the field. On the 15th the capture of the strong stockaded position of Kokein followed, and Bundoola retreated to Donabew with his whole army. On the side of Arracan, two expeditions proved failures, not from opposition by the enemy, for none was experienced, and Colonel Richards, with an insignificant force, had occupied the capital of Assam; but the impossibility of conveying troops through forests and morasses had forced Colonel Shuldham and his army of 7,000 men to return, and General Morrison, who marched from Chittagong with 10,000 men, lost most of them by the pestilential fever of Arracan, and the survivors were recalled. These movements gave rise to a deplorable episode of the war, in the disaffection of three Sepoy regiments, the 26th, 47th, and 62nd, which were under orders for Assam, and the actual mutiny of the 47th. The Burmese war had become a terror to men who had fought through the campaigns in Central India. The climate of the country, the magical arts of the Burmese, and their supposed invincibility, had possessed the minds of the Sepoys with a weird dread; and there was some discontent also about carriage. On November 1, the 47th was ordered to parade in marching order, for inspection. Some of the men obeyed, but the rest refused to attend the parade. On the 2nd the order was repeated, and two of H.M.'s regiments, with a detachment of artillery, were sent to the station—Barrackpoor—to enforce its execution. The three native regiments were paraded, and a solemn warning was conveyed to the 47th, after which their native officers left them. They were ordered to ground their arms, but they received the word with defiant shouts, on which the artillery present opened fire. The Sepoys broke, and fled, and eleven men were killed. The mutiny of the 47th was thus summarily repressed; the 26th and 62nd were not noticed, but the number of the 47th was struck out of the list of the army.

Bundoola  
attacks  
Rangoon.

His defeat.

Difficulties  
in Assam.

Mutiny of  
three Sepoy  
regiments.

After the failures in Bengal, there remained only the route by the Irrawaddy; and in February, Sir Archibald Campbell was prepared to advance, in three columns, of which the central, by land, was under his own command; the second in boats under Brigadier Cotton, and the third, under Colonel Sale, having been first sent to take Bassein, which was easily effected, returned to Rangoon. Brigadier Cotton, whose force only amounted to 600 men, attacked the famous stockaded position of Donabew on March 7; but it was defended by 12,000 of the flower of the Burmese army, under the renowned Bundoola in person, and the assault was repulsed. On hearing of this event, Sir Archibald Campbell, whose force was considerably in advance, returned; and during a bombardment of the position on April 3, Bundoola was killed by a shell, whereupon the whole Burmese army retreated, leaving all their guns and stores, and the position was occupied without resistance. No further opposition was experienced, and on the 25th Prome, the capital of Lower Burmah, was occupied by the army, which took up quarters for the monsoon. Hence Sir Archibald Campbell gave it to be understood that he was empowered to negotiate for peace; and the Burmese, who had again assembled an army of 50,000 men, sent envoys to him for the purpose of negotiation. The terms proposed by the governor-general were, however, rejected by the king, and at the close of the rains the war was resumed.

Advance by  
the river  
Irrawaddy

Assault on  
Donabew  
repulsed.

Bundoola  
killed.

The Burmese  
retreat.

Proposals  
for peace.

The war  
proceeds.

Sir A.  
Campbell's  
successes.

At this time Sir A. Campbell had not more than 5,000 men with him; but they were in high health, and the real value of the Burmese in war had been already tested. The first expedition against the enemy, an attack on the position of Wati-gaon, on November 15, was repulsed with a loss of 200 men, and Brigadier MacDougall, who was in command. The enemy, as they had done at Rangoon, now gradually drew round Prome; and on December 1, Sir A. Campbell attacked their stockades on the Nawain river, and carried them in succession; and on January 19, the position of Mal-lown was similarly assaulted and captured, with a great number of guns, and much *matériel* of war.

The king, now really alarmed, dispatched Dr. Price, an American missionary, from Ava, to ascertain terms of peace; but before an answer could be obtained, the Burmese commander, Muring Phuring, had marched direct upon Prome, with 16,000 men—all that remained to him. Sir Archibald Campbell had only 1,300 men available, but he attacked the Burmese at once, on February 9, 1825, and drove

The king  
sues for  
peace.

them ignominiously from the field. The defeated general carried the news of his own loss to Ava, and begged for a new army; but he was beheaded the same evening, and the king set himself in earnest to obtain peace, sending Dr.

Price and Mr. Jordan, American missionaries, with his own ministers, and a portion of the money before demanded, to Sir Archibald Campbell, who by this time had advanced to Yandaboo, within sixty miles of the capital.

The terms of a treaty were soon arranged, and it was finally executed on February 24. By it the Burmese king ceded Tenasserim, Arracan, and Assam: and agreed to pay a million sterling, on account of the expenses of the war, of which twenty-five lacs—250,000*l.*—were forthwith delivered. An envoy from the governor-general was also to reside at Ava for the future.

There was no doubt that this war had been mismanaged: but neither the country nor the climate, nor indeed the enemy, had been understood. The Burmese power and resources had been vastly overrated; and had the expedition been deferred to a proper season, when, as it did at last, it could have advanced at once by land, it would no doubt have carried all before it, and concluded a peace in one season. The war cost nearly 13,000,000*l.* sterling; but the provinces obtained have proved cheap at this cost, and are still improving. Assam produces tea equal to that of China, and the cultivation is fast increasing. Arracan is the most fertile rice district in India, and the Tenasserim coast boasts of the city and port of Moulmein, erst a small village, now an entrepôt for Eastern commerce, with a trade of nearly 1,000,000*l.* a year. The Court of Directors, who had hitherto been accustomed to value the issue of a war only by what it would yield, were astonished by the expenditure which had swept away all Lord Hastings's accumulations, and there was a loud cry for Lord Amherst's recal; but he was nevertheless suffered to remain.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AMHERST (*concluded*),  
1825 to 1828.

THE result of the English invasion of Burmah was watched with intense and extraordinary anxiety by all classes of the credulous and superstitious people of India; and to the strange magical acts of the Burmese, and their invinci-

Native  
opinion on  
the Burmese  
war.

ble prowess, were attributed the inaction of the army which had been sent. The truth, which lay in heavy continuous rain, bad food, and a country which became a flooded morass, was credited by none. The English, who had crushed Mahrattas, Patáns, and Pindhárees in a single campaign, lay, it was actually believed, helpless before an enemy who slew their soldiers by <sup>Absurd</sup> incantation, or prevented them from 'raising their feet,' <sup>credulity.</sup> and so confined them to a narrow strip of coast, where all must inevitably perish. No reports on this subject, however absurd, were too gross for credence, and by them many hopes were awakened among the military classes, now unemployed, with whom war and rapine had been the hereditary occupation of centuries. The English would, no doubt, persevere in the Burmese war; but they would sacrifice their army, and then—the old flags would be raised, and the result would not a second time be doubtful. Many strange crises of native feelings had from time to time arisen in India; but it is questionable whether any more universally experienced, or in which the truth was more hopelessly obscured and denied, was ever before encountered. There is always, however, a culminating point in such periods of excitement, and in this instance it appeared at Bhurtpoor.

No disaffection had been manifested by the Játs since Lord Lake's peace with them in 1805; but their rajah was <sup>Affairs of</sup> dead, his son had succeeded, and his heir, a boy of <sup>Bhurtpoor.</sup> tender age, had been recognised by the government of India at his special request, and a political officer had assisted at the ceremony. Hardly a year had elapsed before the boy succeeded his father; but Doorjun Sál, his cousin, set him <sup>Doorjun Sál</sup> aside, and confined him, placing himself at the head of <sup>usurps the</sup> the troops, and proclaiming his own succession. Sir David Och- <sup>State.</sup> terlony—who held the office of political agent to the governor-general in Northern India, was perfectly <sup>Sir David</sup> aware of the existing feeling among the native military <sup>Ochterlony's</sup> classes, and saw that any successful adventurer would draw tens of thousands of idle men to his standard for another struggle for dominion. He was prompt in action. He ordered an army of 16,000 men and 100 guns to support the nomination of the British Government, and would have attacked Bhurtpoor forthwith, but Lord Amherst prevented him. He was peremptorily ordered to recall the troops and the proclamation he had issued; and the veteran soldier and diplomatist, perceiving the animus of the order he had received, resigned his office, after writing an able protest, and retired to Meerut. He never recovered the indignity he had suffered, and died two months afterwards, as he <sup>Death of</sup> said, of a broken heart. Sir Charles Metcalfe had been <sup>Sir David</sup> Ochterlony.

summoned from Hyderabad in anticipation of Sir David's resignation, and eventually took charge of political affairs.

There can be no doubt that Sir David Ochterlony's policy was the true one, and his sacrifice to satisfy a Calcutta party was an act of weakness on the part of the governor-general which was

welcomed with avidity by the disaffected. There ensued only one comment on the transaction throughout India,—the English are afraid to attack Bhurtpoor.

Doorjun Sál, who would have yielded to a real show of force, would have submitted; the Ját chiefs would have rallied round their lawful prince; and the disaffected would have been overawed. As it was, they were encouraged: and in

its results. a short time 25,000 men had engaged themselves, 'to fight the company behind the walls which had defied Lord Lake, the conqueror of Hindostan.' And not only this, but the whole of the north-west, with its seething crowds of petty chiefs and military adventurers, the lawless chieftains of Bundelkhund and Malwah, the Mahrattas of Sindia and Holkar, were, it was evident on the best grounds, prepared to support the rising should any chance of success appear. Lord Amherst and his council were

dismayed; nor was it till the arrival of Sir Charles Metcalfe from Hyderabad that the effects of the panic were redeemed. His minute on the subject is one of the finest of his state papers. He recorded that not only the interest, but the duty of the British Government to the people it had already rescued from anarchy, required the exercise of a bold, prompt, and uncompromising policy in regard to Bhurtpoor: and finally the governor-general and his council confirmed the opinion.

There was no delay; 20,000 troops of all arms, with 100 pieces of artillery, took the field and marched upon Bhurtpoor, under the command of Lord Combermere, the commander-in-chief. The army arrived on December 10.

1826, and the siege commenced. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had joined Lord Combermere, again attempted to convince Doorjun Sál and the insurgents of their folly; but he could make no impression. they were too deeply compromised by intrigues at every native

Strength of the fort. court in India to recede, and the siege operations progressed in earnest. Bhurtpoor had been much strengthened since the previous siege, which had exposed the weakness of some of the defences, and was impregnable before any ordinary attack. The heaviest artillery made no impression upon its immense walls and bastions, which were constructed of tenacious clay only: and at length mining was resorted to—a course advised from the first by Lieutenant Forbes, of the Engineers, but previously rejected. On January 18, a great mine containing 10,000 pounds

Native opinion in regard to English inaction;

Sir Charles Metcalfe's minute.

Preparations for the siege of Bhurtpoor.

Strength of the fort.

of gunpowder, laid under the principal bastion and counterscarp of the ditch, was exploded, and the fort was stormed and captured in a few hours; 6,000 of the enemy perished in its defence, but the loss of the British did not exceed 1,000 of all ranks. Doorjun Sál was apprehended in an attempt to escape, and the boy rajah was placed upon his throne on January 20, 1826, by Sir Charles Metcalfe and the commander-in-chief. The fortifications were thrown down into the ditch, and the whole levelled with the adjacent ground.

Bhurtpoor  
is stormed  
and taken.

So far the proceedings of the army had been glorious; but the public wealth and property of the family were seized as prize money by the forces, and, in the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe, 'our plundering, under the name of prize, has been very disgraceful, and has tarnished our well-earned honour.' The only alternative to save the property of the State would have been to grant a substantial donation to the troops as an equivalent; but this was not adopted, owing to the effects of severe financial pressure, and the 'prize money' of Bhurtpoor was subsequently divided among its captors. It is impossible to over-estimate the effect of the capture of Bhurtpoor combined with the destruction of its fortifications; and with this victory, and the conclusion of the Burmese war, the open disaffection of the armed classes of India passed away. Since Doorjun Sál, now a prisoner at Benares, had failed, no one else remained to lead a desperate enterprise: and the real power of the English, their inexhaustible resources, and their unfailing 'ikbál' or prestige, became perhaps more fully impressed upon the native mind than before.

Private  
property  
seized as  
prize-money.

Effects of  
the capture  
of Bhurtpoor.

Lord Amherst had been created an earl for his services, and had received the thanks of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors. His health had been indifferent in India, and he proceeded on a tour in the north-west provinces at the close of 1826, visiting the principal cities, receiving the homage of the chiefs, and finally retiring to Simlah in the Himalayas, for the hot weather, the first time it had been used as a vice-regal sanatorium. During his absence, the Council at Calcutta again signalled itself by an attack upon the press, one editor being summarily deported for a harmless squib; but during his residence in Calcutta, Lord Amherst had supported the press liberally, and relaxed many restrictions now re-imposed. The governor-general's progress through the provinces of Upper India was attended with excellent effect. He visited Lukhnow, where the Nawáb, now king, then in infirm health, died in the month of October 1827, and was succeeded by

Lord Amherst  
created an  
earl.

Simlah  
established  
as a vice-  
regal  
residence.

Beneficial  
effects of the  
governor-  
general's  
tour.

his son, Solimán Jáh. In a visit to the ex-emperor of Dehly, his future position was pointed out to him; and at Simlah, visits from agents of Runjeet Singh, Sindia, Holkar, and the princes of Rajpootana, with the various questions relating to each, fully occupied his lordship's attention. In March of 1827, the great Dowlut Ráo Sindia died of a chronic disease with which he had long been afflicted. He left no issue, male or female; but his wife, Báiza Bye, was allowed to adopt a successor, and a boy of eleven years old, Junkojee, was selected from among his relatives, and recognised by the governor-general. An old prediction exists in this family, that reigning Sindias leave no male heirs, which, up to the present day, has been strangely fulfilled.

Death of  
Dowlut Ráo  
Sindia.

The only other political event of importance which deserves record, is the attainment of his majority by the Rajah of Nagpoor: when his territories, which had been managed with admirable skill by Mr. Jenkins, from the period of his election to the sovereignty, in 1818, were delivered over to his charge. Material prosperity, and cultivation, had increased to an extent never before known in Berar; but the prosperity of the people only served to incite exaction, and in a comparatively short period the last memorials of Mr. Jenkins' benevolent administration had been utterly eradicated.

The Rajah of  
Berar attains  
his majority.

Lord Amherst's departure from India was accelerated by the intelligence of the dangerous illness of his daughter, and he left Calcutta in February 1828, having some time before sent home his resignation. For the present he was succeeded by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, the senior member of Council; but Lord William Bentinck had obtained the appointment of governor-general in 1827, and he arrived in Calcutta on July 4, 1828.

Lord Amherst  
leaves India.

Lord William  
Bentinck  
succeeds.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### PROGRESS IN MADRAS AND BOMBAY, 1813 TO 1828.

SINCE the termination of the war with Tippoo Sooltan, the progress of events in the southern presidency, Madras, had been very uneventful. No enemies remained to be overcome, and the whole of the ceded and conquered provinces remained tranquil. There was some difficulty, however, in establishing the demand for land revenue on an uniform basis, and it was not till Sir Thomas, then Colonel, Munro, who had

Sir Thomas  
Munro's land  
settlements.

been placed in charge of the ceded districts, struck out a plan for general settlements, that any decided measures were adopted. Like all parts of India in which the Mahomedans had <sup>Native</sup> not interfered with the original Hindoo system, it ex- <sup>system.</sup> isted all over the new districts: not, perhaps, in so perfect a form as in the Deccan, but still sufficiently intact to preserve its distinctive existence, and to form a foundation for regular proceedings. The first attempts at settlement were made in imitation of Bengal with the few Zemindars, or landed <sup>Settlements</sup> proprietors, who were found to exist; but these classes <sup>with</sup> were in no wise analogous to the Zemindars of Bengal. There <sup>Zemindars.</sup> the land had ceased to belong to the people. Their original rights, whatever they had been, had ceased to exist, and the land had passed into the possession of the Zemindars. In the <sup>Local</sup> Madras provinces, on the contrary, the land, according <sup>tenures.</sup> to immemorial custom, belonged to the people in right of occupancy, subject to the payment of the rulers' taxes; and the individual tenures were Meras, which involved hereditary occupation on payment of a fixed rent—with tenancies at will, in regard to lands which had originally been Meras, but had lapsed into the general village stock, and could be rented from year to year by payment in money, or by a proportion of the crop in kind. The so-called Zemindars, therefore, were not, in general, proprietors of the soil, though they possessed individual Meras rights; they were, with the exception of those who were hereditary princes or nobles of formerly existent Hindoo or Mahomedan dynasties, for the most part district or village officers: some of revenue, some of police, who held their position by hereditary rights <sup>Failure of</sup> of great antiquity. Any settlements with parties in <sup>settlement</sup> such positions necessarily failed; and the people resented <sup>with</sup> them, as conferring new rights upon the Zemindars, to which they <sup>Zemindars.</sup> were not entitled by ancient usage. The so-called Zemindars, therefore, became no more in fact than farmers of the revenue, which gave rise to many abuses, and was extremely unpopular.

These questions led Colonel Munro to consider the propriety and possibility of making settlements with the people themselves, or Ryots, as they are usually termed; and his <sup>Ryotwary</sup> measures, which had a semblance of possibility and even improvement upon the old native system, were put in operation. <sup>settlement.</sup> The lands of every village were surveyed after a rough <sup>Means</sup> fashion, and assessed; and a demand, equal to one-third of the <sup>adopted.</sup> produce of each crop or field, instituted. In the first place, the demand was too high, as the old Hindoo rate was from a seventh to a fifth: and, in the second, the proprietary rights of the people were not considered. It was a vast aggregation of tenants at will,

and was marked by many oppressive clauses. Lands were allotted to individuals which they might be unable or unwilling to cultivate, yet they could be punished by fine or even flogging for refusal. When the crops of certain fields failed, their rent could be assessed upon the village cultivation in general. Above all, the cultivator was taxed according to the crop he had sown, not according to the value of the land; and the duty of an officer of government was to visit every village, revise the record of cultivation, and assess the crop as it stood.

It will be understood how prolific such a system was in abuses of all kinds, and of oppression of the people; but it secured, for a time, a larger amount of revenue than had ever before been collected, and the system was therefore lauded and confirmed. When General Munro visited England in 1818, he was created a Knight Commander of the Bath for his services both in a military and civil capacity, and he returned to India as governor of the presidency in which he had so long served. Now, as administrator general over the whole of the provinces, he could calmly review the working of the land revenue system; and it is recorded to his credit, that he had no hesitation in undoing much of his own work, and relaxing the most stringent of the former crude and oppressive regulations. Cultivation was rendered voluntary; imprisonment and other punishment for refusals to cultivate, cesses for failure of crops, and, in general, all the objectionable provisions of the old system, were abolished; but even Sir Thomas could not get beyond a yearly settlement with each cultivator, and thus the yearly tenancies at will were continued. The ancient hereditary rights and practices fell into desuetude; while it was certain that the new system not only perpetuated the evils of the immediately preceding exactive native governments, but actually exceeded them. There were gross errors in regard to the land settlements in Bengal and in the north-western provinces; but it is questionable whether anything so universally depressing and demoralising as the Ryotwary system of Madras was ever attempted there. The old native proprietary of the north-western provinces, in many cases, disappeared under the action of the English laws, and of fraud, which it was impossible to check; but the people, even in such instances, were not reached as in Madras, and in the most material respects were not interfered with.

The relaxations in the revenue system of Madras, however, such had been the misery consequent upon its first establishment, rendered Sir Thomas Munro most popular among the people of the country; and over all hereditary rights and charitable endowments he had extended his protection. He

Sir Thomas  
Munro's  
popularity.

would have retired in 1824; but remained, especially to make provision for the Burmese war, until 1827, when, in a farewell visit to his old provinces and native friends, he sank under an attack of cholera at Puteechinta, near Gooty, to the great grief of the entire population he had governed and been <sup>His death.</sup> intimately connected with for the whole period of his service.

In Bombay, the people had been more fortunate. Mr. Elphinstone, who was thoroughly acquainted with the existing <sup>Bombay</sup> institutions of the Mahratta country, very judiciously <sup>system.</sup> made no alteration in them. The Peshwah's territory had become so wasted by mal-administration, exaction, and plunder, that, added to the ravages of war and local banditti, much of it was lying waste; hamlets and villages had disappeared, villages had dwindled into hamlets, and once prosperous towns into half-deserted villages. To restore confidence and encourage the re-cultivation of the land was the first object. Easy settlements were made with villages on terms of five years; and though the principle has been called Ryotwar, and each cultivator's land and payments were entered in the village accounts, there was no interference with his proceedings; and on the old native system, the assessment lay not on the crop, as in Madras, but on the land itself. Nor was any change made in this proceeding until by enquiry and experience the government was enabled to carry out a more permanent and beneficial settlement. During his incumbency, Mr. Elphinstone completed the code of civil and criminal procedure <sup>Civil and</sup> which had been commenced by Governor Duncan and <sup>criminal law.</sup> Sir James Mackintosh, and which, of all the older codes of India, has been found the most practical and most suited to the people, and has required less subsequent alteration. Luminous and simple, it provided for every existing want, and secured freedom and protection; and from first to last has contributed, in no small degree, to the social advancement of the country in which it was promulgated.

After the Mahratta war, the noble province of Khandesh, which had been formerly a garden under its Mahomedan kings, was found to be, for the most part, a desert jungle. It <sup>Khandesh.</sup> had furnished the great plundering ground of Holkar and Sindia: and the Bheels, who had been repressed by the Mahomedans, had returned to it and increased its desolation. Forces were continually employed against them; but it was not till Lieutenant James, afterwards Sir James, Outram, of the <sup>Outram's</sup> 23rd Bombay Native Infantry, threw himself among them, visited <sup>success in</sup> their haunts at great personal risk, and made friends of their rude <sup>reclamation</sup> chiefs, that any impression was made on them. By degrees, also, <sup>of the Bheels.</sup> a Bheel corps was raised by him: and by these and other means,

the habits of this hitherto intractable aboriginal race were reformed. Sir James Outram afterwards attained high distinction; but it is doubtful whether any act of his life confers more honour on him than his reclamation of his wild hunting companions, the Bheels of Khandésh.

The only other disturbances of any moment which ruffled the tranquillity of Mr. Elphinstone's administration was the Ramoosee insurrection. insurrection of the Ramoosees—another aboriginal tribe dispersed through the villages of the Deccan—under Oomajee Naik. It was, however, chiefly confined to the province of Ahmednugger, and directed principally against the Brahmins, of whom the Naik had a bitter hatred. Oomajee contrived, after the dispersion of his followers in 1827, to escape for some time; but he was eventually cleverly apprehended at Punderpoor, and suffered the penalty of his crimes. Mr. Elphinstone returned to England in 1827, and was succeeded by Sir John Malcolm.

After Sir Charles Metcalfe's departure, the office of Resident at Hyderabad was conferred upon Mr. W. Byam Martin, a Bengal civilian of large experience in 'regulation' judicial affairs. The European agency for the administration of the dominions of his Highness the Nizam, established by Sir Charles Metcalfe, was considerably enlarged, and with very beneficial results to the people. The first revenue settlements, like those in the Peshwah's late territories, had been made for terms of five years, and no interference had been exercised with the existent village administration. As these settlements expired, others were made on the same principle. The great object to which the employment of the English officers was directed, and, indeed, of the whole system, was to prevent exaction in excess of the rental by the native collectors; and the protection to the people ensured by these means resulted in an immense increase of cultivation, while the revenue, enhanced in proportion, was punctually realised. So long as the old Nizam, Sikundur Jah, lived, no change was made; for he had thoroughly appreciated results which had indeed become self-evident, in the check which they imposed upon the rapacity of his minister, Chundoo Lall. But on his demise in 1829, and the succession of his son, Nasir-ood-Dowlah, a demand was somewhat rudely made by him at the instigation of Chundoo Lall, who had become impatient of control, for a sudden recall of all English officers employed in civil duties; and though those were allowed to remain who had concluded settlements, till the period of their expiration, their authority was circumscribed, and the people soon, and very bitterly, experienced the deplorable change which the measure involved.

Provincial administration of the Nizam's dominions by English officers.

The English officers are withdrawn.

These several transactions have, perhaps, comparatively little connection with the general history of India, but as they involved the well-being of many millions of its people, a brief notice of them is recorded.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1820 TO 1830.

THE results of Lord William Bentinck's government of India are so admirably summarised in the inscription on his statue at Calcutta, written by Lord Macaulay, that they form the most appropriate introduction to the variety of great means of advancement of which he was the author. This eloquent record has been, and will be in the future, read by thousands, with the conviction that it is not only literally true, but that his administration formed the basis of all the benevolent measures which have since arisen to redeem the English from those accusations of selfish and exclusive policy in regard to the natives of the country, with which they were charged. The inscription on the pedestal of the statue runs as follows:—‘This statue is erected to William Cavendish Bentinck, who, during seven years, ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; who, placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen; who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions; who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion; whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the government committed to his charge;—this monument was erected by men who, differing from each other in race, in manners, and in religion, cherish, with equal veneration and gratitude, the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration.’ No such record exists of the services of any previous governor-general of India; and the brilliant triumphs of Clive, of Warren Hastings, of Lord Wellesley, and the Marquess of Hastings, are wanting in the peculiar and hitherto non-existent charm which is attached to the memory of Lord William Bentinck. During his incumbency, there were no glorious victories to be recorded, for no enemies remained to be overcome; but the successful development of moral force, and the

Inscription  
on the statue  
of Lord  
William  
Bentinck.

Character of  
his adminis-  
tration.

conversion of long-existing prejudices into a steady policy of improvement and advancement, is a triumph even more transcendent in the aggregate than that of successful war. Yet Lord William Bentinck had already been roughly dismissed from his government of Madras, and there were many who, from the early measures of his government of India, predicted even greater failure than, as was alleged, had attended his first Indian career.

His simple habits, the absence of State etiquette, which had been a distinctive feature of his predecessors, and, above all, the measures he had pledged himself to carry out, rendered him at first unpopular in a high degree, both with the civil service and the army. He had bound himself to effect reforms in the disbursements of the State, which the cost of the Burmese war had rendered imperative; but despite the opposition which he immediately encountered, he proceeded with them without delay. The allowances of the Civil Service were reduced, and as far as possible proportioned in regard to the various ranks and offices; but the measures of retrenchment as regarded the army involved more difficult considerations and no little danger. The Half Batta question, as it was termed, affected every officer and man in the army, and produced violent remonstrance and opposition. If the Court of Directors had given the governor-general a discretion to deal with the order they had sent to him according to circumstances, it is more than probable, from his recorded opinion, that the insignificant saving it finally accomplished, which did not exceed two lacs (20,000*l.*) a year, would have been abandoned; but in proportion as the demands of the army rose, the determination to exact absolute obedience from the officers continued, both by the Court and the governor-general; and in the end the measure was determined upon, though not as regarded the whole army. Stations within 400 miles from Calcutta only suffered, while all beyond were exempted. Having carried their points of obedience, it would have been an act of grace on the part of the directors to have acknowledged the faithful submission of their army by the abolition of the order; but, irritating and practically unnecessary as it was, it remained in force to the last. The magnanimity which would have directed its revision was absent.

The resumption of rent-free tenures was another unpopular measure as regarded the natives of Bengal; but had a real foundation in justice to the State. The alienations of land by Talookdars, Zemindars, and even petty village officers, under our own and former native governments, had been very large—in many instances they were without any sanction of superior authority, and the whole were revised.

Resumption  
of rent-free  
tenures in  
Bengal.

Those who could establish their rights to free lands were confirmed in them; from those who failed to do so they were resumed. The saving to Government was about thirty lacs (300,000*l.*) a year. The question had been first mooted in 1793, and additional powers were given to the English revenue officers on the subject in 1819. The measure had not, therefore, by any means originated with Lord William Bentinck; but the Act III. of 1828 brought the long-existing question to a final settlement, and all persons who failed to prove recent free tenure were allowed to retain their lands on payment of the regulated assessment.

The year 1829 was marked by one of the governor-general's most famous and most humane measures,—the abolition of Suttee throughout India. It was a subject to which he addressed himself with great earnestness directly he arrived in Calcutta. He applied for the opinions of military officers of experience as to the feeling of the native army on the subject; to civilians and other persons long resident in India as to those of the people at large. Here and there, as in the case of Mr. H. Wilson, he met with men who believed that the abolition of the rite would be attended with the highest degree of danger; and there were many also who, perpetuating the older traditions of the service, while they would fain have seen the cruel evil removed, yet lacked the nerve to make a step in advance of them, and pleaded the prescriptive right of the people to do as their forefathers had done for generations past. But Lord William Bentinck was deterred by no fears, and he had certainly no sympathy with the old service traditions. He saw no danger in India; and he was well aware that the whole of the public in England would welcome the abolition of the rite as one, perhaps the first, of England's great reforms of Hindoo abuse. On December 14, 1829, therefore, supported by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Bayley, the Act was passed, from which every governor-general, from Lord Cornwallis to Lord Minto, had shrunk with apprehensions, which they had recorded. Those implicated in the act of Suttee were now chargeable with wilful murder: those assisting at the rite with being accessories. There were a few attempts to evade the law, but they were promptly suppressed, and the horrible rite ceased to exist.

With 1830 came another deliverance from a great public danger, in the suppression of Thuggee. The word is derived from the Hindoo verb 'Thugna,' to cheat or deceive; but in the sense it was used it meant the strangulation of travellers by Thugs, a fraternity which, from the earliest ages, had infested the roads of India, from the Himalayas

to Cape Comorin, and from Guzerat to Assam. Occasionally gangs of these murderers had been apprehended; and in native States, and the Punjâb, punished by death or mutilation; but no knowledge of their peculiar association had been obtained.

*Discovery of the crime.*

One evening in 1829, as Major Sleeman, then the deputy commissioner of the Saugor district, was seated at his tent door, a man, advancing rapidly, threw himself at his feet, and begged to be allowed to make an important communication: but that Mrs. Sleeman should withdraw. He then proceeded to state that he was a leader of a gang of Thugs then not far off, and that the grove at Mundésur, in which Major Sleeman's camp was pitched, was full of corpses of travellers who had been murdered. Next day the hideous proof was given by exhumation of dead bodies where he pointed out their graves, and no time was lost in apprehending the gang to which the leader had belonged. Many of them became approvers, and by degrees circle after circle of information spread till they had covered all India. Hardly a province or district was found free from Thugs, and in their rites, proceedings, passwords and signs, there was little difference found anywhere.

*Proceedings of the Thugs.* The system of the Thugs was to decoy travellers, single or in bodies, to join their gangs on pretence of mutual protection; to carry them on, sometimes for days in succession, to some spot decided upon, when, at a signal given by the leader, all were strangled and buried in graves already prepared for them.

Major, afterwards Sir William, Sleeman, in a most interesting and effective report, laid the information he had obtained before Government; and Lord William Bentinck did not

*Special departments for the suppression of the crime.*

hesitate to put in force the strongest means at his disposal for the suppression of the crime. A new department was forthwith organised, and placed under the control of Major Sleeman, who applied all his great energy to the work, and was ably seconded. Its proceedings were extended into all native States as well as into every British province and district, and up to 1837, 3,266 persons had been apprehended and variously disposed of. The effect of these vigorous proceedings was, that every known Thug, or relation of a Thug, throughout India was apprehended; and as their numbers precluded the enforcement of severe penal measures, the least guilty were formed into a settlement, or school of industry, at Jubbulpoor, and instructed in various trades. Their descendants continue there, and carpets, tent-cloths and tents, with many other useful articles,

*Final suppression of the system.*

are now manufactured with a rare skill and beauty. These artisans, as they may now be called, are, however, still kept under surveillance; and it may be

hoped that in the course of a few generations, their traditions may become extinct, as for the last twenty years no case of Thuggee has appeared in any part of the continent of India.

Steam communication with India is now so familiar a subject, that allusion to its early commencement appears like a dream of the past. Yet forty years ago, only for the exertions of Lord William Bentinck, it might have been indefinitely delayed. In 1830, the first steamers, built at Calcutta, and fitted with engines from England, ascended the Ganges for 800 miles, and the success of the experiment amply justified its extension. So, also, the establishment of communication with England by steam vessels was taken up at the same time, with the same ardour, by the governor-general; but he was checked by the Court of Directors on the score of expense, and their inexplicable apathy can be traced perhaps to their own exclusive policy, and a dread that India might be brought too near to England. Thus the enterprise languished for nearly twelve years; but the merit of the first attempt rests with Lord William Bentinck's administration, and in the success of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's first endeavours lie the admirable results enjoyed by the public of India and of England in the year 1870.

With the regulation for the legalisation of Malwah opium, the record of the great measures of 1830 closes. By a system of licenses, it was enabled to be brought from the dominions of native princes in Malwah, where it was extensively produced, to Bombay, and by those means the former smuggling to the coast by way of Sindh and to the Portuguese ports was effectually prevented. The quality of the drug was tested in Bombay, and, under the official seal of Government, it was exported to China, on the same basis as that of Bengal, attended with a large corresponding increase to the public revenue.

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## CHAPTER X.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (*continued*),  
1831 to 1832.

UP to the year 1831, it may be said, with truth, that the natives of India in the British provinces had been systematically denied all participation in the government of their country. Under the pressure of public necessity,

Steam communication  
with  
England.

Opium.

Advance-  
ment of  
natives.

a few offices had been created for the relief of the English functionaries; but the declared policy of the Government, both at home and in India, was against the measure of opening public employment to the people, on the ground that it was pregnant with danger to the existence of British authority. It therefore required no ordinary amount of resolution to break through these long existing, and, with few exceptions, persistently maintained, opinions; and, fortunately, the views of the governor-general were

supported by the able and liberal members of his Native judges appointed. Council. The first reform was applied by the regula-

tion of 1831 to the judicial department in the creation of native judges, and their primary jurisdiction over civil suits. This measure not only relieved the judicial department of a load of work which could never be completed, but it opened a way to official service which, during the last forty years, has been very materially enlarged in all departments of the administration, and in all parts of India, with singular success, and is still extending.

The admission of natives of all castes and creeds, under the provisions of the enactment, included also native Native Christians eligible for office.

Christians, whose employment, under, as it were, a cruel refinement of prejudice and apprehension, had been before expressly prohibited—and they took their place with others, without prejudice. The recognition of the great principle was the first step gained: and since its wisdom and necessity were established the question has never retrograded; while the conduct of the native officials has amply justified the hope that their first real friend had formed of them.

In 1831, the condition of Oudh was brought under Lord William Bentinck's notice by the Resident, Mr. Maddock. The Condition of Oudh.

continuous history of this province shows that remonstrances against its misgovernment had been addressed by every governor-general in succession to the king; but at the present crisis local affairs were worse than ever. In order to judge for himself, the governor-general proceeded to Lukhnow, and the king was informed that the management of his country would be assumed unless reform ensued. This menace was followed by the reappointment, by the king, of the celebrated Hakeem Moudhy, as his minister, an able and fearless reformer, who effected some beneficial changes; but his honest advice was unwelcome to the king and his licentious court, and he was ultimately dismissed. The affairs of the kingdom thenceforward drifted into still greater confusion, which increased till its final extinction was determined on twenty-five years afterwards; but under the instruction of the Court of Directors, Lord William Bentinck, in 1831, was at

liberty to have placed Oudh on the footing of the Carnatic, and the postponement of the measure only increased its difficulty.

Mahomedan fanaticism, as if in proof that it would never be extinguished, caused an insurrection in the very vicinity of Calcutta in 1831. A Fakeer, named Teetoo Meer, of some local sanctity, had become a disciple of the famous Syud Ahmed of the Punjâb, and began to preach a holy war against all infidels. It was necessary, as their numbers increased, to employ force against his followers, for they burnt villages, defiled Hindoo temples, and their outrages became more daring and continuous. The insurgents were attacked and dispersed with severe loss, and the insurrection was crushed : but the fanatical sect has never been perfectly eradicated in Bengal, and several instances of sympathy with insurgents in the Punjâb have since been traced to members of the Wâhâbee sect, many of them holding influential positions in the country.

The small insurrection of Teetoo Meer in the Baraset district, was followed by a much more serious rising in 1832 by the Koles of Western Bengal, an aboriginal tribe, who, like the Santâls, described by Mr. W. Hunter, in the 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' had, at a very early period, been driven into the hills by the Aryan settlers. By degrees they had come under the operation of laws of which they had no conception, and of systematic encroachment by Bengal settlers, and the nominal Zemindars of their provinces ; and against these they rebelled, and proceeded to acts of outrage which could not at first be suppressed. Many perished in a fruitless resistance against regular troops ; but eventually the whole submitted. The regulations, unfitted, to as yet a savage people, were then withdrawn, and their province placed under a special commissioner. The Koles since then have advanced in civilisation and prosperity : and at the present time many thousands of them have become Christians, and have established churches, where heretofore only the most debasing forms of a primitive idolatry existed.

In his remodelling of the laws, the stringency of the Hindoo law of inheritance did not escape the governor-general's perception. Under its provisions, no one who abandoned the Hindoo faith could inherit ancestral property, since the basis of inheritance consisted in performing certain ceremonies to the memory of his progenitors. This disability was, however, quickly removed. Other reforms in civil and criminal procedure were adopted ; monthly jail deliveries were established ; a new chief court was established in the north-

Fanatical  
insurrection.

The Kôle war.

The tribe is  
placed under  
special  
jurisdiction.

Conversions.

Law of  
inheritance  
modified.

Other judicial  
reforms.

western provinces; and the cumbrous machinery of previous enactments swept away. These changes were accompanied by the great boon of directing the vernacular language of suitors or witnesses to be employed on all occasions instead of Persian, which, used by the Mahomedans, was as unintelligible to the people at large as English, and was indifferently comprehended, in most instances, by the judges.

In the year 1832, the affairs of Messrs. William Palmer & Co., of Hyderabad, again occupied the attention of the Government in England, and with so remarkable a result that, as an item in the history of the company's administration, it cannot be passed by. The Marquess of Hastings, chafing under the aspersions and insinuations of the Court of Directors, defended himself ably on his return in the House of Lords; and the whole question was re-opened in the Court of Proprietors, in a debate which lasted six days. Mr., afterwards Sir Henry,

William Palmer & Co. Russell, spoke at great length on the second day. He showed incontrovertibly, that the dealings of Messrs. Palmer & Co. with the Nizam, so far from being extortionate, had been liberal and fair; and that their rates of interest were greatly less than those prevailing in the country. He had been Sir Charles Metcalfe's predecessor at Hyderabad; and his statement of

Sir H. Russell's speech. facts threw a flood of light on the whole of the loan transactions. As regarded William Palmer & Co., the revelation had indeed little immediate effect; but while Mr. Kinnaird moved that there was nothing in the Hyderabad papers which affected the character of the governor-general, the resolution was met by Mr. Astell with a counter motion, that while there was no ground for imputing corrupt motives to Lord Hastings, the dispatches sent to him should be confirmed. These very dispatches had covertly, if not indeed openly, attributed the basest motives to the governor-general; and their confirmation by these proceedings added insult to injury. At most, the Court's proceedings closed with a Scotch verdict of 'not proven,' leaving all the animus of the charges virtually increased. Soon afterwards, Lord Hastings accepted the humble post of governor of Malta; but the injury inflicted had been too deep and too wanton to be long endured, and he died on August 24, 1827, of a broken heart. Was the sum of 20,000*l.* voted afterwards to his son, then a minor, any reparation for the cruel injury? Yet had any concession been made to the noble marquess, it would have involved the reversion of the acts against William Palmer & Co., and against them the Court of Directors was as yet strong and virulent.

The question of justice to the firm was eventually agitated both in England and in India, up to 1830; but it was in vain

Use of the vernacular languages.

Proceedings in the Court of Proprietors.

that the twelve judges of England recorded their opinion that there was no illegality in the rates of interest, or in the transactions of Messrs. Palmer & Co. Equally vain, that this opinion was confirmed by the most celebrated counsel of the day. The prohibition at Hyderabad continued in force; and its effects are best explained by a letter from Moneer-ool-Moolk, the prime minister, who was a large debtor, to the executive minister, Chundoo Lall. 'If,' he wrote, 'the order prohibiting any money transactions with them (W. P. & Co.), and the *proclamation describing the claims as void*, had not arrived, my debt to them would have been completely and fully paid; but how could I, in defiance of the prohibition, and of such a proclamation, pay them?' This was the situation in which not only Moneer-ool-Moolk, but many other large debtors to the house, were placed. They dared not pay.

Opinion of  
the twelve  
judges of  
England.

Situation of  
the debtors  
to the house.

In 1832 the President of the Board of Control took up the question in earnest, and required the directors to prepare a dispatch, by which the prohibition against the firm should be removed; but the court were still resolute not to disturb the policy on which they had acted for ten years; and a dispatch, which was in fact a repetition of former opinions, drawn up on March 20, 1832, was transmitted to the Board of Control for approval. It was not, however, approved. On the contrary, thirty-three out of thirty-seven paragraphs were rescinded, and a new draft sent to the court for adoption. The principle expressed was perfectly fair and open. It required the interposition of the Government of India, the authors of the wrong, to bring about a settlement with the Nizam, by means of a commission or an umpire. The amended dispatch was, however, rejected by the court; and after a tedious correspondence, which led to no result, the Board of Control applied for a writ of mandamus, to the King's Bench, to compel its adoption. On the issue of the writ, the dispatch was admitted under protest, by ten of the directors, who had maintained the most obstinate and inveterate opposition. As an event of historical importance, this memorable transaction, into which the court had been plunged by a prejudiced minority, was very momentous; for it proved, as might and ought to have been anticipated, its real inherent weakness in any struggle with the ministry of the Crown, and seriously impaired its power both in England and in India, which hitherto had been controlled, but never broken. The consequences were not immediately apparent; but they continued to progress in importance and magnitude, until the independence of the court had been weakened, if not

Measures of  
the Board  
of Control.

writ of  
mandamus.

Effects of the  
struggle.

destroyed for all essential purposes of government, and resulted, after a hundred years' existence, in its final extinction.

As soon as the dispatch reached India, the governor-general appointed an umpire, Mr., now Sir, John Macleod, an able member of the Civil Service, who proceeded to Hyderabad, and, after a long investigation, made an award in favour of the principal private claim of Messrs. Palmer & Co., that against Moneer-ool-Moolk, which amounted to at least twenty-one lacs of rupees. The amount awarded was immediately paid, and enabled the house to discharge the new obligation it had entered into with its creditors. Here, however, the direct effect of the dispatch ceased. It was considered that a precedent had been established, under the provisions of which the remainder of the private claims, the most material being for loans to individuals granted by the house under the guarantee of the executive minister, could be now prosecuted in the local courts. The trustees of the house had little hope that these courts would exercise sufficient independence of character to investigate the claims; but they performed their duty fearlessly and conscientiously, and decrees were obtained on several suits for the aggregate sum of nine lacs, which were recognised by the executive minister, in the sequestration of the estates of the principal defendants. No other results, however, followed; the awards remained unpaid, and the courts being unable to enforce their awards or procure their enforcement, refused to entertain further suits. Equally fruitless were the efforts of the trustees to obtain satisfaction in any form from the government of the Nizam. It must be admitted, however, that it has never denied, though it has evaded, its responsibility; and perhaps, when time has obliterated the remains of original prejudices, it may be stimulated by the government of the Crown to a final act of satisfaction and justice, in favour of the descendants of those who were utterly ruined.

In 1832, the management of the affairs of the State of Mysore was assumed by the Government of India. It will be remembered that, on the capture of Seringapatam, and death of Tippoo Sooltan, the rajah, then a boy, had been presented with the original dominions of his dynasty; and that Poornea, the able minister of Tippoo, assisted by English commissioners, had been appointed to their administration. In 1811, when the circumstances of the State were in the highest degree prosperous, and there were seven millions sterling in the treasury, the rajah, then only sixteen years old, was suffered to declare his majority and to assume the government. He proved to be intractable and wastefully extravagant; and by 1832,

Measures  
taken on the  
dispatch in  
India.

Decree  
against  
Moneer-ool-  
Moolk.

Other claims  
referred to  
local civil  
courts.

Affairs of  
Mysore.

Wasteful  
extravagance  
of the rajah.

not only had his treasure been expended on profligate associates and in the wildest profusion, but the State had become deeply encumbered. He had been repeatedly warned; and most impressively by Sir Thomas Munro, in 1825; but without effect, and in 1830, the greater part of his dominions, unable to endure the perpetual extortion practised, broke into <sup>Insurrection of the people.</sup> insurrection. It was quelled by a Madras force; but the conviction remained, that the British Government could not be identified with the rajah's malpractices, that the people had had just cause for revolt, that the employment of force against them was only justifiable by the excesses that had been committed, and that the enforcement of the provisions of the treaty were indispensable. It was notified, therefore, to the rajah, that for the <sup>The rajah is pensioned.</sup> future, a fifth part of the revenues, about 40,000*l.* per year, would be paid to him, and that the administration of his dominions, in all departments, would be carried on by English officers. Under these arrangements the country became tranquil and prosperous, and the benevolent measures of the chief commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, are remembered with gratitude and affection.

In the same year—1832—the small principality of Cachár, on the north-east frontier of Bengal, was formally annexed to the British dominions, upon the spontaneous request of <sup>Cachár annexed.</sup> the people, whose rajah had been assassinated, and who had left no successor. The province is now the seat of extensive tea cultivation, and has been reclaimed, in a great degree, from its original wild character.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (*concluded*),  
1833 TO 1835.

THE year 1833 was marked by several great and beneficial measures, among which the land settlement of the north-west provinces takes a prominent place. Many previous <sup>Land settlement of the north-west provinces.</sup> attempts had been made towards a solution of the various questions regarding tenures and assessments, and Regulation VII. of 1822, the able work of Mr. Holt Mackenzie, laid the foundation of what was to follow. During his tour of the north-west provinces, the governor-general invited the freest discussion of the subject by all ranks of the civil service, and in March 1833, the new regulation was passed in Council, and the execution of it committed to Mr. Robert Mertins Bird. By the provisions of this

Act, all village lands were surveyed, and every field, or portion of land, cultivated or waste, defined; all proprietary rights were registered, and all lands assessed, the rate to continue for thirty years. When it is considered that these operations concerned no less than 23,000,000 of people, and extended over nearly 50,000,000 of acres of land, and yet were completed with all the minuteness and care of the survey of a private estate in England—the momentous character of the whole may be estimated; with the amount of genius and perseverance necessary for its accomplishment. Yet it must be recorded, that Mr. Bird's great services passed away without reward, and without the public recognition which they had so eminently deserved.

Mr. Bird's  
services.

The supremacy of Oriental learning was still maintained in Calcutta, and was not overcome without a severe contention. Up to 1833, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian had been supported by the profound Orientalists of the period, in whose sight the obscure hymns of the Vedas, the graceful episodes and fables of the *Māhābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, and the bygone sciences of Sanscrit and Arabic authors, possessed a charm far exceeding the extension of the true knowledge and brilliant and exact sciences of England. Able men argued on their respective sides with great pertinacity. Dr. H. H. Wilson led the van of the Orientalists, and was opposed by Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mr. Brian Hodgson, and Dr. Duff of the Scotch Church, with a host of others; and the question was finally debated in Council, where Mr. Macaulay gave pure Orientalism its death-blow. Then the English language, with its flood of light and truth, was opened to the people of India, as well by the recognition of the language itself in public educational establishments, as by its extension by translation into the vernacular of every province: but the school of the Scotch mission, with upwards of a thousand native day scholars, instructed in Christian doctrine as well as English literature, was of all the most effectual refutation of the abstract love of Sanscrit and Arabic, by which the interesting period of transition from old things to new is marked.

The charter to the company, extended, in 1813, for twenty years, expired in 1833, and with it, their monopoly of trade with China. It was impossible for Parliament to withstand the clamour of the English nation, which was directed against the continuance of that remnant of the company's exclusive privileges, in any form. The new charter was limited to the administration of India for a further period of twenty years; and henceforward the Court of Directors became an administrative body only, subject to the Board of Control, in many respects with greater stringency

The com-  
pany's  
charter and  
monopoly.

The Govern-  
ment of India  
to continue  
for twenty  
years.

than before. The almost only remaining stronghold of former prejudices, the denial to Europeans of holding lands in India, was thrown down, while Lord William Bentinck's great measure of opening the public service to all natives without distinction of caste or creed, was confirmed by a special clause. A fourth presidency also was established at Agra, for the administration of the north-west provinces, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, in grateful recognition of his eminent services, was appointed its governor.

While occupied by the momentous reforms of his administration, the governor-general's attention was directed to the affairs of Coorg, in consequence of the outrageous proceedings of its rajah, Veer Rajendra, who had succeeded his father in 1820. He had committed a series of atrocious murders; and under the terror of his revenge, the particulars of his conduct were unknown, till his sister and her husband escaped, and threw themselves on the protection of the British authorities. The rajah was called to account for his acts of violence; but he proved utterly intractable and defiant, and finding the local disorders increasing, a proclamation was issued by the governor-general that he had ceased to reign. To take possession

The public service opened to natives.

Coorg affairs.

of the province, a force invaded it under the political direction of Major-General J. S. Fraser, which, though gallantly resisted in some attempts to penetrate the stupendous passes and defiles, was eventually successful, and the capital, Merkára, was occupied on April 6, 1834. The rajah, who surrendered

The rajah is deposed.

Merkára occupied.

to General Fraser, was removed to Benares, but ultimately died in England, where he resided for some years; and the affairs of the country were administered by a special

Death of the rajah.

commissioner, until incorporated with those of Mysore. Since then, Coorg has become celebrated as a coffee-growing district, and has proved proportionably valuable. Except Cachar, Coorg was the only territory annexed to the British dominions in India during the incumbency of Lord William Bentinck, and the proclamation expressed that the act 'was in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people.'

Annexation of the country.

On a review of the political policy of Lord William Bentinck, it is found to have one uniform characteristic, non-interference; and every native State in India, for good or for evil, was made practically independent in its administration. As in the days of Sir John Shore, there were no great armies now to be checked, or princes who could inflict injury upon their own subjects, or those of others, by lawless plunder and internal commotion; yet it has always been charged against the governor-general, that the principle he professed, and

Review of policy in regard to native States.

literally observed, was carried too far, and served to weaken the paramount authority and prestige of British power in India. In

**Effects of non-interference in Hyderabad.** Hyderabad, a wasteful minister was allowed to weary the people by exactions and want of faith, which seriously impaired the revenue, and created a horde of usurers, Arab chiefs, Patáns, and native bankers, whose extortions from the people of the districts assigned to them, in payment of loans and advances, are remembered with terror. As a relief to the State, an offer was made by the governor-general to disband the contingent, for a partial equivalent in money payment; but the services of this force were invaluable to the Nizam's Government, as a counterpoise to its own turbulent feudatories and military chiefs, and the offer, which had been accepted in Nagpoor, was declined. The pay and allowances of the contingent

**Reform of the Nizam's contingent.**

**Remonstrance with the Nizam.**

were, however, reduced to the standard of the company's forces, several staff appointments were abolished, and other reductions of expense followed. The Court of Directors were, however, by no means satisfied with the state of the Nizam's dominions; and on September 8, 1835, a remonstrance was written for communication to His Highness, in which they stated, 'that they could not remain indifferent spectators to the disorder and misrule which had so long prevailed in his territories,' and further signified that if the present minister, Rajah Chundoo Lall, could not provide remedies for them, he should be changed, or that other arrangements should be adopted, 'as might be advisable for the purpose of securing good government.' These remonstrances had, however, little practical effect, and the minister, taking courage from the prevailing non-interferent policy, made no change in his system.

**Bhopál.** In Bhopál, after the accidental death of the Nawáb, with whom a treaty had been made in 1818, his widow adopted his nephew, but retained the management of the State

in her own hands. When the young man attained his majority, he was opposed by his aunt, and a struggle ensued, which involved much bloodshed in engagements between the parties, in one of which the young Nawáb was defeated. These deplorable events might, in the outset, have been summarily checked by the

**Effects of non-interference.**

**Sindia's affairs.**

governor-general; but he declined to interfere, and the local anarchy had afterwards to be suppressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe. In 1833 a similar struggle for power occurred in Sindia's dominions, between Junkojee, the youth who had been adopted by Báiza Bye, the widow of Dowlut Ráo, and herself. In this quarrel, which threatened to affect the peace of all Central India, Lord William Bentinck absolutely refused to interfere; and though he visited Gwalior,

left it without attempting any settlement. On July 10, the several brigades of disciplined troops, which had taken different sides, would have come into collision but for the personal efforts of the Resident, Colonel Stewart, whose representation of the **serious danger** which would ensue from any actual Settlement of the quarrel. outbreak of hostilities, induced the governor-general to recognise the rajah, and Báiza Bye was obliged to retire from Gwalior. In the State of Jeypoor, another instance of mischief from the non-exercise of timely Jeypoor. intervention resulted in the murder of Mr. Blake, the assistant to the Resident, in the streets of Jeypoor, in 1835. As at Murder of Mr. Blake. Bhopál and Gwalior, there was a minor prince at Jeypoor; and the regency was conducted by his mother, assisted by a banker, named Jóta Rám, believed to be her paramour. A rivalry ensued between the chiefs of the State and this person, which proceeded from bad to worse; and though it might have been prevented, had timely measures been taken, the non-Non-interference. interferent policy prevailed. A chief named Byree Sál was eventually elected to the office of minister by the nobles of the State; but the struggle between him and Jóta Rám continued; and the latter, believing the Resident, Major Alves, to have been the author of his loss of power, determined to destroy Its consequences. him and his cortége on the occasion of an official visit to the minister. The plan was prematurely carried out, and the Resident escaped with a slight wound, though Mr. Blake perished.

It is needless to multiply examples. One decisive act of interference would have been sufficient to prove, throughout all native States, that disorder would not be permitted; instead of which, it was allowed to proceed without check, until the parties were compromised by their acts, and had incurred the penalty of absolute punishment. It was advanced in Lord William Bentinck's justification, that his policy proceeded out of a desire to make the rulers of native States responsible to their subjects; but though such a motive was most laudable and desirable, it was never declared as a basis of non-interference; and the instances in which intervention was necessary to suppress public disorder, arose out of struggles for power between the highest authorities in the several States, whose conduct and proceedings could not possibly have been affected by their people at large, and in regard to which the British Government was the only real arbiter.

Among the political events of Lord William Bentinck's incumbency, his famous interview with Runjeet Singh at Roopur, on the banks of the Sutlej, in 1831, must not be passed over.

It was the most magnificent spectacle of the period; and while the Sikh ruler was accompanied by 16,000 of the flower of his army and of his chivalry, the governor-general contented himself with a comparatively small escort. The intercourse of the two potentates was most harmonious, and they separated with assurances of mutual good-will. The only political event of importance was the embassy to Sind, conducted by Major Pottinger, which forestalled the intentions of Runjeet Singh in that quarter, and will be more prominently noticed hereafter. The last act of the governor-general's administration, was the creation of a medical college in Calcutta, in 1835. Except the ancient Hindoo, Grecian, and Arabian systems, no means of medical instruction existed in India. Of surgery, as based on anatomy, there was profound ignorance, and the village barber was the usual operator as surgeon, in cases of wounds, or hurts; while those who had traditional knowledge of simples were the physicians. Now, however, the whole range of European medical science, surgery, and anatomy, was opened to the pupils, who became at once very numerous; and the blessings of true medical instruction have since been widely extended.

Lord William Bentinck had already sent home his resignation, and having reached Calcutta from the Neilgherry hills, where he had proceeded on account of his health, sailed for England on March 20, 1835. Sir Charles Metcalfe held a commission as provisional governor-general, and succeeded him. It will have been estimated by the narrative, that in respect to administrative reform and moral progress, Lord William's incumbency had been unequalled in India; but two other efforts in the cause of civilisation and humanity, which were spread over the whole period of his tenure of office, deserve brief record. By the treaty of 1818, the district of Mairwarra, as part of Ajmere, fell into the possession of the British Government. The people, Mairs, were found to be unredeemed savages, like the Bheels, who lived by rapine, and were the dread of the surrounding country. For fourteen years Captain Hall laboured among this rude people, with singular perseverance, in their reclamation from many criminal practices, and his successor, Captain Dixon, completed what had been so ably begun. He constructed many great reservoirs for water, built a city, and converted an almost savage wilderness into the seat of vast agricultural improvements. The results of these local administrations will be found detailed in Dixon's 'Mairwarra,' a work full of interest to all students of Indian subjects.

Interview  
with Runjeet  
Singh.

Medical  
college.

Lord William  
Bentinck  
leaves India.

Sir Charles  
Metcalfe  
succeeds.

Mairwarra.

Captain  
Hall's and  
Captain  
Dixon's  
reforms.

Infanticide was one of those social crimes by which the higher castes of Indian society were, and may still to some extent be, infected. At the close of the eighteenth century, when Benares became a British province, it was found to exist among the Rajpoots, by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the local commissioner, who, in some degree, interposed checks upon it. He followed up his good work when, as governor of Bombay, he discovered that in Kutch, Guzerat, Malwah, and Rajpootana, the practice of destroying female children was even more prevalent than in Bengal. But though some effect was produced, and some children had undoubtedly been preserved, the cruel rite was by no means eradicated. In 1833-4 the question was taken up again with great ardour by the late Sir John P. Willoughby, Mr. Wilkinson, Sir P. Melvil, and others; and though it is impossible, within the scope of this work, to follow the various preventive measures that were resorted to, it is due to the officers to record the humanity of their motives, and their earnest and persevering endeavours to suppress a practice repugnant to every good feeling of human nature. Whether the restrictive measures imposed upon the Rajpoots by registration of female births, and other means, have been entirely successful, may still unhappily be doubted; but there is at least no question, that the crime has greatly diminished, even in the strongest holds of its former unchecked prevalence.

Infanticide.

Its prevalence.

Measures for its suppression.

Another intervention in the cause of humanity belongs more especially to the Madras Presidency; but was encouraged and assisted by Lord William Bentinck to the utmost of his power. The Khonds, an aboriginal people, inhabiting the hills and forests west of the Northern Circars, were discovered in 1829 to be in the habit of sacrificing annually, to the 'Earth' goddess, numbers of children and adults, kidnapped or bought from the population of the low countries: and the suppression of the practice became imperative. But it was no easy task to prevent a rite which had been indulged from a period of great antiquity, and on which the Khonds believed their crops and their material prosperity depended. Captain Campbell was the first officer deputed to the Khond districts for the purpose of preventing the rite; and he laboured for four years unremittingly for its suppression, rescuing from a horrible death many hundreds of prepared victims; but ill-health drove him from the province, and the relapse into the original practices became painfully apparent. His successor Major Macpherson's endeavours were equally well directed; but an insurrection broke out against him, which, owing to the nature of the country, was suppressed with much difficulty; and his proceed-

The Khonds of Goomsoor.

Human sacrifices.

Captain Campbell's efforts.

Insurrection of the people.

ings became the subject of acrimonious discussion, which was not closed till a much later period. He was replaced by Captain, now Colonel, Campbell, with greater success than before; and it may be hoped that the authority established over this wild race has led to an entire abandonment of the cruel rite; for it is many years since any detection of its commission has been reported, and the Khónda, by means of education, and nearer contact with a civilised power, have lost many distinctive features of their original savagery.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE AND LORD AUCKLAND, 1835 TO 1837.

It was reserved for Sir Charles Metcalfe to withdraw the last  
Freedom of the press. restrictions under which the press of India had laboured for so many years. During the incumbency of Lord William Bentinck, it had been virtually, if not actually, free from interference; but the old law was still in existence, and might at any time be resorted to by any ruler of its originator Mr. Adams's tone of mind. The public of Calcutta had submitted a memorial for the abolition of this law before the departure of the governor-general; but he had declined to interfere, and the solution of the question remained to his successor. Nor was it long held in abeyance. Supported cordially by Mr. Macaulay, the Act was passed in the month of September, 1835, and Sir Charles Metcalfe had the satisfaction to receive the grateful acknowledgements of all classes, European and native, upon the freedom he had now practically established. But the measure raised a storm against him in the Court of Directors, for which he was not prepared. Of all the traditional prejudices which had been longest in existence, the restriction upon the press was perhaps the most dearly cherished there. With all his liberal opinions, held by many to be extreme, Lord William Bentinck had declined to pass an Act which, without consultation or warning, had now become law, and was irrevocable; and the man whose policy at Hyderabad had been supported faithfully, even to a memorable and extreme collision with the Board of Control, was the author of the so-esteemed deliberate indignity. The offence was unpardoned and unpardonable; and from thenceforth the long and eminent services of Sir Charles Metcalfe were virtually cancelled. The government of Madras, which he had been

The Act passed.

The measure disapproved by the Court of Directors.

Consequences to Sir Charles Metcalfe.